BUILDING CLIQUES AND ALLIANCES AS PRACTICES TO 'MAKE THINGS HAPPEN' IN COMPLEX NETWORKS

LIDIA GHEORGHIU
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ASTON UNIVERSITY
JULY 2014

ASTON UNIVERSITY

BUILDING CLIQUES AND ALLIANCES AS PRACTICES TO 'MAKE THINGS HAPPEN' IN COMPLEX NETWORKS

LIDIA GHEORGHIU
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
2014

Abstract

The Roma population has become a policy issue highly debated in the European Union (EU). The EU acknowledges that this ethnic minority faces extreme poverty and complex social and economic problems. 52% of the Roma population live in extreme poverty, 75% in poverty (Soros Foundation, 2007, p. 8), with a life expectancy at birth of about ten years less than the majority population. As a result, Romania has received a great deal of policy attention and EU funding, being eligible for 19.7 billion Euros from the EU for 2007-2013. Yet progress is slow; it is debated whether Romania's government and companies were capable to use these funds (EurActiv.ro, 2012).

Analysing three case studies, this research looks at policy implementation in relation to the role of Roma networks in different geographical regions of Romania. It gives insights about how to get things done in complex settings and it explains responses to the Roma problem as a 'wicked' policy issue. This longitudinal research was conducted between 2008 and 2011, comprising 86 semi-structured interviews, 15 observations, and documentary sources and using a purposive sample focused on institutions responsible for implementing social policies for Roma: Public Health Departments, School Inspectorates, City Halls, Prefectures, and NGOs. Respondents included: governmental workers, academics, Roma school mediators, Roma health mediators, Roma experts, Roma Councillors, NGOs workers, and Roma service users. By triangulating the data collected with various methods and applied to various categories of respondents, a comprehensive and precise representation of Roma network practices was created.

The provisions of the 2001 'Governmental Strategy to Improve the Situation of the Roma Population' facilitated forming a Roma network by introducing special jobs in local and central administration. In different counties, resources, people, their skills, and practices varied. As opposed to the communist period, a new Roma elite emerged: social entrepreneurs set the pace of change by creating either closed cliques or open alliances and by using more or less transparent practices. This research deploys the concept of social/institutional entrepreneurs to analyse how key actors influence clique and alliance formation and functioning. Significantly, by contrasting three case studies, it shows that both closed cliques and open alliances help to achieve public policy network objectives, but that closed cliques can also lead to failure to improve the health and education of Roma people in a certain region.

Key words: bridging actors, cliques, network receptivity, social entrepreneurs, Roma policy implementation in Romania

Acknowledgments

This research has been a long journey and I owe a great debt of gratitude to many people who helped me complete it. In particular, I am thankful to my supervisors, Dr Louise Knight and Dr JR Michael Butler, for their guidance during the development of my work and both my examiners Dr Judy Scully and Dr Siv Vangen who gave me constructive comments which helped me to make my thesis much better.

I am also grateful to Aston University which financed some of my research, members of the WOP Group, and the RDP Office (Jeanette, Liz, Irene, and Ranjit). I am thankful to my interviewees who were extremely generous with their time and it was their willingness to openly share their experiences which made this thesis possible.

I dedicate this thesis to my family and friends who supported me during both happy and difficult times.

List of contents

List of tables

List of figures

Publications and conferences

Gheorghiu, L, Knight, L, Butler, MJR (2014) Cliques as structures and practices - shaping boundaries and outcomes in Roma policy networks, the 30th EGOS Colloquium Rotterdam, The Netherlands, July 3–5, 2014.

Gheorghiu, L, Knight, L, Butler, MJR (2013) Understanding networks as a whole: bridging actors and their strategies for managing networks, The 20th MOPAN conference in Newcastle, UK, July 2013.

Gheorghiu, L and Butler, MJR (2012) Using receptivity towards change and network learning frameworks to explore Roma strategy implementation in Romania. County 1, A high receptive context for change, the 16th IRSPM Conference in Rome, Italy, April 2012, "Contradictions in Public Management. Managing in volatile times".

Gheorghiu, L and Butler, MJR (2011) What's the Effect of the Public Policies on the Roma Women in Romania?, *Nevi Sara Kali-Roma Women's Journal*, 3rd issue, June 2011, p. 152.

Butler, MJR and Gheorghiu, L (2010) Exploring the Failure to Protect the Rights of the Roma Child in Romania, *Public Administration and Development*, **30**(4), pp. 235-246.

Gheorghiu, L and Butler, MJR (2010) Europe's Forgotten Citizens-Exploring Poor Health Policy Implementation in Roma Communities: A Network Learning Perspective, the 14th IRSPM Conference in Berne, Switzerland, April 2010, "The Crisis: Challenges of Public Management".

Abbreviations

AJOFM – County Departments of Social Work and Employment

ANR – The National Agency for the Roma

BJR – Roma County Offices

CCD – Teacher Training Centres

CEDU – Center Education 2000+

CoE – Council of Europe

CSCE – Council for Security and Cooperation in Europe

CEEC – Central and Eastern European Countries

COR – Classification of Occupations in Romania

CMR – Ministerial Commission for Roma

CNAS – National Department for Social Insurance

DHIF – District Health Insurance Fund

DPHA – District Public Health Authority

DSP – County Health Department

ECRI – European Commission against Racism and Intolerance

ERDF – European Regional Development Fund

ERRC – European Roma Rights Center

ESF – European Social Fund

EU – European Union

GP – General practitioner

ICCV – Research Institute for Quality of Life

ICESCR – International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

INS – Romanian National Institute of Statistics

ISJ – County School Inspectorate

LA – Local Authority

MAP – Ministry of Public Administration

MER – Ministry of Education and Research

NCCD – The National Council for Combating Discrimination

NGO – Non-governmental organisation

NHIF – National Health Insurance Fund

NPG – New Public Governance

NPM – New Public Management

ODIHR – Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights

OECD – Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OSCE – Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe

OSI – Open Society Institute

PAM – Public Administration and Management

REF – Roma Education Fund

UN – United Nations

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

WHO – World Health Organisation

Notes

Anonymity

The identities of actors (individuals and organisations) in the empirical cases have been concealed. The three counties studies are County 1, 2, and 3. The non-governmental organisations have been noted as NGO1 to NGO33. Different towns and villages have been noted as Locality1 to Locality7.

Citation of data collected

Citations from data collected and literature review have been cited using a Calibri font, using round brackets. To separate citations from journal articles/books, for citing reports the researcher has used square brackets.

Glossary

The Main Roma Sub-Groups from Romania:

Kalderash – traditionally smiths and metal workers and speak a number of Romani dialects grouped together under the term Kalderash Romani, a sub-group of Vlax Romani.

Rupunara (silversmiths) – Romas who traditionally work with silver and gold and manufacture jewellery and other adornments.

Kïkavara (cauldron makers) – Romas who traditionally work with copper/brass and produce cauldrons, boiling vessels, pans, kettles.

Boldena (flower merchants) – Romas that used to manufacture artificial flowers and who now sell flowers and are general merchants.

Gabora (gabori) – Hungarian Romas, Hungarian speakers who traditionally manufacture tin objects but who, more recently, trade in carpets, rugs, electric home appliances

Xoraxané (Turks) – Muslim Turk Romas, Turkish speakers, who assumed Turkish identity, living mainly in Dobrogea.

Xanotara (tinsmiths) – Romas who in the past used to apply tin layers on metal vessels and today collect scrap non-ferrous materials.

Music players – Roma musicians playing various musical instruments.

Lovara (lovari) – Hungarian Romas, Hungarian speakers who, traditionally, trade in horses.

Rromungre (romungre) – Hungarian Romas, Hungarian speakers who assumed Hungarian identity.

Kastale (woodworkers) – Romas who no longer speak Roma language and work with wood, producing wooden spoons, forks, spindles, furniture etc., who assumed Romanian identity.

Richinara (ursari) – Romas who used to go to various fairs 'displaying' a bear and, later on, they started to manufacture bone and horn objects ('pieptanari'), to process animal skin and manufacture sieves and strains ('ciurari') and also to play musical instruments ('lautari').

Vatrasi (homesteaders) – Assimilated Romas who assumed the Romanian identity.

Other ethnicities in Romania – Lipovans, Russians, Greeks, Tartars, Muslims, Germans.

Code of Occupations:

Based on the Code of Occupations, the school mediator was included in the 'Other personnel in education' sub-group. The central responsibilities of the school mediator consist of: 'data collection,

helping to ensure that all children of compulsory school age are enrolled, working to prevent dropping out through communication with parents and local authorities, facilitating pre-school enrolment for Roma children, mediating between families and school authorities to promote social inclusion, identifying potential problems, helping to disseminate information throughout the Roma community, supporting teaching staff, particularly through the use of the local community's language, identifying children and youths who might pursue careers as teachers or mediators themselves. Roma school mediators also support children directly, and liaise with the community on a variety of levels' (Open Society Institute, 2007, p. 383).

The Prefect:

The Government names a Prefect in each county and in Bucharest municipality. The Prefect represents the Government at the local level and it leads decentralised public services of Ministries and other central public administration. Between Prefects and Local Councils and Mayors there are no subordination rapports.

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the thesis. In particular, it includes the research problem, theoretical and practical/policy contexts, the empirical approach, a summary of gaps and implications, and motivation of the study. It closes with the structure of the thesis.

1.1. Research problem

The ethnic identity of Roma, often designated by the ethnonym "Gypsy" was and remains highly stigmatised in the Romanian society and Europe in general. The population referred to in this research is 'Roma' or 'Gypsy' which in Romania is a derogatory term. Their language is 'Romanes' or 'Romani', an Indo-Aryan language. They are the largest ethnic minority in Europe. A small number are travellers, but most of them migrate for economic reasons or because of their rejection by non-Roma population.

There are few written documents to substantiate their origins, although it is known that they came to Eastern Europe as slaves about 700 years ago. For 500 years Roma were exchanged as goods in the market, and their owner had full rights over them. The slavery period began in the 1300s and it ended due to the pressure made by the West in 1856. On 20th February 2015 the Roma celebrated 158 years since their release from slavery. After the abolition in 1856, there were no public policies to allow the Roma to take advantage of their rights as citizens, only a formal recognition without access to public resources: deeds and legal recognition. The fact that the Roma were not represented by leaders to negotiate their right, they adapted to be 'people without a state'.

The democratic regime installed in Romania in 1989 introduced new concepts, such as desegregation, human rights, non-discriminative attitudes, and self-determination. The Roma elite had the opportunity to highlight their issues and to promote Roma rights. But it is largely admitted that the vast majority continue to live at the margins of the society.

Poverty and social exclusion affect people everywhere, but particularly minority groups. For example, 52% of the Roma population live in extreme poverty and 75% in poverty (Soros Foundation, 2007, p. 8). In Eastern Europe Romas' life expectancy at birth is about ten years less than the majority population. They have higher rates of diabetes, coronary artery disease, obesity, and malnutrition, anaemia, dystrophy, and rickets among children (Schaaf, 2007, p. 13).

As the Roma population is the largest ethnic minority in Europe (European Commission, 2014), their need to overcome social exclusion is not new in social sciences. Recently, it has become a policy issue highly debated in the European Union. Although Romania was eligible for 19.7 billion Euros from the EU for 2007-2013, it is debated whether the country's government and companies were capable of developing the required projects and use these funds (EurActiv.ro, 2012). The EU acknowledges that the Roma population faces 'wicked issues' (Williams, 2002): complex social and economic problems. .

Yet progress is slow, the Roma population remains 'Europe's biggest societal problem' (The Economist, 2012):

> 'Discrimination and anti-Gypsyism persist. The results show that shift, effective action is needed, particularly to improve Roma's education. This is key to unlock their future potential, and it will equip young Roma with the skills they need to escape the vicious cycle of discrimination, exclusion, and poverty' (UNDP, 2012 cited in the Economist).

It is difficult to estimate if change in policy implementation really happened; it is even more difficult to measure it. Change in public administration is complex, as it is not clear the scale of change in policy implementation:

> 'The principal focus of change is the administrative culture as the traditional values, priorities, routines, and above all mindsets in public organisations are under pressure. The extent of change, however, remains unclear' (Melchor, 2008, p. 4).

Moreover, data about Romas population are scarce and unreliable; collecting ethnic data in considered illegal in Romania (Open Society Foundations, 2010). Also, high levels of bureaucracy made collecting data challenging. In an interview with the sociologist from a human rights organisation, she admitted that the Helsinki Committee has previously sued Romanian governmental institutions for not replying to official letters, which is mandatory.

This is why the necessity of this research arose, as it is tackling these issues using perspectives which have not been used before. It gives new insights into how Romania as an emergent economy, affected by uncertainty (Tracey and Phillips, 2011), implements health and education policies and 'gets things done' (Ibarra, 1992). This research focuses on those people who manage to 'bridge institutional distance' (Tracey and Phillips, 2011, p. 34); who have power and strategies to 'make things happen' (Huxham and Vangen, 2000), and to act as a bridge between Romas' needs in an uncertain environment and existing resources.

By relating this concept in the Romanian context, this research shows variables that have not been explored before such as social entrepreneurs' practice of forming either cliques or alliances, in order to get things done, which can lead to both positive and negative outcomes. This research also introduces a new term, 'bridging actors', defined as the most influential network members, part of two or more different sub-networks (governmental and non-governmental), who form and use cliques as a strategy to achieve network outcomes and to get things done in this complex setting. Social entrepreneurs (bridging actors) and cliques are key explanatory factors in Roma policy implementation.

Next, the academic and the practical contexts will be described.

1.2. The academic context of this research

This research will make use of two theories to explain how data were collected and analysed: receptivity towards change (Butler, 2003) and managing paradoxes (Ospina and Saz-Carranza, 2010).

Firstly, receptivity towards change (Butler, 2003) was used to frame the data collection. Receptivity describes factors that influence change (Pettigrew et al., 1992). Some organisations improve their services towards their citizens at a very slow pace; they seem to stagnate even when they are under social reforms. They follow the same patterns refusing to or not having the ability to evolve. Receptivity puts an emphasis on the context of the research. Contextualism is a valuable approach to analyse 'wicked issues' because it explores a variety of practices and it allows new organisational responses to emerge.

Secondly, Ospina and Saz-Carranza's (2010) framework was used to explain the results. These authors state that leaders develop practices as a result of two paradoxical requirements in network collaboration. In doing inward work, the main responses to paradox are: facilitate interaction, cultivate relationships, and promote openness. Doing outward work they focus on: managing credibility, multi-level working, and cultivating relationships (Vangen, 2012). This model is narrowing down the focus from networks, to highlight those particular network members who are the main drivers of change (Butler, 2003).

1.3. The practical context of this research

In the public sector there is a strong demand for organisations to work together in networks. These pressures vary from region to region (Goss, 2001). Theoretically sound and practically useful research on change should explore the context, content, and the process of change together with their interconnections over time (Pettigrew et al., 2001, p. 698). Different contexts explain variation in policy implementation (Butler, 2003), but also different cultures. Cultural approaches are important to analyse how to bring about social value. Previous research proposed to incorporate cultural methods to study social entrepreneurship (Dacin et al., 2011) and highlighted the role of culture in research (Spradley, 1980; Levinson and Asahi, 1995).

Governments are pushed to combine strategies to tackle social needs and raise standards in care (OECD, 2008). As complex social issues demand interdisciplinary intervention teams, they do not only concern public policy experts, but also organisational theorists and practitioners (Quinn and Hall, 1983). The Economist (2012) compares the living conditions of the Roma to those in deprived communities in Africa or India. It states that Roma in Eastern Europe are poorer than under communism (before 1989), where despite generalised poverty they had guaranteed work, housing, and welfare.

Despite all efforts made by national and international organisations, the Roma population still lives at the margins of society. The creation of networks meant to support Roma communities did not have the expected outcomes. Roma networks are unusually compared with settings typically studied in academic public management research because of the duality between old and new practices, either inherited from the communist regime or newly learnt. They provide a useful empirical setting by

showing a clear delimitation of practices and approaches among the cases, which have the merit of empirical generalizability of the results (Tsang, 2013).

As this thesis contains very rich data and references to various events and initiatives, Table 1 helps getting a better understanding of their chronology:

1989-2001	2001-2012
1989: Romania shifts from communism to democracy	2002: Roma Offices at county level are established
1992: The Ministry of Education introduces 'Affirmative Measures'	2002: School mediators are recognised in the Classification of Occupations in Romania (COR)
1998: The EU releases 'Regular Report from the Commission on Romania's progress towards Accession'	2007: Romania joins the EU
1998: Order 3577/1998 grants places for people of Roma origin in universities	2009: Health care system decentralization
2000: Romania has general elections;	2012: Introduction of 'The Strategy of the Romanian Government for the Inclusion of the Romanian Citizens belonging to Roma minority' (2012 - 2020)
2001: Introduction of 'The Governmental Strategy to Improve the Situation of the Roma' (2001 - 2011)	
2001: Introducing the programme 'The access to education of the disadvantaged groups, especially Roma'.	

Table 1: Summary of main events in Romania

Next, the gaps in the current knowledge will be presented, also the contributions and the implications of this research.

1.4. Summary of gaps in the current knowledge, contributions, and implications

In reviewing the literature, two main gaps were revealed: the role of cliques as a power-based group in implementing policies and the study of social entrepreneurs.

Firstly, there are different descriptions of cliques in the literature. Provan and Sebastian (1998) found that in delivering health services using a clique is more effective than a whole network, while the sociological perspective is that in society there are cliques formed by successful groups of upper-class people materialised in three overlapping cliques: industrial, retailing, and banking (Mills, 1956). What is different between these two ideas is that the former sees cliques as small collections of organisations inside a wider network that share links with each other (Provan and Sebastian, 1998), while the latter has added a politicised feature, where the clique is represented by an elite group of people, with high status. This suggests that when using cliques in public administration, it is important to combine both understandings of cliques: as structural and as power-based groups.

Secondly, analysing key actors who shape collaborative structures and practices as social or institutional entrepreneurs is highly debated in the literature (Dacin et al., 2011; Maguire et al., 2004; Tracey and Phillips, 2011). It complements the work on boundary spanners tackling 'wicked issues',

working through collaboration, partnership, and networking, while others are stuck in conventional organisations and ways of thinking (Williams, 2002; Levina and Vaast, 2005).

Salancik (1995) suggested narrowing down the focus from networks to certain network members to decrease the gap in the current literature relying on a 'descriptive and atheoretical stylized picture' (Dacin et al., 2011, p. 1025) of what people do. Equally important, additional methodical examination of new contexts is required to analyse the institutional entrepreneurs in their particular environment (Battilana et al., 2009).

This research makes two main contributions analysing cliques, as a practice not only as a structural matter and evaluating how entrepreneurs implement change in Roma networks.

Firstly, in this research, 'clique' is understood as a structural matter, but also as a practice. In existing public administration literature, the concept of clique relates to configuration; clique is a smaller network which evolves from whole networks. They have proved to be more effective in health service delivery than when using the whole network (Provan and Sebastian, 2008). Looking at this literature is relevant, as it points out the use of cliques in the context of policy implementation and delivery of services for citizens, as a means to implement policies. But these cliques are 'apolitical', which is not the case in the Romanian context.

Studying the Romanian context called for a wider conception of the term clique. Looking at cliques as related to power and elites – a perspective employed by sociologist C.W. Mills – brings a new facet of this issue. This way, the word clique is used in a critical way. Moreover, the outcomes of cliques differ. There are different responses when dealing with 'wicked issues' within the three cases, which show a variety of results to using either open alliances or closed cliques. Therefore, if we have a more discriminating view of cliques, we get a more refined definition, but we also get a better understanding of different types of cliques and their outcomes.

The new definition introduced for cliques is: groups of people from both governmental and non-governmental organisations, who are engaged with the clear purpose of achieving outcomes. Cliques are similar to partnerships or alliances, except that they build stronger and authoritarian relationships. They have stricter rules of who they will engage in collaboration with and who will stay out. They are openly controlled by clique leaders. Being a member of a clique is an advantage as it opens the way to opportunities which are not available to others.

The second contribution is linked to social entrepreneurs. This research combines divergent literature, showing the complexity of Roma social entrepreneurs in a specific context of implementing policies in an uncertain and challenging environment. By relating this concept in the Romanian context, this research shows variables that have not been explored before such as entrepreneurs' practice of forming either cliques or alliances, in order to get things done, which can lead to both positive and negative outcomes. This research also introduces a new term, 'bridging actors', defined as the most influential

network members, part of two or more different sub-networks (governmental and non-governmental), who form and use cliques as a strategy to achieve network outcomes and to get things done in this complex setting.

In contrast to Tracey and Phillips (2011), who define institutional entrepreneurs as 'individuals, small or large firms, or governmental or not-for-profit organizations' (p. 29), this research goes a step further by presenting the vital role of bridging actors as part of more than one network. The argument is that they are the main drivers of change because of their ability to get resources and access power from two different networks.

This research has two main practical implications. One regards combining different theories to capture new insights of the Roma policy implementation, while the second refers to analysing practices of bridging actors, who are the drivers of change in Roma networks.

Firstly, organisations involved in policy implementation ought to be aware of the policy framework for actions they finance and reasons for blockages in programme implementation. This knowledge exchange can provide more effective policy advice for governments. One opportunity for contribution is to investigate these issues using different perspectives, namely by looking at receptive contexts for change (Butler, 2003), the role of network structures (Knight and Pye, 2004), and how managers respond to paradoxes (Ospina and Saz-Carranza, 2010). In Romania, there are no studies associating the social exclusion determined by poor policy implementation for Romas with institutional receptivity towards change and network structures, by examining it in both governmental and non-governmental organisations, as responsible agents to implement public policies. This is why receptivity towards change is vital to explain variation in policy implementation and how policies are adapted to local contexts (Butler, 2003).

The implication for practice is a better understanding of policy implementation for policy makers and government by accurately locating tensions in the network and how social entrepreneurs respond to challenging situations. Moreover, the practical contribution is to understand and analyse in new ways Roma policy implementation practices using theories of organisational change and networks which have not been used before in this context. Additionally, case studies lead to a network picture that explains the rate of the implementation of social policies for the Roma population. Drawing these observations together, investigating the receptivity to implement social policies adapted to Roma culture will facilitate their social inclusion and will improve their well-being.

The second practical contribution regards bridging actors. Previously, it has been stated that even if their context is described as challenging, social entrepreneurs and boundary spanners ought to 'get things done' (Ibarra, 1992) and to fight uncertainty in emerging economies (Tracey and Phillips, 2011).

Practices adopted by bridging people are strongly connected to pushing the boundaries of policy implementation in the complex environment of Romania. For example, bridging people create relationships with people who will facilitate access to resources. In exchange, bridging actors recompense these with support during the election campaign. Roma network outcomes are down to those leading the cliques: whether or not their initiatives target the improvement of the Roma situation, or their initiatives are only a façade for their own businesses. Clique leaders deliberately access powerful positions and exploiting these which is different to 'making things happen' (Huxham and Vangen, 2000). This research is showing that cliques are not as well-ordered as existing literature points out. It brings about the contextual aspect and cultural environment.

The next section briefly summarises the motivation of the study. A more detailed explanation of how this study came about can be found in Appendix 1.

1.5. Motivation of the study

The choice to undertake this PhD is a result of my previous experience in education and employment, as a social worker and programme coordinator in Romania and academic in the UK. The experience acquired in the field has helped me significantly during my academic work, in particular in obtaining a clearer, systematic, contextual, and more objective understanding of how public policies are implemented. Collecting data is challenging, in particular in a network still marked by old bureaucratic practices. For this reason, the importance of being in a network showed its value because this way I had access to the majority of the people interviewed. Finally, this brought me closer to achieve the theoretical and practical contributions, because existing literature failed to explain adequately the Roma issue as a paradox, or 'wicked problem'.

1.6. The context of the Roma policies

The next section highlights the Romanian context. This step is necessary in order to ease the understanding of the next chapters describing the three case studies. It contains three main themes: 1. The role of the EU in elaborating public policies, 2. National level, with a focus on health and education programmes, 3. Governmental Strategies, and 4. General initiatives at the county level.

1.6.1. The role of the EU in elaborating public policies

This section will present the role of the EU as a regulator of public policies in EU member countries and outcomes from liaising with the EU. The EU acts as a regulator of public policies in EU member countries. The European Commission strongly encourages state members to recognise active citizenship as essential to social inclusion and Roma participation: 'Roma communities and representatives must be accorded the opportunity for participation in shaping the policies and initiatives that directly impact their lives' [Rorke, 2011, p. 7]. The EU and international human rights organisations reports highlighted that Roma communities required immediate support. For example, in the 1998 'Regular Report from the Commission on Romania's progress towards Accession' it was

emphasised that 'the discrimination against the Roma minority in Romania remains widespread' [EU, 1998, p. 12]:

> 'In the county report in 1998, Romania was told off. In the 2000 report again, it was told: 'you have to take responsibility for the Roma'. And then, they made the Strategy for Improving the Situation of the Roma' (Senior Councillor, Government).

As general elections were approaching (November 2000), the 2001 Strategy also became an election propaganda instrument. Admittance to the EU also contained the promise to help Roma communities: 'The thing was: 'I, the Romanian Government, take responsibility for Roma, but you include me in the EU, so we can sit at the table with those rich [people, organisations]' (Senior Councillor, Government).

Crafting the 2001 Strategy was one of the criteria for accession to the European Union. In 2007, when Romania joined the EU, it finished the pre-accession funds and structural funds[1] were made available. The Roma involved in policy implementation expected structural funds to improve the situation of the Roma considerably; however, the accession brought new challenges. Next, both positive and negative outcomes of the support of the EU will be described.

There are two main positive outcomes from liaising with the EU. The EU created the opportunity to raise awareness on Roma problems at the European level; Romanian NGOs became advocates for Roma communities. Also, the financial support from the EU helped the Romanian Government develop programmes for Roma.

The interest in Roma communities has remained high in recent years. An NGO worker believes that the major achievement for Roma is to admit and to discuss their problems at the European level: 'today in Brussels they discuss the Roma, something that was unthinkable 10-15 years ago. That is because of NGOs which have made great steps' (Programme Officer, NGO1). The role of non-governmental organisations in raising awareness of Roma communities and improving their situation was significant:

> 'Even if they did not have programmes to reduce poverty by 100% or even if the programmes that they made did not have a massive national impact, what Roma NGOs have done over time was to draw attention on discrimination and poverty of Roma communities' (Programme Officer, NGO1).

Funds were also used for training Roma school and health mediators. Many Roma women went to school and became mediators:

> 'They are school mediators, many are health mediators, and they went on courses. There are many girls who without this Phare programme they may never have been into a school. Indeed the life of many Roma women has changed' (Director, NGO7).

---

[1] The funds made available by the EU after accession are called structural funds. The sum allocated for 2007-2013 is the biggest investment yet granted by the EU through cohesion instruments to the sum of 308 billion Euros (in 2004 prices): '82% of the total amount will be concentrated on the "Convergence" objective, under which the poorest Member States and regions are eligible' (European Commission, 2012).

EU programmes targeting education had a significant impact on Roma children [Andreescu, 2004]. For example, in 2001, the project 'The access to education of the disadvantaged groups, especially Roma' had a budget of 8.33 million Euros; 7 million Euros represented funds provided through the Phare programme. The project targeted the improvement of quality of education for Roma 'by measures taken in the pre-school system; opening opportunities for pupils who are not attending school; editing books about intercultural education' [Andreescu, 2004, p. 15].

There are also three negative implications of the EU support for Roma communities in Romania: the mismanagement of large funds, the failure to access the European values and losing the Romani values (political and civil activism).

Though the financial support given by the EU was important, the projects progressed very slowly, forcing some organisations into bankruptcy:

> 'These projects are difficult to implement because there are big delays with the reimbursement, blockages, excessive bureaucracy, all these are barriers in the coherent implementation from top to bottom. Blockages appear; there are many organisations which went bankrupt, because they were big, strategic projects of 5 million Euros' (Programme coordinator, NGO14).

Because the projects were too large in comparison with qualified human resources, money brought about substantial managerial challenges for NGOs:

> 'There are NGOs which had budgets of maximum 500,000 Euros per year, which is huge for an NGO and they got to 20 million Euros. The managerial capacity should have been 100 times greater to be able to handle this project' (Executive Director, NGO16).

Requirements for these projects became stricter and more bureaucratic, making project implementation slower. Difficulties to absorb these funds can be seen in Roma communities; Roma remain one of the first and most affected groups, especially during economic crisis: 'Roma are still the most vulnerable and those the most affected by the crisis' (Public policies and advocacy senior adviser, NGO13).

Another issue discussed relates to culture and values. Integration in the EU means accessing its values. The implementation of programmes and strategies according to the EU standards did not take into consideration the EU[2] values. As the focus is on political aspects of what the EU membership represents, these values are rarely discussed:

> 'When they [values] are only on paper and people say they want [to be] in Europe, to travel freely, it means that you actually never access the EU's true values which are different, not necessarily the free movement. That's a right. Values are different' (Director, NGO7).

More importantly, in order to access these values it is important to accept the Roma culture and to reduce the prejudice against it:

---

[2] The EU is an organism in which members share common values, stated in the Treaty of the EU. Its motto is 'united in diversity'. Current debate on European identity focuses on the argument that a political community ought to be guided by a common set of values. The identity of the European Union has mainly been defined politically; the EU is established on 'the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law' (Article 6, TEU) (EurActiv.ro, 2012).

'...to truly internalise those European values. You can't develop the Roma if you think that they should eat French fries in the morning, or 75% of respondents do not want a Gypsy neighbour, just because it's a Gypsy' (Director, NGO7).

With regards to values, one respondent highlighted that Roma professionals in non-governmental organisations are motivated more by accessing big programmes with higher wages, than the 'Roma activism', the fight for poor communities. The respondent – who is also a priest in a community nearby in County 1 – said that EU funds increased workers' attention towards 'the world of the projects and finances…you don't know anything else than the project, that activism for the Roma is gone' (Programme coordinator, NGO14).

In public policy, there is a rising convergence between the human rights perspective and economic and social arguments: 'the costs of exclusion and discrimination take a heavy toll on social cohesion and that social inclusion is economically smart and ethically sound' [Rorke, 2011, p. 15]. The World Bank claims that 'the cost of educating Romania's Roma would be far exceeded by the contribution an educated Romani workforce would make to the national economy' [The Economist, 2010]. Roma inclusion ought to be valuable for non-Roma: 'the integration brings with it benefits for the entire society in terms of lower rates of welfare dependency and higher rates of production' [Rorke, 2011, p. 15].

Ross and Wu (1995) claim that education and health are closely linked. They have three explanations for the positive correlation between education and health. Firstly, work and economic factors: more educated people have more chances to be employed, leading to higher wages and less economic problems. Secondly, social and psychological factors: better educated people are more likely to 'have social-psychological resources, including a high sense of personal control and social support, in addition to economic resources' (Ross and Wu, 1995, p. 720). Thirdly, healthy lifestyle: more educated people lead healthier lifestyles – they exercise more, drink and smoke reasonably, and call for preventive medical care. Also, education is the most frequent tool to rate social economic status (Winkleby et al., 1992).

Adler and Ostrove (1999) add that inequality in education results in discrepancies in health, which has an immediate effect on quality of life; in addition, education gained influences health later on in life. Poverty and health are intimately linked: 'the more advantaged individuals are, the better their health' (Adler and Ostrove, 1999, p. 3).

The next section will look at the national level, focusing on the health and education of the Romanian Roma.

1.6.2. National level

Health is an important human right[3]. The World Health Organisation (2009) defines health as a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely absence of disease or infirmity. Health, poverty, and social exclusion are closely associated (Cattell, 2001; Santana, 2002). Santana (2002) suggests that close attention should be paid to how European countries are addressing the health issues of deprivation and social exclusion.

The history of the Roma population is important. This is why even Roma experts find it difficult to come up with solutions:

> 'In Romania, unfortunately, until 150 years ago, Roma were slaves … you don't have access to many things because you have an inferior social status. As there were no programmes to involve slaves, interventions are needed. Because it's an immense gap between the majority population and Roma; 'we don't have what to eat, nobody employs us, we are not educated enough'' (Executive Director, NGO16).

In Romania, the whole health system is in a continuous radical transformation. The crisis in the health care system started in the 1980s and worsened in the 1990s. In 1997, the reform on health insurance started, characterised by decentralisation and implementation of health insurance supported via contributions made by citizens. During this time, the health of the population deteriorated. The WHO and the EU claim that for the last 30 years Romania stagnated with regards to the health status of the population and the performance of the health sector (Romani CRISS, 2007, p. 14). Government initiatives at the national level included mainly training Roma health mediators and community nurses, and campaigns to inform, educate and raise awareness on health issues (ANR, 2012).

In 2008, discussions about decentralisation of the health care system started. Decentralisation took place between January and July 2009. Protocols were signed between local authorities and County Public Health Departments. Following the Government Emergency Ordinance no 162/2008, health mediators were employed by City Halls (Wamsiedel et al., 2011). Although the effort of the activist sub-network to support health mediators was significant, the decentralisation programme was not entirely successful. Their lack of clarity led to a smaller number of mediators. The transfer proved to be even more problematic due to Mayors who did not want to employ new workers. According to a 2011 study evaluating the Health Mediation Programme, City Halls have not been informed about how decentralisation will take place. Mayors wrongly assumed that mediators will be paid from City Halls' budgets (Briciu and Grigoras, 2011).

The number of health mediators is very low in comparison with existing needs: 'Romania has 430 mediators, an approximate Roma population of 1.5 million' [Rorke, 2011, p. 40]. Despite these challenges, a 2011 report stated that overall the programme is a success:

---

[3] The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights recognises 'the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health' (Art 12. 1).

'Romania has the longest running and most institutionalised Roma Health Mediation Programme in the world. The Romanian programme is characterised by strong leadership from a Roma NGO, and ongoing cooperation between this NGO and the Government of Romania. Excepting the last year, the programme has grown steadily with increasing numbers of the Roma health mediators trained and employed, and the degree of institutionalisation growing over time' (Open Society Foundations, 2011, pp. 51-2).

Education is another important human right. The ICESCR recognises the right to education of everyone[4]. Schools provide vital information on hygiene, nutrition, health and family planning. From 1992, the Ministry of Education introduced in universities a quota for Roma students as part of 'Affirmative Measures'[5]. To access these places, a written recommendation from the president of a Roma organisation was needed (Romani CRISS, 2012).

A 2005 study revealed that only 4.1% of the Roma have confidence in schools; the vast majority regard education with mistrust (Bleahu, 2006, p. 70). Traditional Roma communities value more practical activities such as community choirs, vocational education and early marriage, rather than education. Roma children face identity problems; they refuse to declare themselves as Roma. Only 10% of Roma children were interested in studying Romani language and Romani history in school. In addition, Roma children are segregated in mediocre schools (European Commission, 2006), with lower standards of education, poor physical infrastructure and quality of teaching.

In 1989-1990, 109,325 Roma students between 6 and 18 attended school, in comparison with 158,128 in 2002-2003: 'The number of Roma children attending school increased by 48,103 in the last 12 years, while the number of Romani-speaking children increased from 61,143 to 80,293' (Andreescu, 2004, p. 15). Educational programmes for Roma became more systematic in 1998, when new legislation, Order 3577/1998, granted 149 places for people of Roma origin in eight universities (Andreescu, 2004, p. 15). In the last 10 years, there has been an increase in the number of Roma university students. For 2010/2011, the state allocated 640 places for Roma students.

The proportion of Roma students is continuously increasing: 'the number of Roma students in universities was 0.1%, now it's close to 2%' (Country Director, NGO14). In 2010, most of the places available in high schools for Roma were taken up:

'90% of the places available for Roma have been filled. There were 15,320 places for the whole country, 640 for Roma, and 592 are occupied, especially in the technology fields' (School mediator, meeting Prefecture).

The milk and croissants served in schools through the 'Milk and Croissant' programme initiated by the Government in 2001 increases children's nutrition and health and it indirectly improves school performance.

---

[4] 'Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, ... education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups' (Art 13. 1).
[5] 'Affirmative measures' – temporary special measures taken to prevent or to balance the drawbacks suffered by a person, group or community due to discrimination and to empower them to participate to all aspects of the social life.

Training programmes for teachers to counterbalance the lack of continuing professional development were organised: Distance Learning in higher education institutions for Roma teachers who did not have a university degree, courses of Romani teaching, language and culture, Romani courses, methodology and teaching, counselling of Roma parents, intercultural education, and interethnic relations.

In 2002, the role of school mediator has been recognised in the Classification of Occupations in Romania (COR). Mediators have become key stakeholders in the educational projects financed by the Phare 2001 project 'Access to Education for Disadvantaged Groups, with a Special Focus on Roma'. In this project, mediators from 76 pilot schools in ten counties were selected. Around 200 school mediators were selected and trained during the implementation of Phare 2001 and 2003 (OSI, 2007, p. 383).

Some experts in education also point out the failures. Firstly, they claim that the situation is alarming, due to the lack of capacity to implement large programmes:

> 'The Affirmative Measures in education had a positive impact on the development, and the emancipation of the Roma. But it was not enough. After 20 years Roma still don't know how to take advantage of them. Many special places for Roma in high schools and universities remain unfilled. That is explained by the fact that, as we all know, Roma don't value education, they don't see that as a safe investment in the future' (Public policies and advocacy senior adviser, NGO13).

Moreover, statistical data made available by authorities and European agencies differ. Reports are inconclusive; those released by the government are more optimistic:

> 'The super-giant Phare programme was implemented; it was called the 'Access to Education of the Disadvantaged Groups'. ... You will be astounded to find that lately the number of school dropouts has increased. ...if you corroborate the data, the estimates of international institutions, and you will see with amazement that statistical data, a number of programmes, projects developed by these institutions in collaboration with the Romanian Government, show another reality' (Coordinator public policy, NGO7).

Various studies focused on school dropouts. In Romania, from 2001 to 2006, the primary school dropout rate has doubled, while for Roma children in year 5 - 8 dropout rate tripled.

> 'On average, children of Roma descent spend six and a half years in the formal education system, whereas the overall Romanian average is eleven years. In rural areas, all children are at risk of dropping out after year eight (at the age of 14-15)' (Hawke et al., 2008, p. 2).

The next sub-section describes the Governmental Strategies implemented by the Romanian public sector, because they are key public policy documents for Roma inclusion (OSI, 2007).

1.6.3. Governmental Strategies

The Governmental Strategy to Improve the Situation of the Roma (2001 – 2011)[6] was the first Romanian Strategy adopted in 2001 by the Romanian Government. It was a complex programme

---

[6] "Law 430 regarding the Strategy to improve Roma situation", published in Official Monitor of Romania (p. 9).

meant to change Romas' condition in different fields: 1. administration and community development, 2. housing, 3. social security, 4. healthcare, 5. economic situation, 6. justice, 7. child welfare, 8. education, 9. culture, 10. communication and citizen participation. It targeted six categories: 1. Roma citizens, 2. political leaders, 3. leaders of local and central public institutions, 4. civil servants, 5. mass-media, and 6. public.

Although the Strategy contained important measures, it had no methodology to implement them, only a 'General Plan' that made certain ministries responsible to accomplish the measures. Both the Strategy and the 'General Plan of measures' simply enumerated steps to be taken without other details. Funds were not allocated for its implementation. Instead, foreign support was offered: the pre-accession funds (Phare funds)[7] facilitated the implementation of measures in local infrastructure, education, and health. Phare was a pre-accession mechanism and a central channel for the EU to support financially and technically the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEECs).[8]

The creation of permanent jobs for Roma specialists is the most important achievement of the Strategy. The differences between the communities with Roma representatives and those without are significant (Preoteasa et al., 2009). These new jobs for Roma were: Roma experts in City Halls, Roma councillors in Prefectures, Roma health mediators in City Halls (in Public Health Department before decentralisation), Roma school mediators and Roma School Inspectors in School Inspectorates. The Strategy also introduced a number of local, regional, and national agencies. The Strategy had a structure to be used in implementing policies; it started from the national level (Inter-Ministry commissions in each Ministry), regional (Mixed Groups), and county level (county offices, local experts, and NGOs).

In 2002, Roma Offices at county level were established. All these network links are important: 'if in all this mechanism you have a weak link, you have a weak County Office, NGO, a very weak community which is not interested in what you are doing, then your whole Strategy is not working' (Programme coordinator, NGO7). Their purpose was to analyse and find solutions to Romas' issues, and to maintain contact with local authorities. In 2004, the National Agency for the Roma – a government department – was established to implement the Strategy, to evaluate the local or national programmes. The local authorities had little interest in meeting and planning activities until 2005, when their first meeting took place. Cabinet members also lacked the willingness to live up to their responsibilities.[9]

---

[7] Phare funds – a Programme of Community aid to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEECs). It was the main financial instrument of the pre-accession strategy for the countries which have applied to be members of the European Union. The Phare programme had a budget of over 10 billion Euros for the period 2000-2006. It focused on institutional and capacity-building and investment financing. Initially, the Phare programme was available for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe; next it was expanded to the candidate countries of the western Balkans (EU, 2012).

[8] Phare was a pre-accession mechanism and a central channel for the EU to support financially and technically the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEECs). The Phare programme focused on 'helping the administrations of the candidate countries to acquire the capacity to implement the Community acquis. Phare also helps national and regional administrations, as well as regulatory and supervisory bodies, in the candidate countries to familiarise themselves with Community objectives and procedures' (Europa, 2012).

[9] European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, Third Report on Romania, Adopted on 24 June 2005, Strasbourg, 21 February 2006, (p.30).

The second strategy is the Strategy of the Romanian Government for the Inclusion of the Romanian Citizens belonging to Roma minority (2012 - 2020). Its objectives are:

- Increase the education level and qualifications of the Romanian citizens of Roma ethnicity; acquiring skills and competencies for life and society, through an increase of the investments in formal and informal education.
- Increase the employment rate of Roma.
- Decrease poverty and increase social inclusion of Roma.
- Reduce discrimination affecting Roma.

It is directed towards six categories: 1. Romanian citizens – people of Roma ethnicity who are facing marginalisation and social exclusion, 2. Romanian citizens, 3. Local and central public institutions, 4. Local and national decision making agencies, and 5. Civil society.

1.6.4. County level: general initiatives

The next sub-section presents how initiatives were implemented at the county level. It shows how the health decentralisation was implemented, which were the key projects implemented locally.

Firstly, in County 1, the most important governmental initiative in health was decentralisation. Its objective was to increase quality of life and to give equal access to basic healthcare. Firstly, it aimed to increase efficiency and to reduce bureaucracy through a clear delimitation of the responsibilities of the central and local institutions. Secondly, it was meant to enhance the role of the county public administration in developing and implementing programmes in public health according to the needs of the community. However, it did not have a monitoring mechanism to evaluate the development of these programmes and to generate reports to disseminate this progress.

In County 1, decentralisation was not entirely successful also because the local authority staff were not trained to employ the mediators: 'the local authority was not methodologically and practically prepared to implement this public health policy' (President, NGO10).

In education, Government initiatives implemented at the local level include: the 'Second chance' programme, special places for Roma students in schools, support for children coming from poor families, the 'Milk and Croissant' programme, and extracurricular activities.

The 'Second chance' programme was initiated by the governmental sub-network and implemented by the administrative sub-network through school mediators. At School number 95, pupils aged between 11 and 57 years old had started literacy courses or continued from the level when they dropped out of school.

The initiative of allocating places for Roma pupils in schools was adopted by the governmental sub-network. School mediators' role was to recruit and to guide pupils towards schools and universities where places for Roma were allocated. The number of Roma students increased annually.

Although a variety of programmes were implemented by the Roma network, their effectiveness is debateable. Many Roma students quit school or fail to reach graduation: 'Pretty much every year there are some vacant [places]..., they don't continue with high school, university' (Roma councillor, Prefecture).

Another initiative aimed to help children coming from poor families because poverty is the main cause of school dropouts. Roma children are four times more likely to be affected by poverty than the general population: 'In 2007, almost 21% of the Roma population below the age of 40 had not accessed any level of education (compared to 0.8% of the non-Roma population)' (NGO14, 2012).

This support usually consists of school materials, clothes, and food given through various projects by organisations, schools, and City Halls. It helps Roma children to continue their education and it also increases social solidarity and tolerance:

> 'There are all sorts of projects implemented by City Halls, NGOs, the School Inspectorate, which gives them supplies, clothes, only to go [to school]. This is the aim: [children] to go to school, not to drop out, to have a family doctor, to take care of their health' (Roma councillor, Prefecture).

Programmes for strengthening the education system were patchy. An NGO Director from an organisation focused on improving education of Roma children stated that: 'These programmes have targeted only certain schools, not all the schools, and we don't have a very clear picture of Roma children in school' (Director, NGO7). Moreover, the situation of illiteracy and school dropouts is complex; different approaches for different types of children should be considered:

> 'Children fall into three categories: a category that did not go to school at all, a category that has been to school and it had to abandon because either they moved or their homes were claimed and they had to leave the area, a parent went to prison, or they separated and they had to move it from the location where they lived at another address and then automatically the school too. Another category were 'problem children' who had been expelled due to their conduct, juvenile delinquency' (President, NGO8).

Overall, education of Roma improved. Significant changes were brought by Roma school mediators and by the implemented programmes. However, some challenges remained due to poverty, culture, lack of efficient implementation or absorptive capacity. As some respondents stated, there are indecisive data regarding education, e.g. some reports show an increase of Roma students, while others emphasise that Roma children still have little access to education.

Secondly, in County 2, two initiatives of the activist sub-network in health will be underlined here: 'Support centre and monitoring of the health mediators in County 2 and other four counties' and 'Continuous training of the health mediators in County 2 and other four counties'. Between 2007 and 2010, the health mediators were supported, monitored, and evaluated: 'We had local projects, with Romani CRISS in County 1, regarding the health mediators. We monitored the work of the health mediators in five counties' (President, NGO25).

In County 2, the general initiatives implemented by the local governmental and administrative sub-networks were: Health Mediation Programme, vaccination campaigns, and health decentralisation. 'The week of immunisation' is a campaign of the governmental sub-network implemented at the local level annually in April by the Health Department. It promotes immunisation and targets Roma in poor communities. Other immunisation campaigns are organised on particular occasions: after floods or when the risk of hepatitis increases. In poor communities, the water excess stagnates, becoming a source of infections.

With regards to education, in County 2 a big concern is the low level of education and poor professional training, which leads to poor employment access, lack of jobs, and low access to employment (Preoteasa et al., 2009). A school mediator claims that Roma parents allocate little time to helping their children with homework; they do not value education:

> 'They don't look at education as an investment in the future also due to the fact that results are not immediate; meaning that they attend school for one, two, three years while from tomorrow, or a day after tomorrow they can get a job. They fight for a daily job' (School mediator, County 2).

In education, there are initiatives taken by the governmental sub-network which are similar throughout the country as they are implemented nationally: 'Access to Education of the Disadvantaged Groups', the 'Second chance' programme, desegregation[10] measures, the 'Strategy of the School Inspectorate in County 2, to improve the access to education of the disadvantaged groups'.

The Schools Inspectorate implemented numerous programmes with funds from the European Union. One of them is 'The Access to Education of the Disadvantaged Groups 2002 - 2004'. Through this programme, with a budget of 8.33 million Euros (7 million Euros from the EU and 1.33 million Euros from the Romanian government) the Schools Inspectorate tried to put in practice mechanisms to improve access to education. It focused on increasing the quality of education in pre-schools, stimulating children to finish compulsory education, and giving a second chance to those who abandoned school.

The aim of the 'Second chance' programme was to give another opportunity for education to those from disadvantaged categories (Ministry of Education, 2012): 'Regardless the age of the adult, they can continue the studies; they can start the 1st grade' (School mediator, County 2).

In 2005, the Schools Inspectorate in County 2 also initiated desegregation measures. Its objectives were to develop community awareness, to change the attitudes towards the Roma community, to increase the trust in education for Roma children, and to educate Roma parents to encourage their children to access higher education.

Finally, another initiative was 'The Strategy of the School Inspectorate in County 2', started and implemented by that Inspectorate between 2009 and 2012. Its aims were to improve access to

---

[10] The process of bringing students of different ethnic or racial groups into the same school.

education of disadvantaged groups, to eradicate school dropouts from compulsory education, and to incorporate all children with special needs and from vulnerable groups into special schools or the mainstream, respectively.

Thirdly, in County 3, the general initiatives in health taken by the governmental sub-network and applied at the local level were: the Health Mediation Programme, vaccination campaigns, and health decentralisation. Health mediators had an instrumental role in encouraging Roma to vaccinate their children.

Initiatives taken by the governmental sub-network in education were similar to the rest of the country: allocated places for Roma students, teaching in the Romani language, desegregation measures, 'Revised Strategy at the County 3 County level to ensure the access to education of the disadvantaged groups, focus on the Roma 2004 – 2007'. However, in County 3, one respondent argued against the policy of allocating special places for Roma:

> 'The seats assigned by universities to Roma do nothing but to discourage the other ethnic groups. This policy will not attain its aim as the Roma ethnic group is not homogeneous but heterogeneous, made of more classes. Every class has its privileged and non-privileged citizens' (Sociology lecturer, University, County 3).

In Romania there are other ethnic groups who would argue that all other ethnic groups deserve to have equal opportunities and rights:

> 'What happens when for this seat a Romani citizen competes, who passes the exam with a 5 and a Lipovan 11 who fails the exam with a 7? Both persons have the same linguistic difficulties and we may well find among these two ethnic groups social structures equally poor. Or, if we want to operate a positive discrimination, we should do that for all ethnic minorities: Lipovans, Russians, Greeks, Tartars, Muslims' (Sociology lecturer, University).

An important initiative in education is teaching in the Romani language. This way language is preserved and the self-esteem of students is increased, while decreasing the number of Roma who hide their ethnicity. Another significant initiative was targeting school desegregation. Some projects failed to take into consideration the geographical aspect: it is difficult to desegregate children when the distance from school to home is very far. Desegregation experts ought to consider that Roma parents cannot take their children to school if they need to travel such a long distance:

> 'They are five kilometres away from the other school. How will you convince parents to take their child to a school that is five kilometres away from home? We have invented words and structures that are in fact doing more harm to the Roma community' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

The desegregation concept needs to be applied considering the local context. In smaller localities the transport to school is more convenient. In Locality 8, however, the Roma expert together with the School Inspectorate decided to mix Roma children from kindergarten with children from another school:

---

[11] The Romanian system has grades from 1 to 10. For a pass students need a 5.

'At school No 7, with all Roma children, we closed the kindergarten, because it was segregation. And with the Director from the Kindergarten No 12, we took the children from school No 7, and according to their age we put two kids, three kids with the majority, to learn Romanian, so they can understand at school when they go and the teacher talks' (Roma expert, Locality8).

In County 3, the Schools Inspectorate implemented 'The Revised Strategy at the County 3 level to ensure the access to education of the disadvantaged groups, focus on the Roma 2004 – 2007'. Five main issues were targeted. Firstly, through this Strategy, the Inspectorate planned to include Roma children in the school system and to bring back those who abandoned school. Secondly, it tried to involve parents in the elaboration of a local curriculum which promotes inter-culture. Thirdly, it planned to engage the community in the school environment and the school in the community. Fourthly, it aimed to disseminate best practices from the five schools which had pilot projects. Finally, it focused on the initiation and implementation of projects targeting the education of adults (County School Inspectorate, 2012).

The previous section described the general initiatives for all case studies implemented at the national level. The next section presents the particular cases in detail. The table below summarises the initiatives for the activist and the governmental sub-networks. It does not include the administrative sub-network because they are not initiators but implementers who complete the initiatives.

County	Activist sub-network	Governmental sub-network
County 1	Health Mediation Programme School Mediation Programme Early development programmes	Creating their own strategy
County 2	Lobby Church Empowering people to set up associations Special places schools	Research
County 3	Day centres Religion Leisure activities Women Profession Issue documents Pensions, war, Holocaust incentives	Implementing national programmes at the local level

Table 2: Local initiatives in the three counties

1.7. Structure of thesis

This thesis is organised into eight chapters. It contains the following structure:

Chapter 1 is the introduction: highlighting the research problem, the origins of the Roma population, the academic context – the theories used to collect and explain the data, practical/policy context, a summary of findings gaps and contributions and implications - analysing cliques, as a practice not only as a structural matter and evaluating how entrepreneurs implement change in Roma networks. This chapter is also presenting the outer context of the Roma: the role of the EU in elaborating Roma policies, the national level initiatives, the Governmental Strategies, and the general initiatives at the county level. Finally, it presents a brief summary of the motivation of the study.

Chapter 2 represents the literature review. It contains three sections. The first section focuses on networks. In particular, it analyses different approaches to look at networks: as a logic of organising, as a perspective, and as a unit of analysis. The second part of the literature review tackles cliques: defining cliques, clique structure, clique dynamics, and clique outcome. The final section assesses institutional and social entrepreneurs. It also looks at collaborative processes and managing paradoxes.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology. It includes the philosophical aspects behind the research choices, but also practical features e.g. data collection (sampling, interviewees, data collected, crafting the qualitative instrument, and challenges when collecting the data). It comprises the data analysis (using NVivo, emergence of codes, categories and themes, combining data analysis and data collection, and challenging analysing the data). Then, it highlights ethical concerns, triangulation, validity, reliability, generalisation, and testing the findings.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 describe the case studies. The level of analysis is the county. Each case study has two main sections: 1. organisational context: narrative of policy implementation and 2. organisational action: the process of policy implementation. In particular, this second part of the case studies includes network structures and network receptivity (bridging people, cliques, and managing paradoxes inside and outside the network). Chapter 6 finishes with a descriptive comparison of the three networks.

Chapter 7 comprises the cross-comparison between the three cases. At this point, the research moves towards the theoretical contributions, clarifying similarities and differences between networks. The emphasis is on comparing networks, bridging actors, cliques and alliances, and managing paradoxes.

Chapter 8 presents 'Discussion and conclusion'. It answers the research questions, the theoretical and practical contributions, limitations and further steps to continue this research. It addresses the implications for policy makers, Roma people and academics.

CHAPTER 2: Literature review

In order to allow better understanding and theorisation of the Roma policy context, the previous chapter presented the theoretical background of the thesis; it identified literature gaps and summarised the theoretical and practical implications. It also presented the motivation of the study. The main aim of this chapter is to provide a critical review of existing organisational studies theory and knowledge relevant to the present research. It also introduces the research questions and it closes with a summary of the literature assessment.

The literature review focuses on three network approaches to show the variety of analysing networks. Here, a close look is taken at their implications. To begin with, networks as a 'logic of organising' is assessed: working in networks leads to better outcomes than working in isolation. In particular, strategic alliances, policy networks, and coalitions are analysed. They play a big role in policy implementation. Consequently, these perspectives are defined and analysed.

Additionally, networks as an analytic approach are revised, including a review of the literature on network learning outcomes and network effectiveness. This research looks at how Roma networks implement policies in three settings. Therefore, it looks at network effectiveness and network learning outcomes in three specific contexts or Romanian counties. In public administration money is spent through networks of people with various roles, practices, and skills; there is a strong demand to create effective networks. These differences between Roma networks are contrasted and compared, to get a rich description of their (perceived) effectiveness while looking at network structures (Knight and Pye, 2004).

Lastly, networks as a unit of analysis are examined. Here, the researcher is assessing whole networks, the focus is on theorisation of whole networks and on the use of whole networks in social services by policy makers in order to capture the use of whole networks in practice. The second section of the literature review looks at networks within networks, mainly it is focusing on cliques. That is, because cliques proved to be more effective than whole networks (Provan and Sebastian, 1998). Similarly, forming cliques plays a big role in analysing changes in the Roma network.

The final section of the literature assesses institutional and social entrepreneurs. In networks these entrepreneurs set up the pace of change through their initiatives and practices. Different types of social or institutional entrepreneurs are reviewed. Then, collaborative processes in inter-organisational collaboration are reviewed, in particular the dynamics between inter-organisational collaborations in solving social problems and effects of collaborations in practice (Huxham and Vangen, 2000). This chapter finishes with a section on managing paradoxes. It provides different definitions of paradoxes and it looks at how leaders of successful networks manage collaborations.

2.1. Working through networks

This section focuses on networks, reviewing three main perspectives. It attempts to highlight a variety of approaches used by authors when analysing networks. Firstly, networks as a 'logic of organising' are assessed: working in networks leads to better outcomes than working in isolation. Furthermore, networks as an analytic approach are revised, including here a review of the literature on network learning outcomes and network effectiveness. Finally, networks as a unit of analysis are examined: whole networks, cliques, and entrepreneurs, in order to get a full picture of networks by considering different levels of analysis (Knight and Pye, 2011).

Next, different definitions and types of networks will be reviewed, in particular strategic alliances, policy networks, and coalitions. These networks are important in the context of Roma policy implementation where networks are used to implement Roma policies.

2.1.1. Networks as a logic of organising

The first perspective of networks is as a 'logic of organising'; meaning that working in networks (mandated or voluntary) is better than working alone. Studies rarely describe how networks have begun (Gulati and Gargiulo, 1999): 'Partner selection is critical to network theory, as it is a fundamental driver of network stability and change' (Beckman et al., 2004, p. 259). It is important to investigate those collaborations and alliances initiated with a clear purpose and to observe the connection between the reason of their initiation and the type of interaction among network members.

According to the type of creation, a network can be mandated or voluntary. 'Voluntary networks' are created bottom-up by the professionals and organisations that will participate in the network, whereas 'mandated networks' are created by policy dictate, typically by a government agency (Kenis and Provan, 2009, p. 449).

One relevant example is in the Romanian public administration, where Roma 'wicked issues' ought to be tackled by Roma networks of organisations and people. Here, administrative and governmental sub-networks were introduced by the Romanian government, as a tool to implement Roma policies, in particular the governmental strategies. Other types of networks – the activist sub-networks – emerged bottom up. These networks are formed mostly by human rights activists and academics. They often join their forces by writing legislative proposals, lobbying, and raising awareness on needs of Roma communities.

Particularly bottom up created networks cultivate effective control processes to monitor and regulate their performance. Research is only at the beginning and it needs more studies to develop and confirm these ideas (Raab and Kenis, 2009): 'collectivities can only be successful if collective goods are produced that form an infrastructure that can be used for individual and collective purposes' (Raab and Kenis, 2009, p. 207).

Networks form because problems cannot be solved by a single organisation. There are few small local governmental services with effective service delivery. It is difficult to synchronise many departments and providers of services because of the instable work environment in governmental institutions (Hartley, 2002). As networks are difficult to measure, they have been regarded as 'a metaphor, a conceptual scheme, or a management technique: networking' (Milward and Provan, 1998, p. 387). For example, 'bright networks' (Raab and Milward, 2003, p. 419) are legal and overt forms of governance generating benefits and not harming people.

Although networks can also have a damaging influence on some members and outsiders, obstructing them from productive associations, preventing them from founding effective partnerships, and acting as a restraint (Gulati et al., 2000), so far, researchers have ignored the study of networks engaged in illegal activities. Raab and Milward (2003) emphasise that 'collaboration is not always for laudable purposes' (p. 416) and define 'dark networks' as illegal networks, with activities that are both covert and illegal.

Huxham and Vangen (2005) describe the tension between 'the spirit of collaboration' and 'collaborative thuggery'. They use the term thuggery to highlight the extreme type of collaboration which is not based on partnership. They admit that leading in 'the spirit of collaboration' implies a democratic leadership form based on respect and approachability. Also, that 'a democratic leadership style does not necessarily include most of the activities that are key to leading a collaboration' (p. 213). Likewise, leading in the spirit of thuggery does not imply an autocratic behaviour where partnership managers participate in determining the actions to be pursued by others. But, it suggests that the absence of traditional hierarchy between those who lead and are led 'does not allow formally for autocratic decision making and the use of legitimate power, so alternative means have to be applied' (p. 213).

Next, three types of networks will be analysed: strategic alliances, policy networks, and coalitions. These are formed with a clear purpose of implementing programmes or policies. First, a strategic alliance represents a 'voluntary cooperation in which organisations combine resources to cope with the uncertainty created by environmental forces beyond their direct control' (Gulati and Gargiulo, 1999, p. 1441). It is 'an organised group engaging in collective action' (Knight, 2002, p. 431) more interconnected and purposive than a usual network. By negotiation, organisations agree on resources they will contribute with and common plans.

As opposed to strategic alliances and networks, where members have clear purposes, there are networks where members are not aware that they are part of a network. Boundaries are imposed based on their particular needs. The essence of the relation is interconnectedness, not necessarily dynamic partnership for collective action. These networks can be analysed as a unit by analysts, researchers, and evaluators (Knight, 2002).

'Cooperative alliances' (Provan and Milward, 1995, p. 1) are created in order to increase competitiveness and effectiveness. They represent an outcome of 'a longitudinal dynamic' where action and structure are closely tangled (Raab, 2002, p. 581):

> 'These decisions usually have utilitarian motives (to gain access to resources). While the results of the research on policy networks presented here confirm that the development of governance systems is based on an interplay of structure and agency, it is argued that it is especially institutional factors (not only utilitarian motives) that let actors in policy networks establish multiple (horizontal) linkages' (Raab, 2002, p. 581).

Strategic alliances can face challenges frequently leading to poor results (Larsson et al., 1998). Success or failure in strategic alliances depends on how partners handle the collective learning process (Larsson et al., 1998). Moreover, 'networks' ability to learn inter-organisationally becomes critical, especially in relation to 'wicked problems' with chronic policy failure' (Ferlie et al., 2011, p. 309). Poor decision-making in networks negatively influences health, safety, education, lifespan, and happiness (Putnam, 2007).

Secondly, policy networks define relationships between independent actors as part of the public policy making process. Both governmental and non-governmental organisations intervene. Network members are interdependent because they need each other's resources to reach their objectives. Resources and information are exchanged thorough repeated interactions which 'develop formalised rules' (Kickert et al., 1999, p. 6):

> 'The structure of public sector collaborations is often externally imposed by policy makers or funders rather than determined explicitly by the collaborations' initiators or members. The extent to which these imposed structures are intrusive to a partnership rather than only part of its contextual environment varies greatly' (Huxham and Vangen, 2000, p. 1166).

When policy problems arise, organisations gather in policy networks. Complex policies entail networked structures for implementation (O'Toole, 1997). In delivering social services for local communities, incorporation and synchronisation of organisational providers into 'service-delivery networks' is crucial (Provan and Milward, 2001, p. 414).

Legal boundaries can be established between institutions and organisations, or at the macro level, between public and non-profit organisations:

> 'Organisations are linked to environments by federations, associations, customer-supplier relationships, competitive relationships, and a social-legal apparatus defining and controlling the nature and limits of these relationships' (Pfeffer and Salancik, 2003, p. 2).

Boundaries can be between those in the public and non-profit sector. Quinn and Hall (1983) argue that these organisations have similar resource acquisition patterns and purposes, to accomplish independence and control over their actions. Denhardt et al. (2012) state that certain public sector organisations remain bureaucratic, a system of rational rules and procedures, with structured hierarchies and a formalised decision-making process. Billis and Glennerster (1998) looked at

'whether human service organisations in the voluntary sector possess characteristics which might assure them of possible comparative advantages over the for-profit and public sectors with respect to certain sorts of users' (p. 79). Characteristic structural traits of organisations (e.g. ownership, stakeholders and resources) incline them to respond differently and sympathetically to diverse states of 'disadvantage' experienced by their users.

State institutions hand over funds to some social services to community organisations or NGOs (Huxham and Vangen, 1996). However, members of small NGOs can feel unprotected, when cooperating with legal agencies or bigger NGOs: 'the power to dictate what the collaboration does is often felt to be in the hands of those who hold the purse strings' (Huxham and Vangen, 1996, pp. 13-4). In these conditions tensions arise:

> 'Collaborations involving voluntary organisations are relatively unusual compared to collaborations of public or private sector organisations in the sense that the balance of financial resource that is available may be very uneven' (Huxham and Vangen, 1996, pp. 13-4).

A different opinion is stated by Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff (2002) who suggest that the collaboration between government and non-profit started as a consequence of governmental, voluntary, or political failure in implementing policies. Therefore, non-profits reduce the mismatches within the public sector in service provision:

> 'While a public agency may provide funding for the collaborative initiative and perhaps professional expertise, the role of a small community group in the collaboration may be to provide essential expertise in the form of local knowledge' (Huxham and Vangen, 1996, pp. 13-14).

The third term used to explain networks as a form of organising is coalitions. Again, there are different perspectives in which coalitions are analysed. Three main issues are discussed here: government coalitions, advocacy coalition, and community coalitions. These three types of collaborations are also observed in the Romanian context. Here, the Roma network comprises governmental, administrative and activist members, part of the governmental, administrative, and activist sub-networks, respectively. First, these three types of coalitions will be summarised, then the factors that make coalitions effective will be presented.

The traditional governance system has been replaced with the novel 'networked governance', where governments, the private sector, and civil society organisations work together (Streck, 2002, p. 1). Streck (2002) believes that only this type of governance can close the gaps between needs and results. But, although government coalitions have been common across Central and East European countries since 1989, there have not been many attempts for cross-national comparative assessment. Government coalitions in post-communist countries remain underexplored. One key question is how much coalitions 'contribute to democratic consolidation through evolving elite behaviour and what effects, if any, this has on support for democratic norms at the mass level' (Pridham, 2002, p. 75):

> 'Coalition behaviour in new democracies is an unexplored area of investigation despite much rich material in post-communist Central and Eastern Europe. Established coalition theory is relevant to such research, but it needs to adapt to special problems found in new regimes undergoing transition and not yet consolidated' (Pridham, 2002, p. 75).

This is particularly important in Romania where the government is often accused of lack of transparency. According to Transparency International – the global coalition against corruption – Romania has the lowest transparency in the EU (The Economist, 2008).

This is why advocacy coalitions are important in emerging economies like Romania. Although in the research they are referred to as an 'activist sub-network', they represent people and NGOs which join their resources to help communities. They particularly use advocacy and lobby for Romas' economic, social and civil rights.

Kübler (2001) uses the advocacy coalition framework (ACF) to explain the process of policy change. Advocacy coalitions are 'people from various governmental and private organizations who share a set of normative and causal beliefs and engage in a nontrivial degree of co-ordinated activity over time' (Kübler, 2001, p. 625).

Similar with advocacy coalitions, community coalitions are structures meant to help communities in need. Community coalitions are especially popular when promoting health at the local level (Zakocs and Edwards, 2006, p. 351). Butterfoss et al. (1993) agree that:

> 'The development of coalitions of community agencies, institutions and concerned citizens to combat chronic health conditions is gaining popularity as an intervention aimed at strengthening the social fabric' (p. 315).

Analogous with these coalitions, as the empirical chapter will show, in Romania, some community coalitions have emerged to help Roma communities with their housing issues.

As 'inter-organizational, cooperative, and synergistic working alliances' (Zakocs and Edwards, 2006, p. 351), community coalitions usually include local government officials, non-profit agencies and business leaders, and citizens who gather in formal, organised ways. The community coalition model relates to values of democracy while empowering citizens to find solutions to their own problems and promoting collaboration among multiple shareholders to jointly tackle complex health problems that could not be addressed by a sole individual or organisation.

Moreover, community coalitions are fertile prospects for involving communities in research: 'community members work in partnerships with researchers to collectively define local problems, identify and implement solutions to them, and evaluate their impacts' (Zakocs and Edwards, 2006, p. 351).

It remains unclear what makes coalitions effective. Zakocs and Edwards (2006) identified coalition building factors related to indicators of coalition effectiveness through a review of the empirical literature. They studied the relationships amongst coalition-building factors and reviewing indicators

of coalition effectiveness. Particularly indicators of coalition effectiveness were assessed: coalition functioning and community wide changes (Zakocs and Edwards, 2006, p. 351). They concluded that six coalition-building factors enhance various indicators of coalition effectiveness:

> 'Coalitions that enact formal governance procedures, encourage strong leadership, foster active participation of members, cultivate diverse memberships, promote collaborations among member agencies, and facilitate group cohesion may be more effective' (Zakocs and Edwards, 2006, pp. 357-8).

In another study, analysing 80 articles, chapters, and practitioners' guides focused on collaboration and coalition functioning, Foster-Fishman et al. (2001) looked at the main skills and processes necessary within collaborative organisations to facilitate their efficiency. They described four critical levels of collaborative capacity and strategies for building each type: member capacity, relational capacity, organizational capacity, and programmatic capacity (p. 241). They concluded that:

> 'By enhancing community member competencies, building new relationships, strengthening intracoalition operations, and promoting the design and implementation of effective community-based programs, coalitions can develop the collaborative capacity needed to succeed' (Foster-Fishman et al., 2001, p. 257).

Finally, drawing from interviews with 21 public relations executives, Berger (2005) analysed the dominant coalition, while revealing its complex power relationships. He also discovered 'a matrix of constraints that undermine and limit the function, rendering it difficult for practitioners to do the "right" thing, even if they want to' (p. 5). Berger's (2005) belief is that for public relations to better serve society, professionals and academics ought to embrace an activist role and 'combine advocacy of shared power with activism in the interest of shared power' (p. 5).

The second angle of reviewing networks looks at networks as an analytic perspective, in particular achieving network learning outcomes. This perspective includes the structural view of networks, focusing on agency, process, and politics (Knight and Pye, 2011). These issues are closely linked with Romania, where despite the funds invested already and there are claims of little efficiency. Reports also show that in some counties Roma networks were not properly created and did not work.

2.1.2. Network as an analytic perspective

Networks are studied in organisational theory and behaviour, strategic management, business studies, healthcare, public administration, sociology, communications, computer science, physics, and psychology (Provan et al., 2007). Looking at networks from an analytical perspective, issues are no longer seen as being dealt with by a central figure who delegates to others, but by 'a plurality of actors' with various agendas, visions, skills, training, and resources (Koenig-Archibugi, 2003, p. 319 quoted by Kennett, 2010). The representation of 'atomistic actors' (Gulati et al., 2000, p. 203) disputing profits among themselves has been gradually replaced by complex networks with horizontal and vertical relationships.

Creating an effective network is not a 'natural or social given', but it requires a sustained effort where individuals 'produce and reproduce lasting, useful relationships that can secure material or symbolic profits' (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 51). Different types of networks have various types of interactions. For example, Knight (2002) distinguished four categories. First, the intra-organisational network represents the network formed by small units within one organisation (Knight, 2002). Second, networks can be adaptable and versatile, with numerous and significant vertical, horizontal and spatial ties (Knight, 2002). Being part of a group or network translates into an interchange of generated knowledge (Inkpen and Tsang, 2005) and network connections facilitate access to resources. Social capital is an important source of information, 'who you know' determines 'what you know' (Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998).

Third, organisations can form strategic networks, 'legally autonomous organisations with high levels of interdependence and cooperative working' (Knight, 2002, p. 430). Behind forming strategic alliances lies the interdependence; they are deliberate 'cooperative inter-organisational ties' (Gulati and Gargiulo, 1999, p. 1443). Strategic alliances expand their joint knowledge by building and changing their 'inter-organisational environment, working rules, and options' (Larsson et al., 1998, p. 287).

Fourth, there are networks with good relationships between organisations connected by geographical proximity, common agendas, practices, and services (Knight, 2002). Sasovova et al. (2010) state that sometimes the connectivity of a network seems to be constant. Stability is a facade for unfolding changes and modifications in the links between network members. The source of these network dynamics helps comprehend how network structures preserve their stability when network ties change. These changes are natural. In time, members connect with new people; either linking them with previous partners or keeping them separate (Sasovova et al., 2010).

This section discusses two main issues: network effectiveness and network learning. It also analyses how they relate to this research. The question 'why some networks are more effective than others?' has remained (Provan and Sebastian, 1998). Provan et al. (2007) claim that network type influences behaviours and outcomes of the network: 'ultimately, effectiveness will mean different things to each network and to each sector in which a network exists' (Provan et al., 2007, p. 505). Therefore, it is more beneficial to consider network learning outcomes while looking at progress and capability, instead of performance. Analysing changes in performance is problematic because 'performance expectations and approaches to evaluation change over time' (Knight and Pye, 2004, p. 485).

Provan and Milward's (1995) research – describing four mental health networks – is one of the first efforts to analyse effectiveness. Few researchers are confident to analyse networks in health and human services, because these networks deliver services to vulnerable groups of people and they are regularly subsidised by a third party or the government: 'Organisations in this sector may need to be responsive to collective indicators of effectiveness' (Provan et al., 2007, p. 505).

Network learning is closely connected to network effectiveness (Provan et al., 2007): 'Without learning and evolution, the network may fail' (Provan et al., 2007, p. 506). Underlining the link between learning and change, Knight and Pye (2004) explain network learning and change using narrative or descriptions of numerous changes: 'Learning is inevitably associated, but not synonymous, with change' (Knight and Pye, 2004, p. 486). However, if learning is a main process in comprehending practice in organisations, then learning in and by networks is also valuable (Knight, 2002). Although knowledge is accessible, the unit may not have the capacity to absorb and benefit from it. Organisational units necessitate external access and internal capacity to learn from their colleagues (Tsai, 2001).

Inter-organisational networks do not always lead to beneficial results; the strength of the whole network is largely determined by varieties of links taking place inside sub-networks:

> 'As sub-networks evolve, the stability of the network will be determined by the nature of the organisations' status within the network. Core organisations and their sub-networks will tend to stabilise the entire network, whereas actors that are more peripheral will destabilise it. Indeed, the social and informational influences created by networks can also result in undesirable adaptation and evolution' (Provan et al., 2007, p. 505).

Network learning allows a richer understanding of developments in networks over extended periods of time than can be afforded through more established concepts of change and change management alone (Knight and Pye, 2004):

> 'Notions of planned change and change management do not readily translate into the complex, dynamic, uncertain and diverse qualities of inter-organisational networks; but the notion of learning and, specifically, network learning has significant descriptive and explanatory power to help us better understand how inter-organisational networks come together, develop and sometimes break down' (Knight and Pye, 2004, p. 487).

NL is a link theory which can improve the original network theory:

> 'Compared to a rational change perspective, a learning perspective helps us to understand developments, and processes by which they come about, in a more holistic way that captures their emergent, social, and political qualities and recognizes their complex, changing context' (Knight and Pye, 2004, p. 486).

In their study of a group of organisations that comprises the English prosthetics service, Knight and Pye (2004) conclude that progress was slow and practices varied greatly between centres, doctors, and prosthetists: 'Despite considerable pressures for changes to practice, progress is limited by reluctance to change on the part of some individuals and by constraints embedded in practices, structures and culture' (p. 479).

Network research is focused on analysing network processes and structures, and their influence on performance, where learning is crucial: 'If we accept that learning is a key process in understanding practice in organisations, then learning in and by networks is also worthy of study' (Knight, 2002, p. 449). The interaction between network members is also important:

'Only when, through firms' interaction, the learning becomes embedded as an industrial recipe would it be seen as network learning. Collective cognitive structures and coordinated practices cannot become established other than through relating across organisational boundaries' (Knight, 2002, p. 446).

This dynamics is vital in exploring NL in Roma contexts, where in some networks members frequently change their network positions. NLO is a helpful tool to assess Roma network effectiveness by looking at network structure, interpretations, and practices adopted in Roma networks. Network learning outcomes derive from the congruence between network interpretations, structures, and practices (Knight and Pye, 2005):

'Where structures and practices were seen to attain increasing consonance with the values and goals of the network, we detected a shared sense that progress had been made, and that the network had moved forward' (Knight and Pye, 2004, p. 485).

Provan et al. (2007) analysed the relation between learning and improved performance and concluded that changes in network practices, structures, and interpretations ought to be widespread and enduring to have positive network learning outcomes: 'network learning outcomes occur at the network level but that the process of learning actually occurs "slightly below" the network at a more localized level' (p. 500).

Interpretations are analysed in connection with culture and traditions. Hibbert and Huxham (2010) define tradition as 'something transmitted' (p. 527). They also point out the narrow collection of research focusing explicitly on tradition:

'Importantly, this excludes the considerable volume of material that evokes tradition without problematizing it. Such literature tends to describe the 'content' or pattern in a traditional society or culture and the word 'tradition' is used to signify nothing more than 'premodern'' (Hibbert and Huxham, 2010, p. 526).

The third perspective looks at a network as a unit of analysis, or an entity. These can be regional networks, projects and programmes linked to mandated organisations, sub-networks, and networks of individuals. It will point out how whole networks are implementing policies.

2.1.3. Networks as a unit of analysis - Whole networks

Business and community researchers define networks as partnerships, strategic alliances, inter-organisational relationships, coalitions, cooperative arrangements, collaborative agreements, social interactions, relationships, associations, collaborations, collective actions, trust, and cooperation (Provan et al., 2007, p. 480).

Increasingly, authors started to focus on analysing a network as a whole (Provan et al., 2007; Provan and Milward, 1995; Kilduff and Tsai, 2003). Their conclusion was that it is important to be aware of the impact of the whole network on implementing policies, instead of focusing on particular network members. Two main issues are discussed here: one is the theorisation of whole networks and the other

is the use of whole networks in social services by policy makers in order to capture the use of whole networks in practice.

Firstly, theorising around networks emerged from two corresponding standpoints: the individual organisation (actor level) and the network level of analysis (Provan et al., 2007). Galaskiewicz and Wasserman (1994) call this division micro-level and macro-level network emphasis, while Kilduff and Tsai (2003) contrast the egocentric network with the whole network.

Network-level characteristics are identified and compared through other networks or during periods of time. They are used to analyse how whole network sustainability or absorptive capacity can be improved or how to improve provision of certain services by a cluster of organisations. This viewpoint assumes that those organisations that are part of the network join their efforts towards joint agendas (Provan et al., 2007).

Theories on network level employ many of the behaviour, process, and structure concepts and measures advanced through organisation level studies. They focus on clarifying network level properties, characteristics and outcomes emerging: 'a network-level perspective would focus on overall network structures and processes, such as centralization or density of the network as a whole' (Provan et al., 2007, p. 485).

Secondly, analysing whole networks is particularly important when providing social services for communities. In the last 20 years there has been a change in public service organisations from hierarchies to networks: 'network forms are seen as particularly suited to handling 'wicked problems'' (Ferlie et al., 2011, p. 307). Agencies have a vital role in providing services for communities. Some are more active and efficient than others, however, services users' well-being depends on obtaining services from several agencies. Therefore, the focus is on whole networks, their structure and activities when explaining client outcomes. The main aspect is to understand the effectiveness of the network supplying certain services, not which member of the network was more effective than the others (Provan and Milward, 1995):

> 'The overall effectiveness of the network may be far more important to funders, policy makers, and service professionals, than the impact of the network on the individual organisations involved' (Milward and Provan, 1998, p. 389).

Provan and Sebastian (1998) state that usually organisations dealing with social services, in particular within the remit of health, can be taken into account as part of a big system that provides services and linked with each other. As problems cannot be resolved by individual organisations and social problems affecting marginalised groups of people are complex, focusing on the organisational outcomes would be unsatisfactory:

> 'If the overall well-being of clients is a goal, then effectiveness must be assessed at the network level, since client well-being depends on the integrated and coordinated actions of many different agencies separately providing shelter, transportation, food, health, mental

health, legal, vocational, recreational, family, and income support services' (Provan and Milward, 1995, p. 2).

Raab and Kenis (2009) question what exactly are the collective outcomes or goods produced by networks. Their argument is that whole networks create something that an organisation cannot do on its own. Provan and Milward (1995) point out that analysing the whole network and its 'nonstructural outcomes' (p. 2) is important for policy makers who focus on the network rather than the performance of individual organisations: 'Only by examining the whole network we can understand such issues as how networks evolve, how they are governed, and, ultimately, how collective outcomes might be generated' (Provan et al., 2007, p. 480).

Little is known about network development as a process, for example: 'how whole network structures evolve over time and how or if these multilateral relationships are managed' (Provan et al., 2007, p. 489). This gap is even deeper in less studied contexts such as the Roma context/network. A highly complex network, the Roma network has a specific attribute: in order to achieve network learning outcomes, its members group themselves in smaller networks, which are called cliques.

The next section will discuss cliques: the historic definition, emerging definitions, how the concept of cliques applies to the Roma context, and gaps or unexplored areas in the study of cliques. It will explain why 'clique' is preferred to other terms.

2.2. Networks within networks: cliques

This section discusses cliques; it offers different definitions and assesses existing studies on clique ties, effectiveness, membership, and clique leadership. This sets the context for the contributions made and the new definition introduced.

2.2.1. Defining cliques

As presented in previous sections, there are different terms for groups of people and organisations joining in partnerships, alliances, networks, and coalitions. The reason the word clique is preferred is that it takes into consideration the discretion and the political nature: clique carries power.

There are various definitions for cliques. Rowley et al. (2005) highlights that 'the concept of cliques in networks is widely accepted, yet no precise, formal definition exists' (p. 506). Cliques are ubiquitous (Gulati, 1999; Gulati and Gargiulo, 1999; Rowley et al., 2005); smallest clique comprises two members and it forms a dyad which can be widened to become broader cliques (Hanneman and Riddle, 2005).

Cliques are 'sub-sets of a network in which actors are more closely and intensely tied to one another than they are to other members of the network' (Hanneman and Riddle, 2005, p. 174), clusters of three or more organisations connected to one another (Provan et al., 2007), 'cohesive subgroups of actors tied together with relations of some minimal strength' (Schalk et al. 2010, p. 638), or 'groups of agencies' (Lemieux-Charles et al., 2005, p. 456).

'Clique' is a term also used in graph theory and sociometry as a synonym for sub-group (Scott and Marshall, 2009, p. 295). In organisational studies it is similar to forming friendships in personal life and at the workplace based on age, gender, race, ethnicity, religion, and beliefs:

> 'Cliques are relatively dense or cohesive substructures and cohesiveness demands that organisations be close to one another; many researchers use social distance, or reachability, to identify cliques' (Rowley et al., 2005, p. 506).

In 1956, in *The Power Elite*, C. Wright Mills presented the homogenous governing clique in post-war America. He described the local society as a structure of power as well as a hierarchy of status. On top of the hierarchy are informally organised cliques formed by aged upper-class businessmen and bankers, linked with the major real-estate holders. There were three overlapping cliques: industrial, retailing, and banking:

> 'At its top there is a set of cliques or 'crowds' whose members judge and decide the important community issues, as well as many larger issues of state and nation in which 'the community' is involved' (Mills, 1999, p. 36).

Next in hierarchy are 'lawyers and administrators of the solid rentier families', followed by 'hustlers, largely of new upper-class status, who carry out the decisions and programmes of the top. Here are the 'operations' men – the vice-presidents of the banks, successful small businessmen, the ranking public officials, contractors, and executives of local industries.' Following are the 'heads of civic agencies, organizations officials, pettier civic leaders, newspaper men. The fourth order of the power hierarchy – the rank and file of the professional and business strata, the ministers, the leading teachers, social workers, personnel directors' (Mills, 1999, p. 37).

Current literature on cliques highlights the positive connotation of the term. However, Cova et al. (2010) have another approach: clique is a group of people 'who unite to intrigue or destroy; a primary group whose members are united for reciprocal obligations' (p. 882). In another study about dynamic conflict and its resolution in a group of American professional organisations, Ahmad (2003) uses a sample of 318 professionals to assess the occurrence and intensity of conflict. He analyses relationships among power, cliques, and conflict; the use of non-professional decision criteria in professional decisions and their implications for conflict; and conflict resolution methods.

Ahmad (2003) is analysing the relationship between power, cliques, and conflict: cliques are formed around power and conflict in organisations, higher degrees of conflict and 'cliquish activities' (p. 56) are closely linked. His findings are connected to Roma networks, where these types of practices are common. As will be analysed in the empirical chapter, the Roma cliques in Romania are closely connected to power and social status. Also, they are formed around conflict and their 'cliquish activities' are not including all network members in their agenda and adopting practices which are not transparent for others.

Ahmad (2003) draws two main conclusions: one, respondents' perception of power and cliques can highly correlate to organisational conflict; second, central resolutions in American professional organisations are not protected from 'vagaries of internal politics, personality clashes, and tensions among people of different ranks' (Ahmad, 2003, p. 59). Moreover, these features can be vital for the development of a comprehensive theory of organisational conflict in cross-cultural settings. This is why studying the Roma context is significantly important, as it highlights issues and novel practices to solve them. When describing cliques, Mills is not pejorative:

> 'Insofar as the politician enters into the continuous policy-making of the modern political state, he does so less by voting for or against a bill than by entering into a clique that is in a position to exert influence upon and though the command posts of the executive administration, or by not investigating areas sensitive to certain clique interests' (Wright Mills, 1999, p. 258).

2.2.2. Clique structure

Current studies look at clique structure, number and size of cliques in a single network, composition, connectivity with other cliques, or if they are completely closed (Provan et al., 2007):

> 'To ensure broad-based representation by all key interest groups in the network, especially when the network is large, it may be important to have at least one member of each network clique included in the decision process. This will help to create the necessary bridging ties and build commitment to network goals and objectives' (Provan et al., 2005, pp. 608-9).

Lemieux-Charles et al. (2005) focused their research on clique overlap, 'the degree to which network members share multiple ties with members of one or more cliques' (Lemieux-Charles et al., 2005, p. 460). Provan et al. (2005) emphasised that cliques comprising more than three organisations normally cultivate solid ties with one other: 'Few networks, except those that are quite small, are fully connected' (Provan et al., 2005, p. 608). It is possible that 'each clique may be only weakly connected to other network members' (p. 607), usually much more effective than network members who work diligently together. Though, it is imperative to identify those members and their cliques in order to establish if they share the same actions and aims as the network whole:

> 'Network leaders may have to build ties across certain cliques to ensure that key information reaches all agencies that need to use it to adequately serve the community as a whole rather than a narrow client group' (Provan et al., 2005, pp. 608-9).

Provan et al. (2005) analysed the links between organisations included in a clique. At the egocentric level, the degree of an organisation's connectedness to a clique might change the organisational outcomes. These outcomes are different than when the organisation is linked only through a dyad (Provan et al., 2007): 'Dense cliques act as governance structures constraining organisations embedded in them to be more cooperative than organisations positioned outside cliques' (Rowley et al., 2005, p. 500).

Once concentrated, multiplex assimilation takes place, clique members acquire abundant information about each other, decreasing their operation costs and creating operational connexions constructed on collaboration and trust (Provan and Sebastian, 1998).

When an organisation wants to replace its network colleague, the change is significantly affected by four limitations resulting from network links between appropriate social actors at four distinct levels: 'internal constraints (intra-organisational networks), network tie specific constraints (inter-organisational dyadic ties), network position-specific constraints (inter-organisational network position), and external constraints (the inter-organisational field)' (Kim et al., 2006, p. 706).

2.2.3. Clique dynamics/membership

A leading cluster of organisations within the network determines how networks develop and mature. These core organisations, noticeable by various links and 'rich get richer' connections, give the pace for the whole network (Raab and Kenis, 2009). Rowley et al. (2005) highlights that clique membership is equally an opportunity as it gives access to economic transactions which would otherwise be inaccessible. It is also a constraint including 'expectations about a firm's choice of collaborative ties and behaviors within collaborations, as well as a mechanism for spreading information about its behavior' (Rowley et al., 2005, p. 500):

> 'Cliques emerge from webs of direct and indirect ties created through dyadic relationships, rendering the roots of clique stability traceable to criteria for partner selection. Problems of "adverse selection" and "moral hazard," however, plague choosing reliable and capable partners' (Rowley et al., 2005, p. 502).

Disparity between clique members in both how they add in worth to the clique and in how the other members treat them can determine termination to clique participation (Rowley et al., 2005). Burt (1992) claims that 'something about the structure of the player's network and the location of the player's contacts in the social structure of the arena create a competitive advantage in getting higher rates of return on investment' (p. 57).

2.2.4. Clique outcomes

Provan and Sebastian (1998) found that in delivering health services a clique is more effective than a whole network: 'overlapping cliques of providers were also found to result in more effective client outcomes than when cliques were more fragmented' (Provan and Sydow, 2008, p. 20). Provan and Sebastian (1998) observed that 'cliques had overlapping links through both reciprocated referrals and case coordination' (p. 453). They analysed the link between network effectiveness and the structure of service integration in three health and human services networks.

They have shown the significance of network clique structure and developing clique-based arguments of network conduct and results, demonstrating that in certain contexts, strong, multiplex, reciprocal ties among small network subgroups can be particularly effective (Granovetter, 1973). Admitting that it is unsafe to generalise after analysing only three networks, the results of Provan and Sebastian's

(1998) study indicate the necessity to consider networks and network structure in a more microanalytic manner than it has been so far:

> 'Integration across an entire network of organisations, whether in the health care, manufacturing, or service sectors, is difficult to achieve and is probably not a very efficient way of organising. Nonetheless, one should not draw the conclusion that integration is undesirable' (p. 454).

To be effective, clique integration 'must be intensive, involving multiple and overlapping links both within and across the organisations that compose the core of the network' (Provan and Sebastian, 1998, p. 460).

In a study regarding introducing educational measures ('Reading First' legislation) by the American state and federal policymakers, Miskel and Song (2004) assumed that major policy changes are usually done by powerful actors working in fairly open issue networks. Surprisingly, they discovered that small cliques of policy entrepreneurs shape key changes in a short period. Then, they extended the research purpose to analyse the actions of this particular policy group, revealing that the elite policy actors were extremely different in terms of status.

While the dominant 20 policy elites were involved in broad relations with other actors and were the most popular actors, the other two literacy groups were less involved in the network and were less prominent actors within the elite network (Miskel and Song, 2004). Another finding concerned the fact that: 'a relatively small group of inside policymakers who, for the most part, were not seen as being highly prominent, controlled its writing and enactment' (Miskel and Song, 2004, p. 105).

More importantly, amid the policymakers, the five crucial insiders were particularly close to one another and formed a tightly knit clique, applying resilient influence on the progress of 'Reading First'. Miskel and Song (2004) concluded that:

> 'Neither iron triangles nor open issue networks alone are adequate in explaining policy processes; other structural forms, such as closed circles or arenas, may also play a role – sometimes a significant one – in policy developments. That is, the relationship patterns within smaller arenas can explain some policy innovations better than those of the macro network' (p. 105).

This finding is closely connected with the type of cliques leading change in Roma networks. Similarly, these cliques seek political allies to leverage their ideas: 'Both the network and arena interpretations support the contention that elite policy actors do not act in isolation and actively seek allies to support and leverage their ideas' (Miskel and Song, 2004, p. 105).

Summarising the implications of cliques, the main message is about what cliques deliver, namely that the implementation of policies worked better in areas where cliques were involved. Considering the literature review assessed on public administration, networks, the context of Roma in Romania, and the gaps in this knowledge, one research question has emerged:

▶ **What role do Roma cliques play in Romanian policy implementation?**

The review of existing scholarly work particularly addressed whole networks and networks within networks (cliques). The majority of the research has concentrated on the analysis of whole networks and cliques as a structural issue. Research studies examining whole networks and cliques are rare. Although this part of the literature review has been important to understand how outcomes are achieved in whole networks and cliques, it does not emphasise the role of individuals. Those particular actors driving the change need to be explored further. Therefore, the following section reviews and evaluates prior research regarding institutional and social entrepreneurs.

2.3. Institutional and social entrepreneurs, boundary spanners

The next sub-section will look at the constituency parts of networks, to understand how they function. In analysing certain elements within the network it will take a closer look at the role of social entrepreneurs in networks, looking at definitions, characteristics, and practices. What is novel about the study of social entrepreneurs is reflecting what people leading change do, while adding to a too descriptive current portrayal.

Salancik (1995) recommended focusing on the overall picture at the beginning, then shifting the focus onto interactions inside networks. One way to do this is to narrow down the focus from networks to certain key individuals. This reduces current gaps which rely on the essentially 'descriptive and atheoretical stylized picture' (Dacin et al., 2011, p. 1205) of what people really do, determined by theoretical and methodological dilemmas.

Recently authors have begun to incorporate ideas from existing theories and approaches, such as institutional theory, network theory, and discursive approaches (Dacin et al., 2011). As will be pictured in the next section, when defining leaders, the terminology differs; they can be boundary spanners, entrepreneurs, or agents of change. In analysing the data, it will explain why the term bridging people is favoured.

Scholars are now vividly disputing definitions of the terms; looking at new significant research questions, while linking it to conventional entrepreneurship (Dacin et al., 2011). Institutional entrepreneur was a term introduced in 1988 by DiMaggio. Entrepreneurs are 'individuals, small or large firms, or governmental or not-for-profit organizations' (Tracey and Phillips, 2011, p. 29); or 'actors who initiate changes that contribute to transforming existing, or creating new, institutions' (Battilana et al., 2009, p. 66).

As a great deal of the social entrepreneurship literature portrays social entrepreneurs as heroic (Dacin et al., 2011), Dacin et al. (2011) recommend taking a contextual approach built on the assignment of social entrepreneurship considering both positive and negative outcomes of social entrepreneurs. Focusing on outcomes permits the analysis of two issues: 1. encouraging authors to observe the

processes through which these results are attained and advance new theoretical insights, and 2. 'this definition allows researchers across disciplines to regard social entrepreneurship as a research context (based on intended outcomes) in which other established types of entrepreneurs may operate' (Dacin et al. 2011, p. 1205).

Competent boundary spanners tackle 'wicked issues'; they are capable of new ways of working, while others are stuck in conventional organisations and ways of thinking. They lean on innovation, experimentation, risk taking, and entrepreneurship. 'Wicked issues' are defined by Williams (2002) as

> 'Complex and seemingly intractable problems and issues – community safety, poverty, social inclusion, health inequalities, teenage pregnancies, urban regeneration, substance misuse, climate change and homelessness – an ever growing and assorted list of community concerns' (p. 104).

These also require a response from a postmodern type of organisation rather than a classical one: an organisation focused on collaboration, partnership, and networking. This way of tackling 'wicked issues' is closely linked to one group of entrepreneurs found in the Roma context. Here, social entrepreneurs are part of the activist Roma network, mostly academics and human rights activists.

Maguire et al. (2004) emphasise that the limited research looking at institutional entrepreneurship differs in diverse contexts. Institutional entrepreneurship is conducted by people 'who have an interest in particular institutional arrangements and who leverage resources to create new institutions or to transform existing ones' (Maguire et al., 2004, p. 667). The difference between Tracey and Phillips' (2011) description of institutional entrepreneurs lies in the context where these actors operate. This means that they work in a more challenging environment: 'while the high degree of institutional uncertainty in emerging markets often acts as a barrier to entrepreneurship, it can also provide important opportunities for entrepreneurs' (p. 23).

For example, Battilana and Casciaro (2012) analyse the context in which 'change agents' are capable to persuade others 'to adopt changes with different degrees of divergence from the institutional status quo' (Battilana and Casciaro, 2012, p. 382):

> 'Research on institutional entrepreneurship has been instrumental in reintroducing agency to institutional theory and imparting some theoretical and empirical understanding of how embedded actors can shape institutions. Embeddedness, being central to shaping the possibilities for actors to exercise agency, constitutes the context within which institutional entrepreneurs act' (Battilana et al., 2009, p. 88).

In 2010, Dacin et al. (2010) stated that describing social entrepreneurship by individual level features will certainly lead to even more debates: 'it is a debate which can never be resolved, because it is unlikely that a definitive set of characteristics can be applied to all kinds of social entrepreneurial activity across all contexts' (p. 42), highlighting the importance of studying entrepreneurs in diverse contexts and why some practices are quickly embraced by them, while others are not.

One year later, Dacin et al. (2011) added to this argument, claiming that analysing social entrepreneurship from a network perspective is important as it can explain 'the scalability of social entrepreneurial ventures', emphasising why some social revolutions spread extensively while others continue 'more locally embedded, and whether there are network strategies or activities that might promote scalability' (p. 1208).

A variety of terms describes leaders in literature. They all have certain similarities, but they do not fully describe the type of leader found in the context of Roma networks. The new definition introduced for leaders is 'bridging actors' and it is presented in the empirical chapter. Entrepreneurs can have different characteristics, power and social status. Brass and Burkhardt (1992) link dominant positions in networks to power and influence. Moreover, Huxham and Vangen (1996) point out that the balance of power is uneven among organisations: those working for big, international charities might feel insignificant but they might feel very influential in comparison with small, local community groups.

Battilana et al. (2009) separate official authority and social capital as possible foundations of power connected to social position. They either empower people – 'When their social position does not enable them to easily mobilize others, institutional entrepreneurs might try to convince actors who themselves occupy higher status social positions to endorse their project' (p. 83), or find means to mobilise them in joint activities: 'they leverage the endorsement of such higher status actors to increase the legitimacy of their project and thereby mobilize other actors behind it' (Battilana et al., 2009, p. 83). Institutional entrepreneurs encounter challenges caused by other actors' institutional embeddedness and by possible political opposition. Their responses to these are influenced by the environment and their social positions (Battilana et al., 2009).

Organisations' and individuals' social positions influence members' probability of engaging in institutional entrepreneurship both autonomously and conjointly, through interaction:

> 'The status of the organisation in which an individual actor is embedded as well as her hierarchical position and informal network position within an organisation are likely to influence not only independently, but also jointly, the likelihood that a given actor will engage in institutional entrepreneurship' (Battilana, 2006, p. 77).

Whereas members who belong to lower status organisations are more expected to instigate changes that deviate from 'the institutionalized model of organisations' role division in a field', the impact of organisation status can be greater or not dependent on hierarchical position (Battilana, 2007). They also suggest that further methodical examination of new contexts is necessary:

> 'Characteristics of the social environment as well as actors' position within this environment are crucial variables in understanding the emergence of institutional entrepreneurs, as is actors' awareness of other fields and diverse institutional logics' (Battilana et al., 2009, p. 88).

In a study about social entrepreneurship, Dacin et al. (2011) propose two important aspects: to use network theories in order to comprehend the context of social entrepreneurship, specifically power and dominance and to incorporate cultural methods to study social entrepreneurship, in particular to look at how rituals and narratives generate social value. Spradley (1980) and Levinson and Asahi (1995) also highlight the role that culture has in research. Cultural approaches are important to analyse how to bring about social value. The cooperative problem-solving potential of a partnership can be significantly enriched by effectively connecting society's sharing areas:

> 'Beyond focusing on race, culture, politics, and religious ideology as dividing lines, partnerships can use network analysis to identify a lack of trust among organisations and then work to repair it. Engaging people and organisations first in collaboration on nonthreatening issues may allow them to collaborate on threatening issues later, when trust is more firmly established' (Provan, 2005, p. 610).

One important subject when describing what leaders do is managing uncertain environments (Tracey and Phillips, 2011). Beckman et al. (2004) believe that uncertainty represents the difficulty that organisations have in foreseeing the future, determined by incomplete knowledge. Dickson and Weaver (1997) agree that it intervenes when managers fail to predict correctly the outer environment of the organisation or the potential changes which can arise in the environment.

In response to these challenges, organisations build relationships to control uncertain environments and to counterbalance their need of resources. In these strategic networks, 'organisations create stable, preferential relationships characterised by trust and rich exchange of information with specific partners' (Gulati and Gargiulo, 1999, p. 1440). Changes in environment influence the patterns of a network (Koka et al., 2006): 'as the economic environment becomes sharply more competitive, the firm's network assumes enhanced strategic importance' (Gulati et al., 2000, pp. 203-4).

The capability to 'get things done' entails skill in handling the relationship between agreed and developing structures, because change in 'action outcomes will be accounted for by individuals' strategies for maximizing the utility of their networks' (Ibarra, 1992, p. 177). For example, entrepreneurs 'bridge institutional distance' (Tracey and Phillips, 2011, p. 34); through institutional bridging organisational practices, norms, and technologies are transferred.

Three main strategies employed by entrepreneurs are: 'institutional brokering', entrepreneurs find ventures to decrease the institutional uncertainty; 'spanning institutional voids', when entrepreneurs find ventures to resolve institutional problems when levels of institutionalization are low; and 'bridging institutional distance', when entrepreneurs transfer and adapt solutions from other institutional contexts (Tracey and Phillips, 2011, p. 24).

Müller-Seitz (2012) suggests emphasising what leaders are actually doing to build on the existing knowledge where leaders are portrayed as heroes:

> 'Acknowledging the risk of reverting to accounts of heroism and limitless human agency, we nevertheless argue that the concept of institutional entrepreneurship should be central to future developments of institutional theory because it enables us to explore actors' degrees of agency, however institutionally embedded human agency might be' (Battilana et al., 2009, p. 66).

New practices in emergent fields are influenced by, firstly, connecting new to old practices, leading to 'stabilization of field level relationships' and secondly, associating them with the values of diverse members, leading to the development of new field-level norms:

> 'Newly stabilized relationships and new norms result as practices are institutionalized because emerging fields, in contrast with mature ones, are initially characterized by an absence of stable relationships among actors as well as by an absence of widely shared, convergent norms' (Maguire et al., 2004, p. 674).

Sometimes the uncertainty can actually act as an advantage for those who observe gaps and transform this into a plus:

> 'While the high degree of institutional uncertainty that characterises emerging markets often acts as a barrier to entrepreneurship, it can also provide important opportunities for entrepreneurs' (Tracey and Phillips, 2011, p. 35).

Emerging markets include the transition economies of East Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, and the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union, in addition to many of the economies in the Middle East, Latin America, Southeast Asia and Africa (Tracey and Phillips, 2011).

In the Romanian networks, to achieve their outcomes, entrepreneurs part of the NGOs ally in coalitions/alliances, to counterbalance this inequality in power. Even in alliances, NGOs still have less power and their outcomes, when achieved, are obtained through hard negotiations and lobbying. The other type of entrepreneurs gets into a position of advantage by creating close links with powerful members of the public administration (e.g. Mayor, Prefect). Their outcomes are closely connected to how powerful these public administration partners are.

2.3.1. Collaborative processes

The next section focuses on organisations and inter-organisational collaboration. This is an important part of the literature assessment: promoting partnership and greater inter-agency cooperation between government departments and the third sector has become a fundamental practice to encourage social and labour-market inclusion (McQuaid, 2010).

It is also important to show the role of collaborative processes because these are under continuous transformation. In the late 1970s, the public sector was perceived as rigid, 'adrift and ungovernable' (Pettigrew et al., 1992, p. 27). The managerial ability was labelled as an individual proficiency. Debates were narrow, public managers were seen as controversial characters, because they were impeding policy implementation while following their own interests (Pettigrew et al., 1992). However, in some societies, like Romania, institutions remained bureaucratic, reminding one of the 'static and

bureaucratic' this old fashioned public administration with rigid administration of regulations and directives, policy making and implementation (Osborne, 2006, p. 378).

The public is the centre of interest in policy implementation organisations, being encouraged to comment on public services efficiency (Mintzberg, 1983). All members of the 'demos' [defined by Dahl as 'people'] must have equal and effective opportunities for making known their views about policies (Dahl, 2006). For example, in Romania, certain legislative measures, e.g. Governmental Strategy for Roma, are posted on websites, while the public are invited to share their opinion. Despite this, the empirical chapter will show that these opinions are often not included in the final legislative drafts, which is a source of conflict between the institutions involved.

Relations between state and society, government and citizens, and state and non-state institutions have changed (Kennett, 2010). Policy makers consider a broader variety of stakeholders in the design, development, and delivery of policies (McQuaid, 2010). Also, leaders in governmental and voluntary organisations need to comprehend each other's perspectives in order to discuss collaborations and to supervise their performance (Harris et al., 2005).

Collaboration between governments and non-profit organisations is vital when describing change in the public sector. Governments are pushed to find effective strategies to tackle social needs and raise standards in care (OECD, 2008). These problems concern public policy experts, organisational theorists and practitioners; they demand interdisciplinary intervention teams (Quinn and Hall, 1983). As a result, organisations form and dissolve inter-organisational collaborations:

> 'Community leaders and administrators of public and non-profit agencies operating within a community have a responsibility to continually work at building and sustaining the network if it is to be successful' (Provan et al., 2005, p. 604).

This collaboration depends on cooperation, confrontation, complementarity, and co-optation; meaning that their objectives and tools vary (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002) and might lead to difficulties:

> 'Those public sector managers at the receiving end of collaborative policy drives often express extreme frustration, partly because little guidance is given on how to prioritize the initiatives being promoted, and partly because difficulties in communicating and gaining agreement to act arise out of differences between parties on, for example, organisational purpose, procedures and structures, professional languages, accountabilities, and power' (Huxham and Vangen, 2000, p. 1159).

Huxham and Vangen (2000) studied the dynamics between inter-organisational collaborations in solving social problems and effects of collaborations in practice. They concluded that although people initially agree on a 'clear set of goals to moving forward' (p. 799), in practice this is often not successful because of the failure to agree on contradictory and secret agendas.

As a result, Huxham and Vangen (1996) identified six themes linked to success in managing collaborations between public and non-profit organisations. The first factor is 'managing aims'. Without clearly expressed common agendas, 'action will not follow' (Goss, 2001, p. 95). Objectives

need to be negotiated at the local level and defined in the same way by all the stakeholders. Empirical data have confirmed the importance of sharing similar interests within a group; they showed an increased interest in collective action and co-operation in order to achieve shared goals (Gilson, 2003).

Three types of interests are considered here. Firstly, the partnership is more common among organisations with complementary skills, meaning that these have different purposes and they collaborate for different reasons. Secondly, organisations collaborate in order to achieve a certain purpose, which is different to the explicit aim of the collaboration. The last level of goals involves individual needs, which are not openly declared at the beginning of the collaboration (Huxham and Vangen, 1996). It is difficult to agree on the same purposes. Once the size of the organisation increases, it becomes more difficult to agree on diverse interests between individuals, especially when they are in different sub-units and they have various hierarchical ranks (Kim et al., 2006).

The second factor is 'compromise'. In order to have an effective collaboration, people compromise on different aims. Compromising is a natural behaviour because each organisation is different in terms of culture, norms, and expertise (Huxham and Vangen, 1996). Besides, it is difficult to satisfy network members when they fail to agree on common goals. Acceptance of some objectives, rejection of others, and limited resources create a conflict which makes compromising challenging (Provan and Milward, 2001). As a result, to manage diverse interests and cooperation process, organisations need to put in practice structural systems, e.g. 'bureaucratic and formal management structure, and technical routines' (Kim et al., 2006, p. 711).

Thirdly, 'communication' is a key ingredient in an effective collaboration. Communication includes people inside and those outside the group, and the entire community (Huxham and Vangen, 1996). A less dynamic network with a weak exchange of information will need mutual 'systems for exchanging information, and some basic network rules' (Goss, 2001, p. 98).

Fourthly, Huxham and Vangen (1996) claimed that 'the principles of democracy and equality' are important in the collaboration process. Although all parties affected by a certain matter should be involved, involving too many organisations decreases the success of communication (Huxham and Vangen, 1996). Also, it might be impossible to get all of them involved, because organisations respond differently. Therefore, members ought to accommodate diversity, understand their difficulties and priorities, appreciating diverse views and expertise, and 'finding processes which can build solutions rather than simply arguing' (Goss, 2001, p. 99).

The fifth factor is 'power and trust'. Power in collaborations is strongly connected to managing information and resources (Burt, 1992) and network positions (Salancik, 1995). Networks are influenced by conflicts between members; organisations are expected to leave alliance with resources and power unevenly distributed between members (Rowley et al., 2005). Trust becomes visible, especially in difficult times. That is why network members need to have a clear image of both success

and signs of failure: 'Agreeing on a set of criteria and a process for reflection and review will offer a way to put the partnership back on the course when things go wrong' (Goss, 2001, p. 99).

Sixthly, 'determination, commitment, and stamina' explain the success of collaboration (Huxham and Vangen, 1996). In older and bigger organisations, structural inertia decreases the speed of break ups and forming new relationships. It is more difficult to change existing associates with new ones due to high level of commitment and resources (Kim et al., 2006). Reciprocity is important in networks, the 'flow of demands and obligations' (Salancik, 1995, p. 346). In includes the public: as both needs and responsibilities ought to be clearly expressed to community members. But it also includes organisations, because in the public sector there is a strong demand for organisations to work together, in networks. This comes from three directions: fragmentation of delivery systems; governmental incentives and penalties; at the local level due to the focus on results. These pressures vary from region to region (Goss, 2001).

The next section looks at paradoxes and how paradoxes are dealt with by network leaders.

2.3.2. Managing paradoxes

The concept of paradox describes fascinating 'tensions, oppositions and contradictions which can be conceptually appealing and practically useful' (Vangen and Winchester, 2014). Organisational theory research contains vast empirical data to suggest that any collective effort generates tensions or 'paradoxes' at various organisational and theoretical levels (Poole and Van de Ven 1989; Dodge, 2010).

Vangen and Winchester (2014) state that culture plays a significant role in understanding paradoxes. Whereas the 'culture paradox' is implied in the literature on the management of cultural diversity in collaboration, the focus has been mostly on understanding cultural conflict rather than considering culture as one of the features that might lead to synergistic gains (Vangen and Winchester, 2014; Saz-Carranza and Ospina, 2011). This 'culture paradox' is remarkable because it proposes that both similarity and diversity in culture can assist and deter the success of collaborations.

For Eisenhardt (2000) paradox is 'the simultaneous existence of two inconsistent states, such as between innovation and efficiency, collaboration and competition, or new and old' (p. 703). This dichotomy of parallel strains generates an edge of chaos: 'the management of this duality hinges on exploring the tension in a creative way that captures both extremes, thereby capitalizing on the inherent pluralism within the duality' (p. 703). Managing paradox becomes a prospect to assess the challenges at the boundary that expose themselves as ambivalent signals and inconsistencies. Responding to this, managers 'counteract their tendency to overrationalize and oversynthesize by simultaneously holding and even exploring opposing views' (Eisenhardt, 2000, p. 704).

Looking at how leaders of successful networks manage collaborations, Ospina and Saz-Carranza (2010) highlighted that when doing inward work, successful leaders deal with conflicting requests adopting activities that facilitate interaction, cultivate relationships and promote openness, while when doing outward work they focus on activities that emphasise managing credibility, multi-level working, and cultivating relationships (Ospina and Saz-Carranza, 2010).

They defined paradoxes as 'contradictory demands of the work of networks' (p. 424), where network leaders are pushed to resolve puzzles. But, as Vangen (2012) points out, the study of Ospina and Saz-Carranza (2010) explains the management replies to paradoxes rather than describing the paradox itself.

In this research a paradox per se is not analysed; instead these responses are looked at in relation to how Roma network members responded to challenges and uncertainties in their complex environment. These responses are vital as they represent key events created to help Roma policy implementation. They also show interactions between network members which help the analysis by pointing out how things were done in practice.

Following the literature review and considering the data collected, the following research question has emerged:

Research question
> ▶ **What are the roles played and actions taken by bridging actors during the Roma policy process?**

In summary, the literature review focused on three main issues. The first section assessed working through networks; in particular looking at different approaches to look at networks: as a logic or organising, as an analytical perspective, as a unit of analysis, or networks as a whole. The second section analysed cliques, providing various definitions, their structures, membership, and outcomes of cliques. The final section of the literature review focused on social/institutional entrepreneurs: different definitions and roles that they play in networks; how paradoxes are managed by those who lead these networks. It also looked at organisations and inter-organisational collaboration, pointing out the different roles played by governmental and non-profit organisations in implementing policies.

CHAPTER 3: Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the methodology. It introduces the study as a whole. It looks at the researcher's perspective, the philosophical position underpinning the study and it presents the research strategy: a comparative case study. Then, it describes the data collected: semi-structured interviews, participant observations, and documentary sources and it goes into details by presenting data collection and data analysis. Finally, it highlights cross-cutting issues: ethical concerns, triangulation, validity, reliability and generalisation, testing or confirming the findings, which indicate how the quality requirements were considered.

3.1. Introduction of the study

The motivation of this research was to understand why the socio-economic situation of the Roma population is not improving despite all efforts made by national and international organisations. This 'How question' demanded a qualitative approach and the researcher wanted to communicate with Roma people and to go in depth to find their opinions.

In social research an important issue is to manage the balance between data and theory (Harvey et al., 2000) or to accomplish the 'methodological fit' and 'internal consistency' between parts of the research (research question, prior work, research design and theoretical contribution) (Edmondson, 2007, pp. 1155). To get rich insights about this the researcher used an interpretivist method of comparative, longitudinal, and processual case study (Pettigrew, 1990, 1997); comparative because it highlighted variation in strategy implementation (Butler, 2003), longitudinal because it sought to find changes from one data collection to another, and processual because it collected and analysed data systematically. This method was also chosen because it helps to address the complexity of organisational change, strongly connected to contextualism, claiming that change is historical, processual and contextual (Pettigrew, 1990, 1997):

> 'Only a strategy for historical explanation that synthesises social structural and cultural analysis can adequately explain the formation, reproduction, and transformation of networks themselves' (Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1994, p. 1411).

In this research the context plays a significant role making sense of the policy implementation process. An analytical approach is used to highlight the constant interchange between the outer (environment) and the inner (organisation) context of change (the why), the process of change (the how) and the content of change (the what) (Pettigrew et al., 2001).

The research adopts an in depth, interpretivist approach; this permits changes in the initial research design. Initially, the study included a survey, but the response from the organisations contacted was insignificant.

The rationale of using purposive sampling and selecting three counties in different geographical locations was to attain comparability, to highlight outstanding cases (Teddlie and Yu, 2007), to

empirically show variation in the implementation of social policies, and 'to capture the dynamic quality of human conduct in organisational settings' (Dyer and Wilkins, 1991, pp. 614-5).

Within networks implementing policies, practitioners and academics are equally important (Kanter and Eccles, 1992). Both categories were part of the sample. Also, as the public is an important part of the research, they were also interviewed and observed. Roma communities and beneficiaries, and workers in institutions were observed to get the whole picture of the context. The public which receives services are the Roma population, the largest minority in Europe; Romania counts the largest number. Although 'the Roma population' is the common syntagm used, there is a variety of Roma cultures within them. There are different traditional types of Roma[12]; they have different dialects, occupations, beliefs, and traditions. Additionally, they belong to different social classes, meaning that they have different needs.

The case data collected included semi-structured interviews, participant observations, and documentary sources (internal reports, diaries, and electronic correspondence) to reduce potential bias that is brought about through using only one source (Denzin, 1989; Kiscnhardt, 1989). Moreover, relevant policy reports published by national and international organisations were considered. These mostly rely on assessing the success of policy implementation by looking at health, education, employment, and housing. They use sociological approaches to collect and analyse the data, while making recommendations. These reports contribute to the debate from a practitioner's point of view, getting a network picture of what is happening in the three case studies analysed.

Another reason for using documents is because data regarding Roma are difficult, sometimes impossible to find. Only non-governmental organisations can require information based on ethnicity. Usually conducted studies are not exhaustive; they target a limited number of regions. Consequently, no comparison is permitted between regions that are not part of the sample. There were two sets of data collections in all three different counties. In County 1, in the first data collection, 25 interviews were conducted, while in the second data collection, 10 more interviews were collected. In County 2, in the first data collection, 18 interviews were conducted. In the second data collection seven interviews were collected. In County 3, in the first data collection twelve interviews were collected, while in the second data collection, ten more interviews were collected. Another type of data collected was through observations. During observations, notes were taken capturing the events observed.

To analyse the interviews, mainly grounded theory techniques were used, while to analyse the observations and the documentary sources a narrative technique was employed. The original interview guide had a multi-level approach, the same as the receptivity framework, with three levels: environmental, public service, and organisational. Data analysis was based on receptivity towards change factors and free nodes which were used in open, axial, and selective coding.

---

[12] Respondents claimed that there are between 12 and 18 different types of Roma.

The coding has two strands: one is theory-led or top-down coding: using the theory to generate codes to produce relevant quotes from various sources, to analyse the data, to answer the research questions (receptivity and network structures). The second is empirically (and emergence) led or bottom-up coding. The researcher has generated codes in response to the data sets (the emergence of cliques as a process practice and new receptivity factor to facilitate grant winning and effective Roma policy implementation).

The researcher started coding shortly after the first data collection in County 3, in June 2009. The first set of codes were: Communism-democracy, Corruption, Defining institutions and organisations, Education and Health, Legislation, Performance, Poverty, Prejudice , Roma social exclusion, Sustainability, (free codes) and Implementation capacity, Leading change, Ideological vision, Institutional politics, Possibility space: Choice, No universal Best practices, Path dependency Organisational play (tree codes).

The selection of nodes came both from literature and first data collection. Then, it became apparent that one of the receptivity towards change factors was strongly influencing the events. Therefore, 'institutional politics' became a central point of this research, especially because it describes the role of formal and informal networks.

The second data collection in County 3 was in February 2010. The results were analysed focusing on different levels of network learning (individual, group, organisation, inter-organisational, inter-organisational networks). It kept the receptivity factors as tree nodes and it focused on other free codes: Change events, Networks (collaborations), Network learning, Network receptivity, Performance indicators, and Needs.

Although it was a re-orientation, the result was that the data collected allowed network level analysis. This re-orientation came as a result of reflection on the data collected. After the first data collection in County 1 and County 2 in June - July 2010, new concepts emerged.: Change-views, patterns, programmes, County context: culture, geographical position, history, poverty, tolerance and discrimination, Defining aims and vision, Defining performance and progress, Initiatives, projects and, programmes, Network continuity, Network learning, Network legislation, Network structure, Network properties, Network receptivity, Network funding, Network bureaucracy, corruption.

Starting with September and October 2011, the researcher began to re-analyse all the data based on two main themes. Firstly, the focus was on network structures and network receptivity (bridging actors and managing paradoxes) in rapport to different types of sub-networks: activist, administrative, and governmental, health and education. Secondly, themes focusing on forming (open and closed) cliques, dark practices and open alliances emergence.

3.2. Philosophy of the study: Interpretivist research perspective

This section presents the philosophy of the study. It also explains the combination of different literature topics and research methods, because this is a research informed by theory and motivated by practice and it contributes to both. Interpretivist researchers need to provide clear evidence, in particular for 'key claims' and 'more sophisticated understanding' (Seale, 1999, p. 52).

Methodological rigour is achieved by locating the ontological and epistemological underpinning of the case study methodology: 'Ontology and epistemology are linked inextricably in ways that shape the task of the researcher' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p. 320). In the social sciences theorising means explaining social phenomena (Harvey et al., 2000). Theorising about the nature of knowledge is called ontology.

Epistemology means theorising about how to produce knowledge, 'the theory of knowledge, investigating and questioning truth' (Calhoun et al., 2005, p. 67). It is an answer to the question 'Where does our knowledge come from and how reliable is it?' (Lazar, 2004, p. 9); it investigates how we know that we know something (Miller and Brewer, 2003). Popper supported a rationalist epistemology; he considered that knowledge is 'a product of mind actively organising and making sense of our experience in the world' (Lazar, 2004, p. 9). In opposition, the empiricist epistemology claims that knowledge and scientific theories of the world are derivable solely from empirical sense experience and observation (Lazar, 2004, p. 9).

Knowledge is a combination of both opinions. One can reach conclusions about the meaning of a phenomenon either through a rational explanation or based on experience and observation. Moreover, in this research, these are complimentary, meaning that at the beginning a certain phenomenon is explained using a rationalist perspective – e.g. poverty leads to lower literacy rates, but it also needs to be supported by empirical data, either from reports or respondents.

Methodology explains the link between theories and methods (Harvey et al., 2000). It reflects the 'fundamental or the regulative principles which underlie any discipline' (Lazar, 2004, p. 8). It represents the 'set of rules and procedures to guide research and against which its claims can be evaluated' (Miller and Brewer, 2003, p. 192). It gives the tools through which understanding is generated. The choice of a methodology is given not only by research purpose, but also 'norms of practice, and epistemological concerns but also by a combination of organisational, historical, political, ethical, evidential, and personally significant characteristics of the field of research' (Buchanan and Bryman, 2007, p. 483).

While 'methodology' is an approach which comprises strategies to collect data, 'method' is an instrument. Methods cannot be described in terms of superiority; they are incommensurable (Lee and Lings, 2008). Different methods belong to different paradigms. Two main paradigms are heavily used in social sciences: interpretivist and positivist (Bitektine, 2008). Synonyms of qualitative approach

include: 'qualitative enquiry', 'fieldwork', 'interpretative method', 'case study' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) and 'ethnography' (Spradley, 1979). Positivists pledge the use of natural science methods and practice to the social sciences (Miller and Brewer, 2003, p. 235). They point out the link between claims and evidence (Hammersley, 1992).

The differences between the interpretivist and positivist approaches are presented in Table 3:

Interpretivist	Positivist
'Verstehen' – Understanding multi-realities	Following and predicting the progress
Focus on words	Focus on numbers
Inductive – the theory expands from the findings	Deductive – research develops from theory
Constructionist	Objective
Methods – participant observation, semi-structured interview, focus group, content analysis, document analysis. Tools: NVivo	Methods – large-scale surveys, structured interviews, statistical tests. Tools: SPSS
Presence of the researcher, use of 1st person	Absence of the researcher, use of 3rd person
Flexible research design	Rigid research structure
Uses small samples	Uses large samples
Purposive sampling	Utilises specific sampling procedures

Table 3: Main characteristics of the interpretivist and positivist approaches
Source: Adapted from Bryman (2001)

Descombe (2003) argues that 'soft' data lack rigour. This makes the quantitative hypothesis and theories predictions difficult to test; outcomes are influenced by the researcher's preconceptions (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). The design of the interpretivist study is different than in positivist studies. Its tools facilitate exploratory, adaptive, rich data, and analytical generalisation – through the analysis of a phenomenon in context. Researchers check the level of generalisation, through validity and reliability (Hartley, 2004).

Interpretivist researchers need to provide clear evidence, in particular for 'key claims' and 'more sophisticated understanding' (Seale, 1999, p. 52). Easterby-Smith et al. (1991) find that the implications for the interpretivist researcher are threefold: 1. focuses on understanding the meaning of what is happening, 2. uses multiple ways to collect data to underline different perspectives, and 3. uses small samples to analyse the phenomenon in depth.

Firstly, the interpretivist research describes facts through people's understanding of the world, where 'the natural and the subjective components of the sample are emphasised' (Mouton and Marais, 1988, p. 70). My interpretivist research looked for meaning rather than genenerality (Miller and Brewer, 2003), in order to enhance my findings due to their particular relationship with my subjects. This is why the semi-structured interview was the main data collection instrument. Researchers see

interviewees as active 'participants', influencing the course of the study; while in the quantitative study they are only 'subjects', among the numerous components of the sample.

Often, case studies begin with an unclear theory and framework (Eisenhardt, 1989). Past literature and experiences are not useful, or there is 'little empirical substantiation or they conflict with each other or common sense' (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 548). Although the research usually combines existing literature and empirical study, sometimes little is understood about a phenomenon. This research is atypical: it is a practice-driven study not a theoretical one. Therefore, it is important to explain why the researcher combined a diversity of literature topics: public administration, organisational studies, and human rights.

The literature review looks at change and networks as presented in the Anglo-Saxon management field. But these networks differ from those in emerging economies, because they try to change their old ways of doing policy implementation using new, modern practices. This is a more complex task, as some organisations have embraced these Western practices, while others are stuck in the old ones.

The methodology also discusses elements of contextualism and receptivity towards change. Culture and tradition are very important in qualitative studies. When discussing the methodology of a study, the context and culture ought to be explained in this challenging context of Roma policy implementation. Receptivity is the theoretical model which was used to collect systematic data, while network learning helped make sense of the data through analysing network structures, practices, and interpretations. The reason concepts such as receptivity towards change and network learning are new in Romania is that people, traditionally, looked at human rights framework, not organisational change. Therefore, studies were made by national and international organisations, highlighting various human rights abuses or assessing performance of strategy implementation by sampling and analysing what happened in some counties.

Secondly, the strategy selected to conduct this research was the case study. It included three cases, represented by County 1, County 2, and County 3. Case studies give an 'aha experience' (Dyer and Wilkins, 1991) because thick descriptions reveal outstanding incidents that make us reflect on our past experiences: 'Such descriptions act as clear examples of new relationships, new orientations, or new phenomena that current theory and theoretical perspectives have not captured' (Dyer and Wilkins, 1991, p. 617).

Eisenhardt (1989) strongly encourages using multiple case studies and comparisons across organisational contexts, while the classic view using case study stresses comparisons within the same organisational context:

> 'Between 4 and 10 cases usually works well. With fewer than four cases, it is difficult to generate theory with much complexity, and its empirical grounding is likely to be unconvincing, unless the case has several mini-cases within it' (p. 545).

On the contrary, Dyer and Wilkins (1991) say that too many cases change the concept itself of a case study, which is to analyse a single case. Then, the researcher cannot give 'a rich description of the social scene'. Rather the descriptions will be narrow, highlighting the outside data rather than 'deeper social dynamics' (Dyer and Wilkins, 1991, p. 614). This can result in an imprecise image: 'The more contexts a researcher investigates, the less contextual insight she or he can communicate' (Dyer and Wilkins, 1991, p. 614). The researcher's attention is distracted from the context because of the tendency to focus on contrasting the cases.

Thirdly, as Easterby-Smith et al. (1991) suggested, a combination of methods was employed: semi-structured interviews, participant observations, and documentary sources. The interview is the second most common tool of data collection after survey (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). King (2004) defines the interview in qualitative research as 'depth', 'exploratory', 'semi-structured', or 'un-structured' (p. 11). Besides, another set of data was collected through observations. Observation is the first and a fundamental method of knowing social reality. Even 'hard sciences' start with rigorous observations, followed by experiments (Ilut, 1997).

There are different types of qualitative observations: spontaneous (without a real intention), intentional or non-systematic or impressionistic (with the intention of understanding a certain situation, but without a thorough study), and scientific or systematic (Ilut, 1997). In this research the second type of observation as participant or qualitative observation is considered.

Data analysed in this case study are represented by documentary sources, internal and external documents: emails, reports, local strategies obtained by the researcher during data collections. It includes approximately 800 emails which circulated on various academic networks through the Internet: 'Romanian Roma', 'doctorate on Roma problem', and 'Roma Romanian women'. An important source of information was constituted by posts on the Internet: articles and events. In the last four years a database was created especially for networking which counts almost 600 contacts (individuals from national and international organisations who work with Roma).

The next section presents data collection in detail: selection of case studies, particulars about data collected, people interviewed, creation of semi-structured interview, and challenges of data collection.

3.3. Data collection

3.3.1. Selecting the case studies

Case studies have been used to discover atypical processes and to solve dilemmas. Abnormal cases show issues that researchers failed to notice in typical cases (Stake, 1995). Also, they are an effective strategy when analysing organisational behaviour which is 'informal, unusual, secret or even illicit' (Hartley, 2004, p. 325).

When using case studies, sampling was not statistical but theoretical. Due to the restricted number of cases the researcher focused on cases that reproduce and enlarge theory 'by filling conceptual categories' (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 537) on 'particularisation, not generalisation… uniqueness' (Stake, 1995, p. 8) to 'enhance understanding' (Sandelowski, 2000, p. 248):

> 'The more studies are based on theoretical sampling, the more effective should future theoretical sampling and comparative analyses become – provided researchers write about their strategies and techniques' (Glaser and Strauss, 2009, p. 77) .

Miles and Huberman (1994) pointed out that while conducting a multiple-case sampling, researchers ought to look at a range of similar and contrasting cases: 'each setting has a few properties it shares with *many* others, some properties are shared with *some* others, and some properties it shares with *no* others' (p. 29). When selecting case studies, the researcher looked at both similarities (national context, applying the Governmental Strategy) and differences (illiteracy rates, geographical position, and ability to gain access to respondents) between them. For example, in this research, selecting case studies based on Roma education and health statistical indicators was challenging. In this context of big gaps between official and non-official statistics, the researcher went for a proxy for selecting case studies. This selection was appropriate because it considered reliable data for an educational indicator at the county level.

Another important aspect is that these are situated in three different regions of the country. Roma communities are different in terms of traditions, culture, employment, and poverty. Then, selecting different geographical regions leads to a diversity of results regarding: types of problems, solutions, and strategies to undertake them. Also, each county had a different influence during history. County 1 in the South is the capital of the country. Here is the central government where social policies are drafted. In the centre, County 2 has a strong Austro-Hungarian influence. Finally, in the South-East, County 3 has a powerful influence given by the Russian and Turkish culture. These three differences between cases are represented in Table 4:

Categories	County 1	County 2	County 3
Geographical region	Wallachia	Transylvania	Moldova
Illiteracy rate	12.8%	18.8%	40.5%
Types of ethnicities	Romanian– 97.02% Hungarian–0.30% Roma–1.41%	Romanian–77.59% Hungarian–19.85% Roma–2.22%	Romanian–97.61% Hungarian–0.04% Roma–2.12% or 8.9%

Table 4: Differences between the three counties

County 1 has a special administrative status: it has six districts; each district has its own City Hall, managed by the General City Hall of County 1.

3.3.2. Interviewees

This research used a purposive sample, focusing on institutions responsible for implementing social policies for Roma: Public Health Departments, School Inspectorates, City Halls, Prefectures, and NGOs. Respondents included: governmental workers, academics, Roma school mediators, Roma health mediators, Roma experts, Roma councillors, management, front line workers in NGOs, and service users. The research covered private and public institutions, and beneficiaries of social services. Their responses were triangulated to increase the validity of the study. By triangulating the data collected with various methods and applied to different categories of respondents, a comprehensive and precise representation of practices was created. The detailed interviewees' list is presented in the Appendices.

There were two sets of data collections in three different counties, focusing on institutions responsible for implementing Roma social policies. In County 1, in the first data collection, 25 interviews were collected. On four occasions there was more than one person per interview. In the second category, 20 NGOs which implement projects targeting the Roma population were contacted. 14 people confirmed a meeting and they were interviewed.

In the second data collection, 10 more interviews were collected: one governmental, eight NGOs, and one local authority representative. The initial aim was to interview the same people as in the first data collection; however, this was not entirely possible. Five NGO individuals had changed jobs. Repeat interviews were held with seven individuals.

New people were added to the sample: an NGO worker, a social worker, and an NGO executive director. The sample also contained five PhD students from the National School of Political and Administrative Sciences County 1 (SNSPA). In County 2, the sample covered representatives from all institutions that employ Roma workers according to the 2001 Strategy, except the Prefecture (Roma councillor). The researcher spoke to him on numerous occasions, over the phone and face-to-face, prearranging meetings. The councillor rejected the interview.

In the first data collection, 18 interviews were conducted. Twelve NGOs were contacted. Ten people were interviewed. On one occasion two people were present during the interview. In the second data collection seven interviews were collected.   In County 3, in the first data collection twelve interviews were collected. The sample covered representatives from all institutions that employ Roma workers according to the 2001 Strategy.In the second data collection, ten more interviews were collected from the same category of people with two exceptions: one person refused to be interviewed again, claiming that 'nothing has changed anyway' and one person was on maternity leave and she had no replacement.

3.3.3. Crafting the qualitative instrument

The semi-structured instrument was initially developed by Ms. Azni Taha from Aston University. It contained questions connected to receptivity towards change to obtain rich descriptions of receptivity

factors (Butler and Allen, 2008). This semi-structured interview proved useful in revealing different views on policy creation and implementation and the complexity of the Roma context. Due to its complexity, when the instrument was translated into Romanian, it was adapted to fit both context (initially it was targeting the hotel industry) and accessibility (the questions were difficult to understand). Consequently, after simplifying and adapting the instrument, it had 23 questions. The instrument is presented in Appendix 3.

All receptivity constructs were used to ensure that it was comprehensive in the data collection. The outcome of the receptivity framework was to come up with a checklist of institutional factors that are important towards facilitating change and how institutions could efficiently implement the Roma policies.

Operationalisation is a concept mostly used in quantitative research. Nevertheless, the same principle is followed in qualitative research. Researchers need to link the theory and the measurement or observation. The semi-structured interview contained questions covering the external environment and the receptivity factors. As Table 5 shows, the receptivity framework gathered data about individual experiences, their organisations, context, and practices:

Question	Probe for:
Was it a political, economic, social, or technological event that made changes in your organisation/institution?	Environmental factors that have a strong effect on change, environmental dynamism and turbulence.
What is your vision? What do you stand for?	Shared visions, direction of the company, articulation of the vision, complements or contradict/reflect existing ideologies, stakeholders' interest and status quo.
How is the leader running your institution? Does he/she consult you?	Type of methods used (force, rules and procedures, exchange, persuasion, magnetism), leader's characteristics/traits, leader's skills, leader's knowledge, leader's capabilities.
Who are your collaborators?	Formation of coalitions, extent of change success dependent on coalition, seeking participation and support from different groups, status quo, and power relations. Opposing coalition, actions, inactions, relationship building, participative strategy, use of power by leader, power of different stakeholders.
What needs do you have? (e.g. funds, qualified people)	Leader training, staff training, forums, seminars, discussions, institutional support, mechanism used, rules and procedures.
What forces you to follow same and old patterns?	Custom, dependency, factors influencing change.
Have you got models to follow, do you use the experience of others?	Innovative capability.
Do you have to improvise, use creativity in order to counterbalance the lack of resources?	Review of past success or failures, intensity of review, and frequency of review.
Have you learned from past mistakes?	Review of past success or failures, intensity of review, and

	frequency of review.
Do you depend on other institutions? Does your work depend on others?	Type of influence and issues.
Does your efficiency depend on the geographical position?	Location, community, and other competitors within the same locale.
What other factors are important to make people/institutions work better?	Review of existing resources and skills.
Which are the performance indicators? How do you know when you are successful?	Awareness and indicators of performance.

Table 5: Summary of the questions and their rationale

Butler's (2003) receptivity framework is represented below:

Aston University

Illustration removed for copyright restrictions

Figure 1: The receptivity towards change framework

Source: Butler, 2003, S52

Figure 1 employs 'dotted' two-way arrows to interrelate the three levels of change. This shows the interconnection between organisational context and action (Greenwood and Hinings, 1996): 'There is an interconnection between the four receptivity factors at the organisation level of change and the public service and environment levels' (Butler, 2003, p. S56).

The receptivity framework includes the following factors: ideological vision, leading change, implementation capacity, possibility space, and institutional politics.

Ideological vision critically focuses on the strategic decisions, evaluating their purpose and their shared vision. The first step in solving a problem is to identify or to visualise it (Butler, 2003).

Leading change refers to those individuals and groups who are change champions and hold the tools to implement change. Leaders are vital assets within any organisation. Their methods (force, rules and procedures, exchange, persuasion, magnetism), their traits, skills, knowledge, and capabilities are important. Leaders have the capacity to bring about change by identifying gaps in their institutions and by detecting administrative holes (Butler, 2003).

Implementation capacity includes financial and material resources, trained staff institutional support, rules, procedures, and mechanism used. Implementation capacity explains the location of decision-making in greater detail by going beyond structural relationships to explore critical incidents (Butler, 2003).

Possibility space looks at creative ways to induce change. There are four factors here. 'Path dependency' explains the way history restricts innovation (Butler, 2003). Sydow et al. (2009) claim that some organisations lose their flexibility because of organisational inertia and path dependency. They define organisational path dependency as 'explaining path-building processes of and in organisations' adding that:

> 'Other levels of analysis are also of great relevance – particularly the individual level, the network level, and the field level. Organisational members, with their cognitive schemata, learning habits, response patterns, and so forth, do play a role in path-building processes in organisations' (Sydow et al., 2009, p. 705).

'No universal best practices' states that there are no guarantees for their success because contexts and situations vary (Butler, 2003), as 'variation is one of the world's core characteristics' (Andrews, 2010, p. 7).

'Choice' explains how organisations learn from past experiences (Butler, 2003). People cultivate a favourite system of selecting various choices, based on genetic background, specific previous life experiences, and current environment needs: 'We resolve the conflict between concrete or abstract and between active or reflective in some patterned, characteristic ways. We call these patterned ways "learning styles"' (Kolb et al., 1999, p. 4).

'Organisational play' clarifies an organisation's learning, creativity, innovation, and experimentation (Butler, 2008).

Institutional politics refers to co-operation between members of the institutional network, explaining the location of decision-making, describing the formation of coalitions, and comprising informal and

formal structures and networks (Butler, 2008). In the early stages of this research, institutional politics highlighted need for further analysis of Roma networks. Crucially, the factor needed more robust exploration via data collection/analysis. In this context, institutional politics also created a link to the discussion of networks, cliques and boundary spanners in the literature review.

3.3.4. Data collected

A variety of methods were used to identify those non-governmental organisations implementing programmes for the Roma: web pages, national and international reports, social and academic networking groups. Then, emails were sent, explaining the purpose of this research and asking for an interview.

Table 6 presents the number of interviews per county:

County	Time 1	Time 2	TOTAL
County 1	28	10	38
County 2	18	7	25
County 3	12	10	22
TOTAL	58	27	85

Table 6: Interviews/county

Another type of data collected was through observations. Three types of information were obtained: what people do (cultural behaviour), things people make and use (e.g. clothes and tools: cultural artefacts), and what people say (speech messages) (Spradley, 1980). During data collection, cultural inferences/interpretations are continuously made: observing what people say, on from how they behave or from what artefacts they use (Spradley, 1980). Again, this shows the importance of context and culture in research. Observations are important because new information was obtained on: 1. how Roma communities live; 2. how Roma experts interact with each other during meetings, training courses, and community visits; 3. Roma experts and Roma service users. These bring value because they complete the data collected using other methods, e.g. documentary data and interviews.

Although officially there were registered 15 participant observation events, spontaneous and non-systematic observations cannot be accurately determined. Here are included unofficial discussions with professionals or beneficiaries, their interpretations regarding 'the Roma problem'. Notes were taken, focusing on issues such as: purpose of the activity/meeting, what issues were highlighted, and interaction between participants. These observations are described in more detail in the Appendices.

Table 7 presents the number of observations per county:

County	Time 1	Time 2	TOTAL

County 1	5	2	7
County 2	1	3	4
County 3	2	2	4
TOTAL	8	7	15

Table 7: Observations/county

In the first data collection ethnographic data contained six observations:

- Monthly meeting of the Mixed Working Group at the Prefecture,
- Two days participation at 'Combating discrimination of the Roma access to health services in Romania' course,
- Roma community visit: discussion about health with health experts, social workers, medical staff, local authorities representatives and beneficiaries,
- Round table: discussion about the results of the project which also included the course and community visit,
- Observation of a school activity with children and staff during a summer workshop.

The second data collection contained two observations:

- Roma experts/SNSPA students meeting: organising workshops about the 2012 Strategy,

- Discussion/colloquium on Romanian public administration at SNSPA University.

The ethnographic data include two observations in the first data collection and three observations in the second data collection. In more detail they are presented in the Appendices:

- Community visit in Locality 2: poor areas and Centre for Roma beneficiaries,
- Community visit in Locality 7: in particular church and community,
- Community visit in Locality 5: spending Sunday afternoon with Roma children in an improvised church in the attic,
- Observation of the protest 'We want decent housing' of the Roma from Locality 7 at Prefecture,
- Community visit in Locality 7: to see what has been changed since 2010.

In County 3, three observations were made. In the first data collection:

- Observation at the Roma Centre, interaction between beneficiaries, mediators, Roma councillor and volunteers, who also represent sub-network 1,
- Observation was made at the house of a typical poor Roma family, observation was facilitated by sub-network 2.

In the second data collection:

- Observations at the Roma Centre, interaction between beneficiaries, mediators, the Roma councillor and the volunteers.

Below are two examples of notes taken during observations.

Notes taken during a meeting at the Prefecture on 24th June 2010, in County 1:

The main topic discussed is the final result of the high school admission. 90% of the available places for the Roma have been filled. There were 15,320 places for the whole country, 640 for the Roma, 592 were filled in, especially in technology fields. Children need to be monitored throughout the year; because some of them are not attending school. The reply given by the representative of the School Inspectorate was: "the plan was that the students to be monitored for those four years of studying. But the children have a break one month before exams to 'prepare' for them. But they don't do that, by contrary they forget some of the knowledge."

Notes taken during a Roma community visit on 25th June 2010, in County 1:

Participants: members of the community, NGOs members, volunteers (students studying Law) from the Prefecture, representatives of the Prefecture (legal adviser), City Hall from County 3 and County 1 (medics, Roma Health mediators), and Child Protection (nurse).

After a three day course about Romas health, in the last day we visited a Roma community, where we were introduced by a Roma health mediator, who works in that area. We put in front of the house a table, gathered a couple of chairs and invited the people to join us for a chat and a glass of water or juice. In a short time, the number of participants increased significantly.

The legal advisor from a Roma NGO starts talking about the purpose of us being there. He strongly encourages the people to ask questions, as among the audience we have medical staff. He also talks about the relationship between the representatives of hospitals and the community. The doctor talks about the importance of vaccination, as it is difficult to catch up if these were not made at the right time. A 29 year old pregnant woman smoking complains that she was not able to register with a GP. Another beneficiary argues that the Roma can register to a GP and nobody discriminates them against, but he admits that sometimes the doctor "might have a bad day" if that happens.

During the data collection, various documentary sources were provided by interviewees: internal or national reports, journals, and internal documents. Policy reports - published by national or international organisations - assessed the success of policy implementation by looking at health, education, employment, and housing. They use sociological approaches to collect and analyse the data, while making recommendations. Below there are some of these reports which have been read by the researcher:

Figure 2: Example of documentary sources: Roma reports

Data analysed in this case study also included approximately 800 emails which circulated on various academic networks through the Internet: 'Romanian Roma', 'doctorate on Roma problem', and 'Roma Romanian women'. For example, in August 2011, the researcher received a 45 page document from a governmental representative containing suggestions made by Roma and non Roma organisations regarding changes for The Governmental Strategy (2011-2020). Signed by 21 organisations and other 28 organisations part of the Roma Civic Alliance in Romania, this covered general observations, but also concrete proposals to tackle Strategy's objectives.

Other documentary sources used in this research were emails exchanged by experts in Roma problems. For example, in June 2011, the Director of the Education in the Minority Languages in Relation with the Parliament and the Social Partners emitted a document which stated that for the academic year 2011 - 2012, in County 1. Here, he highlighted that the Ministry of Education has granted a total of 128 places for Roma in universities, six more than in the previous year. The Department, part of the Education Ministry, disseminated this document to all Romanian state universities. It contained a detailed criterion for students, a list with all universities and number of places available. The text has been transmitted by the Director via email to all 'doctorate on Roma problem' yahoo members with the following request: 'please save and disseminate this, moreover, guide the youths with good school results also towards medical studies, which have got more places this year' (Email, 16th June, 2011).

74

A print screen of the folder named 'emails used for research' is pictured below:

Figure 3: Example of documentary sources: emails

The next sub-section summarises the main challenges when collecting the data.

3.3.5. Challenges collecting the data

This research looked at how policies were implemented in the context of Roma policy in Romania. Two main challenges are highlighted here: getting access to data and trust.

Firstly, as a former communist country, Romanian state institutions are still recognised as bureaucratic, where lack of transparency is often mentioned in reports. Romania is still the country with the lowest transparency in the EU, according to Transparency International – the global coalition against corruption (Economist, 2008). In his report regarding the fight against corruption in Romania, De Pauw – deputy prosecutor general at the Court of Appeal in Ghent – concluded that:

> 'Instead of progress in the fight against high level corruption, Romania is presently regressing, on all fronts, in the fight against corruption. Measures that were presented to be instrumental in the fight against corruption have been deliberately blunted by the Parliament or the Government immediately after Accession' [De Pauw, 2007].

In the context of data collection, Romania is also known as failing to collect accurate statistical data about Roma ethnicity. The 'No Data No Progress' report states that: 'It is widely known that data collection and statistics about the Roma population in Romania are not reliable' [OSF, 2010, p. 62].

Many invitations sent by the researcher did not receive a response. Also, some meetings were cancelled. Most people did not have an effective 'diary practice'. As the respondents were part of different organisations, it was challenging to organise more than two interviews per day, due to time and access to transportation. Some interviewees preferred not to be recorded, therefore, notes were taken. Observations were recorder either on the spot, or as soon as the researcher left the place where the observation took place.

Emails proposing an interview and describing the research were sent to institutions working with and for the Roma. County 1 is the biggest city in the country. It has a high number of organisations, however, compared to the number of invitations for the research sent via email, only a small number of them replied. Some of these organisations were no longer active and emails bounced back.

In County 2, people were more reluctant to be interviewed than in other counties. Collecting data was possible mostly because of the researcher's personal network[13]. Due to the lack of formal leaders able to facilitate meetings/interviews, the researcher travelled to the countryside to meet health and school mediators. This took considerably more time than in County 3, where workers from the countryside were interviewed at the Roma Centre, the place where they frequently meet.

Some people were quite mistrustful: many did not reply and some have confirmed meetings and withdrew later. One person changed his mind before the interview started, after a long series of appointments, assurances and cancellations. Four refused to be recorded, one of them insisted to meet in an outdoors public place on a bench.

In County 3, data collection was supported by the facilitating role of the Roma councillor and the previous employment in the public sector of the researcher, but was equally difficult because of the reduced number of organisations in the area.

The levels of trust and professionalism were different. In County 1, the Roma councillor behaved in a professional manner during the interview. She invited the researcher to the monthly meeting and a training course. In County 2, the Roma councillor initially accepted the interview, then he postponed it a few times. He was acting very suspiciously before the interview. He even encouraged the researcher to interview a colleague who was working in a different department. After repeated encouragements to interview the other person instead of him, in the end he refused the interview. In County 3, the Roma councillor was open; she encouraged the researcher to talk to health, school mediators and beneficiaries. She acted in a professional manner: the meeting was at 8 a.m., as previously agreed.

---

[13] County 2 represents the place where the researcher spent five years in education and volunteered for two non-governmental organisations.

The next section presents data analysis. The main issues discussed are: using NVivo as an instrument to analyse the data, and how codes, categories, and themes were used to make sense of the data.

3.4. Data analysis

3.4.1. Introduction

The next sub-section explains how data were dealt with. It looks at organising and coding data, writing narratives, identifying patterns, clusters, themes and dimensions. Then, it will present challenges in analysing the data. Finally, it will point out advantages of combining data collection and data analysis.

There are two ways to derive meaning from the qualitative data: grounded theory and narrative analysis. To analyse the interviews, mainly grounded theory techniques were used: 'The purpose of grounded theory in business and management is to develop new concepts and theories of business-related phenomena, where these concepts and theories are firmly grounded in qualitative data' (Myers, 2009, p. 107). To analyse the observations and the documentary sources a narrative technique was used.

To increase rigour, the researcher looked at the data in many conflicting paths, to go deeper into primary impressions: 'each reader will want to create his own series of steps to organise writing in a manner that best fits patterns developed through past experience' (Spradley, 1979, p. 212).

The table below presents a brief summary of the data collection and analysis:

	Key incidents	Free nodes	Tree nodes
Jun 2009: first data collection in County 3	Data analysis was based on receptivity towards change factors and free nodes which were used in open, axial, and selective coding. Analysing the interviews, two incidents stood out: what leaders/drivers of change did (leading change) and the role of networks in policy implementation (institutional politics). These were selected for further analysis (selective coding).	Communism-democracy, Corruption Defining institutions and organisations Education and Health Legislation Performance Poverty Prejudice Roma social exclusion Sustainability	Implementation capacity Leading change Ideological vision Institutional politics Possibility space: Choice No universal Best practices, Path dependency Organisational play
Feb 2010: second data collection in County 3	The results were analysed focusing on different levels of network learning (individual, group, organisation, inter-organisational, inter-organisational networks).	Change events Networks (collaborations) Network learning Network receptivity Performance indicators Needs	Implementation capacity Leading change Ideological vision Institutional politics Possibility space: Choice No universal Best practices Path dependency Organisational play
June-July 2010: first data collection in County 1 and County 2	New concepts emerged.	Change-views, patterns, programmes County context: culture, geographical position, history, poverty, tolerance and discrimination Defining aims and vision Defining performance and progress Initiatives, projects and programmes Network continuity, Network learning, Network legislation, Network structure, Network properties, Network receptivity, Network funding, Network bureaucracy, corruption	
Sept-Oct 2011: County 1 and County 2 second data collection	Re-analyse all the data based on two main themes. - Focus on network learning (structures, interpretations, practices) and network receptivity (bridging actors and managing paradoxes) in rapport to different types of sub-networks: activist, administrative, and governmental, health and education. - Emergence of themes focusing on forming (open and closed) cliques, dark practices and open alliances.		

Table 8: Summary of the data collection and analysis

As Langley (1999) noted, 'process data are messy' (p. 691). Considering the large amount of data collected, it was imperative to keep tidy notebooks and organised folders with interviews carefully labelled and transcribed (Blaxter et al., 2002).

An important outcome of this research was to give a network picture of what was happening in three different case studies. This was tackled on three levels through: 1. Cross-checking frameworks, 2. various sources of data, and 3. the sample interviewed.

Firstly, this research made a cross-check between frameworks. On one side, the semi-structured interview was created to study the organisational level. The original interview guide had a multi-level approach, the same as the receptivity framework, with three levels: environmental, public service, and organisational. On the other side, data analysis focused on giving a network picture; it created a network level analysis. Although it was a re-orientation, the result was that the data collected allowed network level analysis. This re-orientation came as a result of reflection on the data collected. During repeated supervisory meetings, there was a Eurika moment which gave the new turn. In County 3 groups of people gathering to do things, were so evident and respondents openly admitting being part of a certain group. What at this point seems to be a common observation, at that stage it was perceived as a great observation: 'In County 3, who you know determines what you can achieve. The network you are part of determines your outcomes'. It is all about the network you are in.

This observation was introduced further in a Public Administration and Development journal. In the article 'Exploring the failure to protect the rights of the Roma child in Romania', Butler and Gheorghiu (2010) used the receptivity framework, confirmed as being a helpful framework for analysing policy implementation in Romania, especially poor implementation of education policies related to Roma children in County 3. In analysing the data, it became apparent that one of the receptivity factors, institutional politics, needs further development. Institutional politics – a factor closely linked to formal and informal networks – did not fully capture the inter-relationships between the key stakeholders. Therefore, the authors introduced a second theory, network learning theory, to analyse the weaknesses in the system and ways of learning to improve the system. This path of following the role of networks was further analysed at the 14th IRSPM Conference in Berne, Switzerland, April 2010, "The Crisis: Challenges of Public Management" with the paper: 'Europe's Forgotten Citizens-Exploring Poor Health Policy Implementation in Roma Communities: A Network Learning Perspective'.

Secondly, a critical question was whether the data collected permitted a network level analysis, a longitudinal view of Roma policy (goals and process) in each county. Interviews, documentary sources, and observations were used as 'pieces of the jigsaw'. Below are the main themes that guided the findings along with the sources that backed them up:

Themes	Interviews	Documents and reports	Observations
Bridging people	*		*
Forming cliques	*		*
Network structures	*	*	*
Managing paradoxes	*	*	*

Table 9: Main themes and sources of data

The interviewees from two different sub-networks (registered in NVivo with the attribute 'Mixed') had significantly more views than the other network members, about more complex network issues: managing paradoxes, network continuity, network learning, network properties, capabilities, network bureaucracy, corruption, network funding, network legislation, and network structure. By contrast, respondents in the administrative sub-network - formed by school and health mediators - had a less complex view on policy implementation; their interpretations were limited to describing day-to-day practices and activities. These observations were substantiated using the 'Matrix Query' option which creates matrices for different attributes and nodes.

These changes in the research modified the centre of the study and it narrowed down the focus on cliques, bridging people, and managing paradoxes. It was noticed that those people who were successful play different roles in the Roma network at the same time. They facilitate change and policy implementation. They had the capacity to bring about change by identifying gaps in their institutions and to detect administrative holes (Butler, 2003). More importantly, they were the main people highlighting the paradoxes in this complex and uncertain environment. This brought about certain practical issues, in particular more time spent in investigating new literature.

Moreover, the original motivation for this research was the benefit to be gained by viewing Roma policy implementation from a change management perspective (e.g. informed by business/organisation studies) rather than human rights/public administration reports. One way of assessing this was to analyse data from the two perspectives and compare the primary data with the documentary resources which evaluate the Roma policy implementation at county level using a human rights perspective. Some of these reports highlighting the Roma policy implementation are summarised below:

Organisation	Report	Content
Romani CRISS	Health services and Roma. Evaluation of health mediation system, 2007	General information about Roma. Public health system in Romania. Best practices: health mediation in Roma communities.
Together Agency	The national Strategy to improve the situation of the Roma, 2009	Sociological analysis focusing on national, regional, and county levels, the role of the civil society, and the success of the 2001 Strategy and external funds.
Romani CRISS	Health and Roma community: Analysis of the situation in Romania, 2009	Identifying policies to combat inequalities and improve the Roma living conditions. Characteristics of the Roma population (demographic structure, social environment, household, and education), self-perceived state of health, access and use of medical services, medical drugs, and lifestyle.

European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia	Breaking the Barriers – Romani Women and Access to Public Health Care, 2003	Highlighting the situation of the Roma community in various parts of Europe as a benchmark of the development in the field of fundamental rights and social justice. Demonstrating a poor situation of Romani women in relation to health care.
Roma Education Fund The GALLUP Organisation Romania	Analysis of the impact of affirmative action for Roma in high schools, vocational schools and universities, 2009	Providing systematic data about the impact of a well-established educational policy of affirmative action for Roma in Romania.[14]

Table 10: Type of reports used as documentary sources

Thirdly, the network picture was obtained due to representatives from all state institutions that employ Roma workers according to the 2001 Strategy being part of the sample interviewed[15].

3.4.2. Using NVivo to analyse the data

The tool used to analyse the data is NVivo, software that provides a systematic technique of conducting grounded theory analysis: 'many qualitative researchers in business and management use grounded theory solely as a way of coding their data' (Myers, 2009, p. 107). Grounded theory is a qualitative method which aims 'to develop theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analysed' (Myers, 2009, p. 106).

Myers (2009) recommends that the final written report – in this case the final draft of the thesis - contain both grounded theory as a research method and another theory as a central framework for the study. For this reason, the receptivity framework was used to collect and analyse data, while other models helped in making sense of the findings:

> 'If the researcher is able to make an original contribution to knowledge and come up with some interesting findings by using the technique of grounded theory for coding only, then I believe this somewhat limited use of grounded theory can be justified' (p. 112).

The narrative technique was heavily used before NVivo, when coding was done through reading the manuscript as a whole document, to observe connections between ideas, 'on reflecting on the text and recording those reflections in journals and memos' (Bazeley, 2007, p. 9). In this research, a narrative technique was used for documents, reports, and emails; while to analyse interviews, NVivo was employed. While conducting the interviews, the researcher collected printed copies of various reports, internal documents, and local strategies. These were read, while notes were taken if something was considered interesting or useful in the context of this research. The same strategy was employed for observations: during observations, notes were taken capturing the events observed, then these were read during the writing up process.

---

[14] 'This contribution is hard to quantify and therefore it is also hard to estimate the contribution to reducing the gap between Roma and non Roma for these educational cycles.'
[15] These were described in other sections of the thesis. Also, tables with all respondents are in the Appendices.

As the main contributions emerged towards the end, another strategy to enhance the findings was to go back to the interviews taken to bridging people to have another read and get a better understanding on how they practices were implemented.

Using NVivo had some advantages e.g. the programme was useful to handle data and manage. It decreased researchers' work simplifying the coding process and it made the paper handling easier (Bazeley, 2007). Due to the fact that vast amounts of data were collected, it became difficult to analyse without a tool to organise the data. Therefore, NVivo proved to be a helpful organising system, where key words of themes were rapidly found, while adding rigour to the research.

NVivo had also some disadvantages. The researcher lost closeness by using the computer, because of a 'poor screen display'. Too much closeness can be achieved through the mixture of tape recorders and software. The text was at times segmented and the context was lost which caused depreciation of data. As a new researcher using Nvivo, I was 'caught in the coding trap' overwhelmed by the vast amount of data and unable to view the whole picture (Bazeley, 2007, p. 8).

3.4.3. Using codes, categories, themes to explain the data

Locke (2001) describes four stages of data analysis in grounded theory: 1. comparing incidents applicable to each category, 2. integrating categories and their properties, 3. delimiting the theory, and 4. writing the theory. As mentioned before, grounded theory techniques were used to analyse the data; only the first two stages were followed.

The first step was to read all the data collected; this way the researcher was immersed into the respondents' world (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). In the first stage, the processes were naming, comparing activities, and memoing. Firstly, naming means theorising and developing abstract meaning for observations or events in the data collected while showing what happened. Secondly, comparing is linked to naming; it is important in generating conceptual categories, helping the researcher to develop a category for multiple observations in the data and naming conceptual categories while refining and explaining the data content:

> 'Each incident in the data is compared with other incidents for similarities and differences. Incidents found to be conceptually similar are grouped together under a higher-level descriptive concept (categories)' (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p. 73).

Thirdly, by memoing, the researcher takes sections of raw data: 'Each memo will be labelled with a concept. The conceptual label reflects my interpretation of what is being said' (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p. 163). Concepts are 'words that stand for ideas contained in the data, interpretations, the product of analysis' (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p. 159).

3.4.3.1. Coding

There are some key ideas in the literature that helped organising and framing the discussions either by case, or by theme and dimensions which emerged much later in data analysis. Coding is 'taking raw

data and raising it to a conceptual level' (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p. 66). However, coding is more than just noticing concepts and creating lists of codes; it involves:

> 'Interacting with data (analysis) using techniques such as asking questions about the data, making comparisons between data, deriving concepts to stand for those data, then developing those concepts in terms of their properties and dimensions' (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p. 66).

The best approach to analyse data was to separate it into smaller tasks (Spradley, 1979). The first set of data was the foundation for further data collection and analysis (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). In NVivo, codes or nodes, are 'containers' including all the data regarding a 'concept or category' (Bazeley, 2007, p. 9). In this research, the selection of nodes came both from literature and first data collection. The researcher started coding shortly after the first interview in County 3, in June 2009 when it was the first data collection. The first set of codes were: Communism-democracy, Corruption, Defining institutions and organisations, Education and Health, Legislation, Performance, Poverty, Prejudice , Roma social exclusion, Sustainability, (free codes) and Implementation capacity, Leading change, Ideological vision, Institutional politics, Possibility space: Choice, No universal Best practices, Path dependency Organisational play (tree codes).

Then, it became apparent that one of the receptivity towards change factors was strongly influencing the events. Therefore, 'institutional politics' became a central point of this research, especially because it describes the role of formal and informal networks. Therefore, in February 2010 the researcher conducted the second data collection in County 3. The results were analysed focusing on different levels of network learning (individual, group, organisation, inter-organisational, inter-organisational networks). It kept the receptivity factors as tree nodes and it focused on other free codes: Change events, Networks (collaborations), Network learning, Network receptivity, Performance indicators, and Needs.

After the first data collection in County 1 and County 2 in June-July 2010, new concepts emerged. The new codes used to analyse the data were: Change-views, patterns, programmes, County context: culture, geographical position, history, poverty, tolerance and discrimination, Defining aims and vision, Defining performance and progress, Initiatives, projects and, programmes, Network continuity, Network learning, Network legislation, Network structure, Network properties, Network receptivity, Network funding, Network bureaucracy, corruption. The last set of data collection was in September-October 2011 in County 1 and County 2.

In this research, by coding, data analysis became systematic and rigorous. Three types of coding were used. Open coding entails 'a brainstorming approach to analysis' (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p. 160). It means 'breaking data apart and delineating concepts to stand for blocks of raw data' (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p. 195).

Axial coding is 'crosscutting or relating concepts to each other' (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p. 195). At this stage, the researcher compared various codes two by two. For example, she looked at the link between 'path dependency' and perceived 'performance'. To reinforce the findings and to give more solidity to the research process, the researcher looked at comparative codes and she differentiated the answers of different categories of interviewees (administrative, activist, and governmental sub-network), a fact facilitated by NVivo through assigning 'attributes' to respondents. She systematically looked for contrary evidence (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Finally, selective coding represents the selection of those most relevant codes which need further analysis. One code stood out, County context: culture, geographical position, history, poverty, tolerance and discrimination, which later helped to give more focus to the themes.

3.4.3.2. Memoing

Even with computers, the researcher reflected and wrote memos, because 'thinking is the heart and soul of doing qualitative analysis' (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p. 163). Memoing becomes a spontaneous practice which helps formulate what is occurring in the data:

> 'Memoing conserves and facilitates sense-making in many different ways through each of the constant comparative process's four forms of analytic activity. It helps to capture ideas as and when they strike, to develop lines of thought about what is happening in the data, to transition between the emerging theoretical framework and existing relevant disciplinary theory, and it is a vehicle to compose initial drafts of documents to be submitted for publication' (Locke, 2001, p. 45).

Memos were found towards the later stages of the analysis. Examples of such types of memos used in this research, where reflections were wrote down by the researcher:

Memos County 1: 'there is a clear difference between types of policies created for the Roma: either top down or bottom up. Those top down – Roma counsellor, Roma expert - are imposed based on political affiliations, while those bottom up – school and health mediators - were created by NGOs. But in terms of implementation of these numbers, it is still top down, through appointing certain people, not through exams or other transparent practices'.

'Bridging people understand the responsibility of those elected; they play the 'watchdog' role; they try to suggest ideas rather than become 'friends' with the Mayors, stating that socio-economic development cannot be done without state institutions, which are those who create public policies and are implementing them after all.'

Memos County 2: 'the collaboration with state institutions is deficient; although the latter sign a partnership engaging in a shared responsibility, the initiator of the project (mostly NGOs) is the one that does most of the work. There are no mechanisms to force them to comply; state institutions are known as more slow and rigid.'

'The use of the clique in implementing policies is not perceived as a negative practice if the clique is not blocking the access of other members of the network. This is an ideal option, because the members of the NGO30 try to promote only the members of their network acting less as a normal clique, and more as closed, exclusivist.'

Memos County 3: 'in County 3, it is difficult to access funds and to implement projects without involving the local authorities. Here, the support of the bridging people for the network is clearly shown: knowledge and skills are insufficient to implement projects. The most successful projects are those implemented by bridging people.'

'The way the whole public implementation system works might explain why networks work better than single organisations and why bridging people have a clear advantage in taking advantage of the funds.'

Case narratives or descriptive narratives become part of the analytical phase. Yin (2009) underlined the important role of narratives in case study research, considering them as a formal part of the database, which should be used more often by researchers. 'The network narratives' highlighted large-scale changes. The researcher created data summaries reduced enough to write observations at the network level. Memos/observations across cases explained similarities and differences, while using all dimensions of the network level and the receptivity. These were presented in compare-contrast tables from the three cases: 'Tables also allow researchers to underscore the groundedness of their data, by showing, for example, fragments expressing theoretical elements across various slices of data' (Locke, 2001, p. 119).

3.4.3.3. Categories/Themes

Another stage was assimilating categories and their properties. This was an analytic action; the researcher tried to 'fully develop and also to provide an organisation for the conceptual categories we have been drafting' (Locke, 2001, p. 45). Categories or themes are 'higher level concepts under which analysts group lower level concepts according to shared properties. They represent relevant phenomena and enable the analyst to reduce and combine the data' (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p. 159).

An important point to look at when making sense of the data is plausibility. Miles and Huberman (1994) defined plausibility as something that 'makes good sense' and 'just feels right': 'plausibility is a pointer which draws attention to a conclusion that looked reasonable and sensible' (p. 246). In the present research, this point of realisation that data make sense was not reached after the first coding and analysis of the results. As a result, the researcher needed to take a step back before deciding on the next phase.

An extended literature review focusing on networks was started. The conclusion was that the data collected so far built on previous network literature. Therefore, a table with the main articles and their

findings was created. After this, the researcher looked at the most relevant articles and codes previously used, reflecting on them and on research questions, looking across the table to identify the logical link between them and the questions used. This table pointed out the link between existing work and possible new contributions. Throughout the data analysis, the researcher created reports to assess and review the progress, find themes that are occurring more than others, and describe the findings.

Miles and Huberman (1994) pointed out that at the beginning of data analysis, researchers notice recurring patterns and themes. These themes are vital at this stage of the research because they give focus and they facilitate the selection of codes/nodes. They explained clustering as putting ideas into categories and classes: 'trying to understand a phenomenon better by grouping and the conceptualising of objects that have similar patterns or characteristics' (p. 249).

Themes emerged in three main stages. Firstly, at the beginning of the research the main framings were 1. Health and education, and 2. Activist, administrative, and governmental sub-networks. Before developing the set of themes/dimensions, it was important that the network properties/behaviours were analysed in relationship to outcomes. When looking for explanations, the researcher unpacked the data. For example, she looked at which types of initiatives were successful and why others have failed; she listed the initiatives for each area, whether they were in health and education, in order to critically review the relationships between them.

The researcher also noticed the segmentation of the Roma network into three sub-networks: activist (non-governmental organisations, artists, academics, people who play an activist role: raising awareness, lobbying, and researching), administrative (civil servants, those who deal directly with Roma communities), and governmental (Roma councillors, Roma experts and other governmental workers).

This segmentation was inspired by Billis and Glennerster (1998), who examined whether 'human service organisations in the voluntary sector possess characteristics which might assure them of possible comparative advantages over the for-profit and public sectors with respect to certain sorts of users' (p. 79). They concluded that there are essential structural characteristics of organisations which predispose them to answer differently to different problems of their beneficiaries.

Secondly, in the later stages of the data analysis, other themes emerged. Three themes were related to NL and two themes to NR/capability. The first set of analytical categories contained 'network learning' (NL), represented by changes in network structures (Knight and Pye, 2005). Network outcomes were closely linked to practical matters; they described how networks are organised. The aim was to highlight some focal points, to show contrast and variety of what was happening in County 1, County 2, and County 3.

'Structure' represented people who are part of the policy implementation network: Roma workers (Roma experts, Roma councillors, Roma school mediators, Roma health mediators, Roma school Inspectors, Roma local councillors, Roma NGOs and associations), other people, who can influence the Roma workers (Mayors, Prefects, governmental representatives, medical staff, and teachers), and beneficiaries (Roma communities).

The second set of categories formed 'network receptivity' (NR). In NR lay the ability to organise, to change, to learn, to develop, to re-organise, and to respond to funds coming into the system. NR comprised leading change: bridging people and cliques. Leading change (Butler, 2003) in the network referred to those implementing change, type of methods used, their characteristics, skills, knowledge, and capabilities.

If network leaning was explained by outcomes registered at the network level, network receptivity was defined by the characteristics and the abilities of a network to learn/to produce outcomes. This was translated into the characteristics of people who facilitate change and the way they group in cliques to be more efficient.

One code stood out, County context: culture, geographical position, history, poverty, tolerance and discrimination. As this code emerged towards the end of the data analysis, it has become key in making sense of the data. Looking at the data, the researcher agreed with other authors who stated that culture plays a significant role in understanding paradoxes (Vangen and Winchester, 2014). These pointed out that the literature on the management of cultural diversity in collaboration has mainly looked at understanding cultural conflict rather than considering culture as one of the features that might lead to synergistic gains (Vangen and Winchester, 2014; Saz-Carranza and Ospina, 2011).

Towards the end of the data analysis, the researcher looked at the data based on three main themes cliques, bridging actors, and managing paradoxes. Although it was a re-orientation from receptivity towards change to network learning, the result was that the data collected allowed network level analysis. This re-orientation came as a result of reflection on the data collected. Specifically, reading again the interviewees, where in particular in County 3 groups of people gathering to do things, were so evident and respondents openly admitting being part of a certain group, which later was called a clique.

The theme 'managing paradoxes' included: facilitating interaction, cultivating relationships, and promoting openness (when doing inward work) and multi-level working, cultivating relationships, and managing credibility (when doing outward work). These guide the discussion of the main results of the study.

3.5. Combining data collection and analysis

The overlap of on-going data collection and interpretation of collected data enhances researchers' awareness of steps to follow. Because the research is open and flexible, it allows continuous changes.

Also, these modifications permit the investigation of developing arguments. Combining data collection with data analysis increases the speed of releasing results and it helps corrections and modifications. Researchers 'take advantage of emergent themes and unique case features' (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 537).

Some would argue that the on-going changes in the research would change the study. But because the qualitative research goes in depth, for example, adding new questions increases the value of the outcomes. This 'alteration is likely to better ground the theory or to provide new theoretical insight' (Eisenhardt, 1989, pp. 538-9).

Another important aspect to discuss is the evolution of design. This is closely linked to the previous section which focused on the overlap between data collection and data analysis. The methodology did not perfectly fit from the beginning of the research, but rather adapted according to the needs. This is a natural process, because the researcher cannot predict all the potential challenges.

The design of the actual research is presented below:
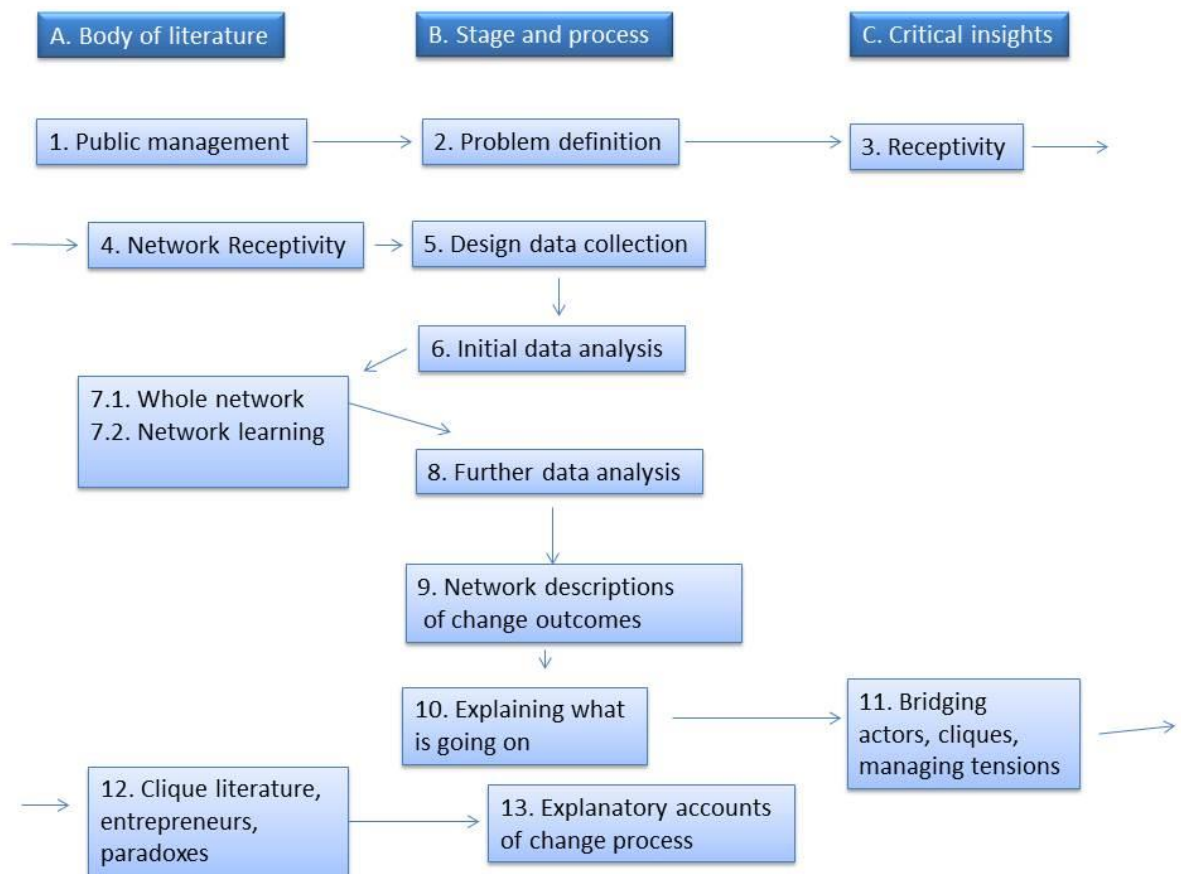
Figure 4: Research design

3.6. Challenges analysing the data

Two main challenges in analysing the data will be explained next. An important challenge was obtaining a 'network' picture. This was achieved while writing the sections about initiatives, practices

taken by the activist, administrative, or governmental sub-networks. It was challenging to focus on those network actions, and not on detailed, or isolated events.

Another major challenge was caused by the richness of data. Meetings between researcher and supervisors had one recurrent question: 'We have these great data, what would be the main findings we should focus on?' This was followed by reflection and further reading of literature. One explanation for these challenges is the complexity of change in general and the complexity of problems in Roma communities, in particular:

> 'First time users of the grounded theory method tend to get overwhelmed at the coding level…inexperienced researchers in particular tend to find it difficult to rise above the detail…to 'scale up' to larger concepts or themes, it can be difficult to see the bigger picture. The net result is often the generalisation of what I would call lower level theory…' (Myers, 2009, p. 112).

For this reason, it was timely to narrow down the research focus or to establish which are the main findings and contributions of the study.

Finally, the last point discussed about methodology regards the ethical issues and the quality check looking at triangulation, validity, reliability, generalisation, and testing or confirming the findings.

3.5. Cross-cutting issues

3.5.1. Ethical concerns

An important trait of the research is the ethical aspect. As most people, social scientists have values, stereotypes, misconceptions. Sometimes researchers' values are not the same as their informants'. That is, as recommended by Spradley (1980), consulting the ethical guide made available by the university was vital. Working with sensitive issues previously (e.g. HIV+, abandoned, trafficked, or street children, elderly, unemployed, disabled, or (ex) offenders), the researcher was familiar with requirements for confidentiality and anonymity[16]. Moreover, ethnographic studies also raise important ethical concerns.

The researcher will maintain confidentiality of all records. The data do not contain names of people interviewed, or of counties studied. The researcher did not discuss other interviewees' statements with other participants.

3.5.2. Triangulation

The concept of triangulation draws from measurement validity by quantitative researchers (Seale, 1999). Bryman (2001) suggests that researchers cannot only rely on one method. Therefore, several methods ought to be used to triangulate the data and to improve the validity of the study (Hartley, 2004, p. 324).

---

[16] A summary of how the anonymity of the respondents and case studies was kept is presented in the Appendices.

Authors have different definitions of triangulation. For Pettigrew (1997), data triangulation means employing different sources of data: for example, data in various settings, times, and locations, because human conduct is influenced by time, agency, structure, context, emergence, and development. Investigator triangulation entails using a team of investigators for research, to reduce bias. Theory triangulation means that researchers need to start from a number of theories and hypotheses in mind and compare each theory with the data. The most common type is methodological triangulation. Usually, it involves combining observations and interviews (Danzin, 1978). It aims to show objectivity through the use of multiple methods (Campbell and Fiske, 1959).

Triangulation is an effective way to increase the robustness or validity of the study (Jarzabkowski and Wilson, 2002). Eisenhardt (1989) suggests that by triangulating the data, a comprehensive and precise representation of practices is created. For this reason, in this research, three types of data were collected: semi-structured interviews, observations, and documents. Moreover, responses from different categories of people were triangulated: managers, front line workers from government, local administration, NGOs, plus academics and beneficiaries.

3.5.3. Validity and reliability

Validity and reliability are important in both quantitative and qualitative studies (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Several types of data are used in order to improve the validity of the study (Hartley, 2004). In this research, interviews, observations, and documentary sources are used. These also give the researcher the opportunity to employ the strong points of various analysis techniques. The issue raised for the interpretivist is: 'Will similar observations be made on different occasions?' (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991).

It is important to be aware of the literature which looks at similar issues. Assessing the literature that contradicts the findings is also important; because it shows that researchers are confident with their study. Comparing the results with conflicting literature builds internal validity, raises the theoretical level, and sharpens construct definitions. Likewise, it creates a chance to develop their ideas and go deeper than their predecessors (Eisenhardt, 1989). Also, 'citing literature support for an alternate perspective also supports an insufficient problematisation' (Locke and Golden-Biddle, 1997, p. 1050).

Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) signal that the disadvantage of the interpretivist method is lower reliability and difficulty to replicate the results. However, Seale (1999) believes that internal reliability in quantitative and qualitative studies are similar. It describes to what degree other researchers applying same construct would replicate initial data. External reliability refers to the replicability of the entire study, meaning that if other researchers went into the field they would find the same results (Seale, 1999). For the interpretivist researcher, the question that needs to be answered is: 'Has the researcher gained full access to the knowledge and meaning of the informants?' (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991).

3.5.4. Generalisation

One of the issues that has to be tackled when doing research is the debate on generalisation. Generalisation answers the question: are the social phenomena described universal or contextual, in other words is it nomothetic or ideographic? Firstly, ideographic methods describe unique features of a phenomenon, regularly presented in qualitative case studies. Ideographic authors deny the presence of a law. Secondly, nomothetic methods look at creating 'law-like statements that apply across many settings and events, some of which may lie in the future and are free of particular contingencies of time and space' (Seale, 1999, p. 106).

Criticised for the lack of generalisability and impressionistic data, the research based on case studies embodying qualitative tools can be robust and can have a significant contribution to theory and practice. Moreover, the researcher using qualitative methods creates 'inductively a tentative but explanatory theory about a phenomenon' (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 20). The question here for the interpretivist researcher is: 'how likely is that the ideas and theories generated in one setting will also apply in other settings?' (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991) As the key issues were repeatedly highlighted by respondents, it is highly likely that these findings will apply in other Romanian counties, showing the use of cliques, alliances and entrepreneurs in Roma networks.

3.5.5. Testing or confirming findings

One of the necessary steps in research is testing the reliability of the findings. Miles and Huberman, (1994) suggested 13 methods to assess data quality: representativeness; checking for researcher effects, on the case and vice versa; triangulating across data sources and methods; weighting the evidence, deciding which kinds of data can most be trusted; checking the meaning of outliners; using extreme cases; following up surprises; looking for negative evidence; making if-then tests; ruling out spurious relations; replicating a finding; checking out rival explanations; getting feedback from informants (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 262).

For practical reasons, only two of them have been used to check the data quality of this research: using extreme cases and looking for negative evidence. Miles and Huberman (1994) also give suggestions as to how these methods should be used in practice. Firstly, looking at extreme cases was useful. The researcher went back to data and read the interviews. The conclusion drawn confirmed that "in many cases outlier analysis strengthens an original conclusion; 'the exception proves the rule' '(p. 262).

Secondly, looking for negative evidence, Miles and Huberman (1994) believed that inviting

> 'A curmudgeonly sceptic to take a good look at the conclusion at hand, avoiding your data display and seeking data back in the written-up field notes that would effectively disconfirm your conclusion. If such evidence is found, do your best to rejoice, and proceed to the formulation of an alternative conclusion that deals with the evidence' (p. 262).

For this purpose, two people were invited by the researcher to read a summary of the thesis, including key elements that would make them familiar with the topic. One person agreed with the conclusions

reached and presented in the research questions. The second one disagreed, claiming that in all sectors and organisations people will have the tendency to form and to act in closed cliques similar to those in Roma networks.

CHAPTER 4

County 1: A higher receptive context for Roma policy implementation

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse how education and health policies were implemented in three Roma networks in Romania. Initially, County 1 was selected because it had the highest literacy rate for Roma (See3.3.1. Selecting the case studies).

Largely, it emphasises that the administrative and governmental sub-networks remain bureaucratic; they also influence the activist sub-network, imposing a slower pace. Changes were also imposed politically every four years, when the winning party brings in new teams of Directors and Inspectors in the central and local administration. This is an important part of the Romanian context which is closely connected with perpetuating an uncertain environment for implementing Roma policies, where people in key positions lose those positions due to political agendas.

This section presents County 1: features of this highly receptive context for change in Roma policy implementation. In particular, it shows local key initiatives, network structure, how these outcomes happened, the role of social entrepreneurs (bridging people), cliques/alliances as forms of collaborations/coalitions, and Roma network members' responses to paradoxes.

In this uncertain environment, social entrepreneurs emerge, becoming important drivers of change in creating and implementing Roma policies. They also develop two main practices to help them 'make things happen', namely forming cliques and alliances.

4.1. Organisational context: initiatives and narrative of policy implementation

A particular characteristic of County 1 is its dynamism: the Roma network is continuously changing. This dynamism is driven both by people joining and leaving the network and by actors within the network changing roles. By switching roles, network members learn more and get broader insights about what motivates other people, what is driving changes in implementing policies, taking decisions which are more effective in terms of collective outcomes. But these changes are also determined by the party winning the elections, once new Mayors, Prefects, and local councils get their new positions. These impose new leading teams in local administration, creating an unstable environment.

County 1 has the highest level of interactions between central and local levels. Here are located the Romanian Government and the National Agency for the Roma which is part of the Government. In comparison with the other two case studies, respondents in County 1 rigorously refer to events happening at the macro level: their input to draft the Strategies, lobbying to change or introduce new legislation, and creation of Health and School Mediation Programmes, key initiatives in the Roma context.

In earlier stages of this research, it was noted that initiatives were different for each of these categories, therefore each type of sub-network (activist, administrative, and governmental) has been taken separately.

This section will now present what happened in terms of health and education in the Roma network. In County 1, the main initiative taken in health by the activist sub-network was the Health Mediation Programme, created in 1996 by Romani CRISS, a Roma NGO. This initiative developed from events in Mihail Kogalniceanu, a locality affected by inter-ethnic conflicts. When non-governmental organisations went there to calm people down, they found that many Roma were not vaccinated. As a result, a woman from the community was required to be a mediator:

> 'We didn't call her a health mediator at that time. Later, in '98 came the proposal... It's this possibility to train some Roma women, to increase their access on the labour market, to train them to become nurses' (President, NGO10).

As a result, in 1996, Romani CRISS piloted the concept of health mediator:

> 'The health mediator is a person who enhances/mediates the relationship between the Roma community and local health authorities. A health mediator must have very good communication abilities and it must be accepted and respected by community members as well as by local authorities representatives' [Wamsiedel et al., 2011, p. 8].

Overall, in health, the aim of the Roma network was to include Roma communities in the health care system through GPs, health checks, immunisation, and health awareness campaigns. These initiatives were vital because, according to a 2009 report, 45.7% of Roma minors did not receive all the vaccines required by the National Immunization Programme, even though they are mandatory and free [EU, 2009, p. 149)].

With regards to education, the Roma network in County 1 focused on fighting for Roma educational rights. The main initiatives were introduced by the activist sub-network and they have become national policies: the School Mediation Programme, education for 0-3 year olds, and desegregation initiatives.

First, one of the significant initiatives in education was the School Mediation Programme. The concept of school mediation was introduced in 1996 by the same NGO which created the Heath Mediation Programme, Romani CRISS in collaboration with the Intercultural Institute Timişoara.

Second, the activist sub-network in County 1 created the 'Early Developing and Learning Standards' which were later adopted by the Romanian Government: 'Romania has Early Developing and Learning Standards and standards of socialisation and development of non-discrimination skills, of multiple relationships at the childhood level' (Specialist Social Policies, NGO5). NGO14 created a National Early Education Strategy with a chapter on Roma:

'It was put on the Ministry's website for public consultation. We struggled really hard to build this system that has never existed in Romania. It was preschool education for 3 to 6 years, but not from 0 to 6 years' (Specialist Social Policies, NGO5).

Third, another initiative created by the activists was the Desegregation Orders adopted by the Romanian Government: 'regarding the Order prohibiting segregation, we worked with Ministries, we lobbied, in a way we have initiated them together with the Romani CRISS organisation' (Director, NGO7).

The Roma network members aimed to create an environment free from discrimination for Roma children, to include children and adults in education, and to fill legislative gaps. For example, although the Phare programme in Romania looked comprehensive on paper, its implementation was challenging:

'While the central government seems to have good intentions, the political will to ensure that the projects are correctly implemented on the ground has been lacking. There are cases of misunderstandings, especially with the local County School Inspectorates, which have sometimes not implemented the projects in culturally sensitive ways; in some cases, projects have been operated in ways that actually ran counter to the objectives, such as unintentionally re-segregating Roma students within schools' [UNICEF, 2010, p. 35].

Having introduced County 1, key changes in the network will now be explained. This is driven by the policy and strategy set by the Romanian Government and the EU. It is important to highlight these features, to get a full picture of what is happening in County 1, while considering institutional practices, the environment, and initiatives. They explain Roma policy creation and implementation, to get an accurate description of their initiatives and the link between them.

4.2. *Organisational action: outcomes (content) and how they emerged (process)*

The previous section briefly described what happened in County 1; specifically it looked at initiatives in health and education. The next one analyses the content and the process of policy implementation, relating it to network structures and network receptivity, respectively. It answers the question what happened in terms of the structure of the network, what interpretations and practices are particular for County 1.

The analysis of the process of policy implementation is guided by network receptivity. It shows the question how practices were implemented, how network members dealt with the process of change, and how they managed paradoxes. The process includes also key drivers and explanatory factors: bridging people, cliques and alliances.

Network Structure

In the first part of this section, network structure is described in a broad way, presenting people who are part of Roma policy creation and implementation. In the second part, it considers relationships, reconfiguration of relationships, legislation, funding structures and regulations.

The network in County 1 is presented in Figure 3. The structure of the network is different than in other counties. In County 1, the inner context has six district City Halls, 'General City Hall', Prefecture, School Inspectorate, Universities, and NGOs. Each of the six City Halls has a department which includes one or several Roma experts. The public (Roma beneficiaries) is also part of the Roma network.

The circles represent the activist, administrative, and governmental sub-networks. The administrative sub-network is formed by school and health mediators; therefore it is included in the governmental sub-network, within the School Inspectorate and City Hall, respectively. The administrative sub-network includes health mediators employed by City Halls and school mediators employed by School Inspectorates. They raise awareness on the role of health and education in Roma communities.

At the county level, the local authorities are represented by the Prefecture, City Hall, and County School Inspectorate which through their Roma representatives implement the Strategy at the local level. Together with local NGOs, they represent the inner context (Pettigrew et al., 2001). NGOs are independent bodies; they are not managed by a local or central authority. Their role in policy implementation is vital, because through NGOs structural funds are accessed in order to run projects, to develop, and improve the Roma communities:

> 'To implement the Strategy, the Agency collaborates with non-governmental organisations through programmes and projects for the improvement of the Roma situation, which is a political criterion for accession to the EU' [ANR, 2012].
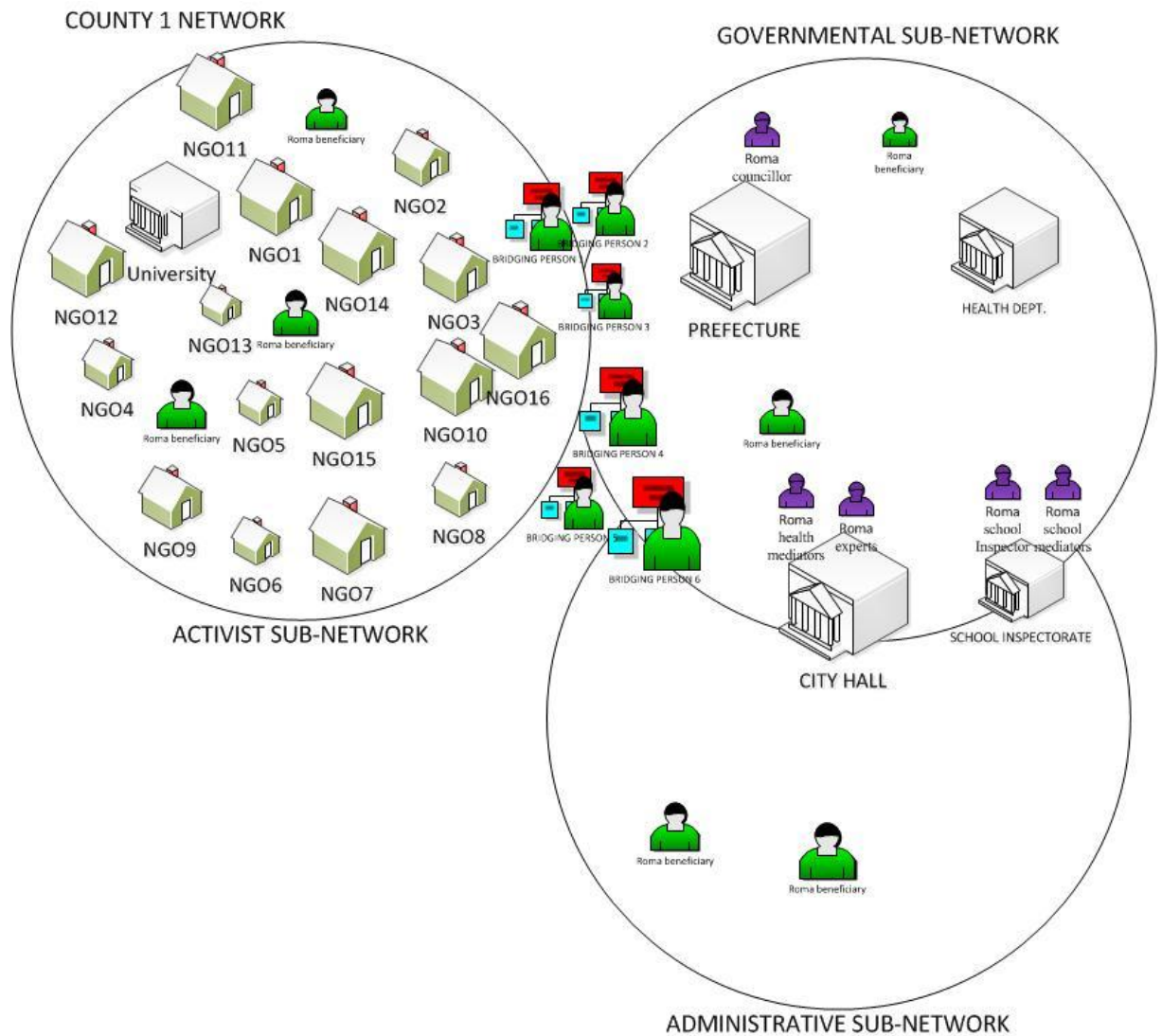
Figure 5: Representation of County 1

The activist sub-network in County 1 is dominated by NGOs, which are more numerous than in the rest of the country. Their roles vary: they are artists or academics doing research in this area, they are involved in education, or both. A significant attribute is raising awareness and lobbying for Roma economic and social rights. Here, more programmes are successfully implemented and there is a higher competition for resources.

The governmental sub-network includes the Roma councillor and Roma experts. The Roma councillor is part of the Roma County Office, a department in the Prefecture, who coordinates and implements activities stated in the Governmental Strategy at the county level (ANR, 2012). This job was introduced through the 2001 Strategy. In the Office there are fewer workers than the Strategy requires: 'I'm the only person from this institution who is part of the Office. There were not those three-four experts who would help me to establish it' (Roma councillor, Prefecture).

The Roma expert is another job specified through the 2001 Strategy. It is an interface between local authorities and Roma communities. Roma experts are employed by City Halls and subordinated to the

local Mayor and the Roma councillor. Their responsibility is to organise, plan, coordinate, and develop the activities from the General Action Plan from the Strategy at the local level (ANR, 2012).

In County 1, experts were introduced and assimilated in City Halls differently from one district to another. As the job created was not within a specific unit, Roma experts work in different departments. In many cases their expertise in the social area is limited: 'He [Roma expert] doesn't have the appropriate expertise to work with social issues. His training is very poor, even minimal (President, NGO10).

In County 1, six people who were in two different networks were interviewed. Surprisingly, all of them were PhD students in Roma studies. The 1st bridging actor (B1) was part of a Governmental Commission and an NGO President. Five bridging people (B2, B3, B4, and B5) were part of NGOs or the local authority (B6).

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, network structure also refers to relationships and reconfiguration of relationships between members, funding structures, new legislation or regulations.

The administrative sub-network, formed by health and school mediators, has changed as a consequence of external events. These changes in structure, in health and education, will be briefly analysed below.

In health, changes in network structure affected the number of mediators. Initially, the Health Mediation Programme started with a small number of Roma women. The number of mediators fluctuated according to different actions imposed by the Government: budget cuts, decentralisation, training courses, introduction of a new network created to supervise health mediators.

The number of mediators was insufficient; some communities had no health mediator: 'We don't have a health mediator; B. [Roma expert, City Hall] has chosen young girls; who left because they were not happy with the wage' (Inspector, City Hall, 4th District). A report also shows that 'limited resources and a lack of clear regulations for hiring additional mediators have limited the expansion of this initiative and threatened the position of existing Roma mediators' [OSI, 2007, p. 332].

In education, the main network structure change refers to the number of school mediators. The School Mediation Programme started with a small number of Roma women volunteers. Their number oscillated due to decentralisation, budget cuts, payment delayed for many months, training courses, ability of the Roma expert and Roma School Inspector to maintain their positions and to create new jobs, and human resources available in the area: 'Though there was training for County School Inspectorates in 2004, this training has not continued. As old Inspectors leave and new ones arrive, problems will most likely continue to arise' [UNICEF, 2010, p. 35].

Started in 2004[17], the decentralisation process negatively influenced the education system through the amount of financial resources distributed to schools and the number of school mediators: 'the local administration can choose not to retain the school mediators and opt to fund other local priorities, unless there is a conditional transfer of budgets involved' [OSI, 2007, p. 365].

A summary of Roma network structures is presented in the table below:

Sub-Network/Outcomes	Network Structure	
	General	**Changes**
Activist	NGOs emerge	Weak NGOs close down, while strong NGOs become more powerful and create alliances with each other.
Administrative	Health mediators	Fluctuations in their number caused by legislative uncertainties and internal pressures: budget cuts, decentralisation, training courses, introduction of a new network created to supervise health mediators.
	School mediators	Decentralisation, budget cuts, payment delayed, training courses, ability of the Roma expert and Roma School Inspector to maintain their positions and to create new jobs, and human resources available in the area.
Governmental	Roma experts, Councillor, School Inspector	They contributed to creation of a qualified human resource. Creation of new structures: Roma County Office, Working Group, Regional Office
Public	Roma beneficiaries	Increased involvement of Roma communities in the decision making process. (Self-) assimilation. Women are keener to access health services, education, and local administration positions.

Table 11: Summary table of network structures in County 1

---

[17] 'The process of decentralisation particularly affects education, as local authorities gain greater autonomy, and the central Government retains fewer mechanisms to combat negative trends such as segregation' [OSI, 2007, p. 363].

4.2.2. Network receptivity

Data had shown that the leading change process works on different levels. For example, the activist sub-network created new national and international programmes and changed current policies. Change in implementing Roma policies was also led by entrepreneurs, which in this research are defined as bridging people or bridging actors. In order to give a full picture of what happens in County 1, the next section presents bridging people, their interpretations and practices, cliques and alliances, and responses to paradoxes.

4.2.2.1. Bridging people

In this sub-section, bridging people in County 1 are discussed, in particular defining and describing them, their interpretations and practices. A summary is presented at the end of the section.

Bridging people are defined in this research as those who are part of two different sub-networks; they use this strategy as a tool to reach their objective in implementing Roma policies. The idea of bridging actors as key drivers of change emerged gradually. During one of the first interviews collected, the researcher was trying to separate initiatives taken by Roma network members, part of organisations (NGOs) and state institutions. It was difficult to distinguish between these two roles, because they were fulfilling them simultaneously; respondents themselves were not aware if a certain outcome was achieved as an activist or as governmental representatives. Then, people who had dual roles started to be referred to as part of two 'mixed sub-networks'. Finally, they have been named 'bridging people' because they were not simply part of two different sub-network, they were taking a bridging role, acting as 'higher level mediators'.

Working in policy implementation is challenging. Bridging actors are key explanatory factors of the change process in Roma networks due to their ability to 'get things done' while creating a team around them – which later was defined as a 'clique' or 'alliance'. They are represented in Figure 3 (see Network Structure).

In terms of employment, bridging people were highly dynamic and flexible. For example, B1 had changed numerous positions; he started as an NGO worker, health mediator trainer, school mediator, before setting his own NGO targeting Roma health issues. B1 focused on health issues: equal access to health services, education and training in the medical field, developing social care services, research and analysis, and lobbying and advocacy.

In terms of interpretations, bridging actors highlighted critical issues in the Roma network, e.g. the discrepancy between Roma public policies created and the real needs of the Roma communities, a lack of ability to effectively communicate and give feedback during meetings and negotiations, a rupture between institutions, and a crisis created by the European funds which increased bureaucracy and also affected the 'Roma activism'.

In County 1, bridging actors worked mainly as a group/alliance, as they had little influence as a single actor in the network. The low influence and power does not necessarily lead to a lack of success. They were also actively involved in drafting the 2012 Governmental Strategy. They organised meetings where the feedback or suggestions to the draft were discussed.

Bridging people were proactive, focusing on lobby activities and collaboration with other activists. They also fought structural inertia, having a high level of perseverance and seeing the whole picture, where problems are integrated into a complex representation:

> 'I established this organisation focused on health policies: because you learn from mistakes. This approach of Roma's health is a big mistake that both the Romanian Government and the National Agency for the Roma are making. You can't approach health issues only from health perspective. People need medical insurance, identity cards, and a place to live' (President, NGO10).

Bridging actors adopted a holistic approach when tackling health issues, closely connected to poverty and social exclusion. They focused on research and evaluating what are the effects of the 2001 Strategy:

> 'In 2009, we started working on an evaluation report of the Strategy and we went in 20-24 communities around the country, in different counties. We took two communities in each county and we chose a positive example and a negative example, to see what is working and what is not working in the Strategy. We have written that analytical report … to see if at the community level the Strategy had an impact if people saw some change' (Programme coordinator, NGO7).

They emphasised the real Roma communities' needs considering their diversity. For example, B1 empowered a group to set up their own NGO, B5 started projects with craftsmen and singers, and B6 helped beneficiaries to write projects.

Bridging people acted as human rights activists, emphasising that the focus should be put on marginalised people, not only Roma:

> 'We should stop talking about Roma, exclusively. OK, 'Affirmative Measures' are meant to have a certain length of time, you don't do them forever. Therefore, the paradigm needs to change and to talk about marginalised people and among them, Roma' (President, NGO10).

Summarising, the main interpretations and practices adopted by bridging actors in County 1 are:

Bridging actor	Interpretations and Practices
1. B1: Government and NGO10, PhD student 2. B2: NGO7, former Gov., and PhD student 3. B3: Child Protection and PhD student 4. B5: NGO16, PhD student 5. B6: NGO14, PhD student	• A discrepancy between Roma public policies created and the real needs of the Roma communities; • A lack of ability to effectively communicate and give feedback during meetings and negotiations; • A rupture between institutions and crisis created by the European funds which increased bureaucracy and also affected 'Roma activism';

	• Focusing on lobby activities and collaboration with other activists; • Adopting a holistic approach when tackling health issues, closely connected to poverty and social exclusion.

Table 12: Bridging actors in County 1

The main practice adopted by bridging people is forming alliances or cliques, which will be described next.

4.2.2.2. Cliques and alliances

Cliques and alliances were different. The main difference was that while alliances were built on open cooperation, cliques were based on rigid and non-transparent practices. In County 1, alliances were formed by people and organisations who shared mutual objectives. They had the tendency to collaborate with the same members of the network.

One clarification of how cliques' and alliances' members differed was given by one respondent explaining the emergence of the Roma health mediator and the Roma councillor from the Prefecture, or the expert from City Hall. The health mediator, as an 'institution', emerged from the bottom-up, as an initiative of civil society, while other people have been pushed, top-down by the administration:

> 'The person from the Prefecture is sent from County 1 [governmental people], he/she hasn't been chosen by the habitants of that county.... These people in Prefectures and around the Mayor are more or less…I wouldn't say chosen politically, but employed on nepotism' (Senior councillor, Government).

'Cliquish activities' meant low efficiency when the people nominated are not qualified for the job. This was more visible in communities where the human resource was not designated according to a transparent selection: e.g. all school mediators nominated by the Roma expert from City Hall 4th District left because they were 'young and unhappy with the wage', in comparison with other mediators in other Districts who at the beginning of the programme worked for free and they are still committed to their work.

Another difference between cliques and alliances related to power. Cliques were always formed in partnership with the local authorities. As one of the initiators of the Health Mediation Programme, B1 declared, the healthcare decentralisation was not needed and it destroyed the Mediation Programme:

> 'We predicted that this was going to happen…… I said at the Ministry Commission: 'the health mediator shouldn't be decentralised, it must be kept, until you don't evaluate them'…because the health mediator didn't have an occupational standard. You sent them to the local authority, but you didn't analyse the implementation capacity of the local authority, to see if they can administrate mediators' (President, NGO10).

The next section looks at how Roma network members 'made things happen' in the complex environment of Roma policy implementation. To give a systematic description of this, the Ospina and

Saz-Carranza (2010) framework is used. They identified three types of responses to paradoxes: 1. In doing inward work (facilitating interaction, cultivating relationships, and promoting openness) and 2. In doing outward work (managing credibility, multi-level working, and cultivating relationships). Although in this research a paradox per se is not studied, this framework is helpful to make sense of the data. These responses will be used to guide the data analysis in the next section.

Therefore, for each of these categories, some responses specific in the context of Roma policy implementation will be presented. It is important to include Eastern European studies and to broader the context of research with less exploited areas. Often referred at 'Eastern Europe' or 'The Other Europe', more research is needed to develop cross-national comparisons (Pridham, 2002, p. 76).

4.2.2.3. Managing paradoxes – Inward work of building community

For a better understanding of this process, the table below shows the responses and their rationale:

Location of the response	Type of response		Rationale
Inward work	Facilitating interaction	Monthly meetings organised by the Roma councillor	Showing how the Roma councillor gathers together all key actors and organisations involved in Roma issues.
		Consulting communities	Roma beneficiaries are an important part of the Roma network, therefore, the relationship between them and Roma workers is vital in understanding their role in the success in policy implementation.
	Cultivating relationships	Collaboration between the activist, administrative, and governmental sub-networks	Roma policies are implemented through a joint effort of all three sub-networks.
	Promoting openness	Promoting women's participation	Roma women have been targeted because they are a vulnerable group. Roma girls are more affected by illiteracy than non-Roma.
Outward work	Multi-level working	Collaboration with other counties or national organisations	In implementing Roma policies, inter-organisational collaborations ought to also include organisations from other counties. The interaction between them is important to show how issues were dealt with.
	Managing credibility	Increasing communication and commitment with Mayors	Mayors are important drivers or inhibitors of change in the Roma network.
	Cultivating relationships	Engaging volunteers	No data

Table 13: Managing paradoxes

Strategies used inside the Roma network comprise facilitating interaction, cultivating relationships, and promoting openness.

Facilitating interaction
In County 1, interaction inside the Roma network is facilitated by employing two main methods: monthly meetings organised by the Roma councillor and consulting/engaging communities.

Firstly, monthly meetings were organised by the Roma councillor. Through the 2001 Strategy, a group of Roma and non-Roma representatives from both NGOs and local authorities formed the Working Mixed Group. In County 1, this Group comprised representatives from Prefecture, Employment Department, County School Inspectorate, City Halls, and NGOs.

Monthly, the Group reunites in order to analyse, plan, organise, and implement the activities included in the Municipal Action Plan. Coordinated by the Roma councillor from the Prefecture, they meet and discuss current issues:

> 'We developed an Action Plan… with group members, who are Roma experts in City Halls, councillors in public services, School Inspectorate, Public Health Department, Municipal Employment Agency, NGOs, even freelancers, school mediators, health mediators, Police … all together we have developed this Plan with timelines, dates, what we do' (Roma councillor, Prefecture)

A theme is proposed for discussion; for example, in the meeting organised on 24th June 2010 they discussed high school admission results of Roma students. Participants were the Employment Agency, the Prefecture, the School Inspectorate, Roma experts from the 1st, 3rd, 4th Districts, and the National Agency for the Roma representatives.

Secondly, communities are engaged for different purposes and by different people. For example, Roma experts are closely connected to Roma communities; their work is similar to a social worker. For this reason, it is important to be known and respected in Roma communities:

> 'We managed to raise awareness about the City Hall, this department, which deals with Roma. People know that when they have a problem, here somebody can help them' (Roma expert, 6th District).

Health mediators explain the legislation and what Roma are entitled to: 'People who have no income have to go to the City Hall to get benefits, then they need to come to CNAS to find out how they can become insured, to pay taxes for three months' (Roma health mediator, observation of training course, 25th June 2010). Mediators inform communities about health because many Roma people do not know their rights: 'the issue is with the enrolment to a GP, because Roma don't have insurance' (Health policies expert, ANR, observation of training course).

The selection of Roma health and school mediators is based on recommendations from Roma School Inspectors and local Roma leaders. Moreover, mediators ought to be accepted by the community; they are constantly in connection with service users: 'I live in the community and before I come here I go in the community to announce all activities that we have' (Roma School Mediator, School 13).

Cultivating relationships

The collaboration between the activist, administrative, and governmental sub-networks was important to understand how they interact and collaborate. The activist sub-network engaged in collaborations with both local authorities and governmental organisations:

> 'We try to influence policies at the central level. We work with Prefectures, City Halls and when we do this; we try to work at the national level, to promote good practices' (Sociologist, NGO11).

As one respondent declared, NGOs are in turn in a relationship of both cooperation and opposition:

> 'Our organisation is advocating for socio-economic development of Roma communities. Socio-economic development cannot be done without state institutions, which are those which create public policies and they are implementing them after all. That is why, many times, we enter into relationships of cooperation, partnership, or conflict with various institutions: Ministries, agencies, local authorities, County Councils, City Halls' (Director, NGO7).

Roma experts in the 4th District realised that together they have more chance to put in practice the activities stated in the Strategy, especially due to their lack of financial resources: 'We speculated every opportunity, to lure them [NGOs], as much as our budget allowed us. We had no money. We wrote down how much we need, we got nothing' (Roma expert, City Hall, 4th District).

The governmental sub-network adapted their work to fit the activities of the activist sub-network, to complement each other: 'We count on these NGOs, which bring in money, we adapted to their activities to reach our own objectives' (Roma expert, City Hall, 4th District). In order to maximise their results, they worked together: 'It is important to work well with non-governmental organisations, NGOs to attract funds, projects, to become project partners' (Roma councillor, Prefecture).

Promoting openness

Promoting women's participation was a vital issue in Roma networks. Respondents stated that participation of Roma women in political life is non-existent at the national or county level. In the last ten years no Roma woman has been elected to the Romanian Parliament. There are no data regarding how many Roma women candidates or winners were in the 2008 elections. Also, there is a gap in public policies on Roma women:

> 'The Roma woman is only a quantitative indicator in the National Strategy: '50% of programmes, projects, development initiatives should focus on Roma women… Many statistics show that the situation of Roma women is three or four times more difficult than

men's, those 50% is not enough ...more than that, in comparison with the majority of women, the situation is five times harder' (Coordinator public policy, NGO6).

Policies and programmes have been implemented by activists to encourage women to study, to be active in the local agenda, in politics, even to start micro-businesses:

'These policies have indeed targeted a large number of Roma women, they are school mediators, many are health mediators; they went on training courses. There are many girls who without this Phare programme may never have walked into a school' (Country Director, NGO14).

The majority of Roma women do not have a high level of education; they have been more successful as mediators and Roma experts.

4.2.2.4. Managing paradoxes – Outward work of building the community
Strategies used outside the Roma network in County 1 comprise multi-level working and managing credibility.

Multi-level working
The collaboration with other counties or national organisations was critical in County 1. Two main issues are discussed here: one is the strategic behaviour of the activists to create alliances and the interaction between activists and governmental organisations at the local and central levels.

Firstly, in County 1 vast data refer to events happening at the macro level: drafting the Strategies, lobbying to change or introduce new legislation, and creation of health and School Mediation Programmes:

'We are a civil society, non-governmental and non-political organisation. We are not really affected by internal changes in the Government. In the implementation of projects, programmes, operational strategies yes, it affects us. Then we have to adjust our plans, but this is at the operational level' (Director, NGO7).

To increase its impact, the activist sub-network adopted a strategic behaviour: allying with other organisations at the national level and targeting local issues. These national alliances were created through programmes:

'We had a bigger programme which focused on developing local NGOs and we have tried to develop a strategic plan. We have about 25 organisations in the country like this, at the local or county level' (Programme coordinator, NGO7).

Another example was an alliance of Roma NGOs set up to increase the impact or the pressure on governmental organisations. This alliance organises local visits to stimulate local debates. They facilitate discussions between local authorities and local NGOs. However, the director of this alliance admits that their efforts are small in comparison with the need:

'We try to move things up a bit and we are using such leverage: to be a support for local organisations so they could at least raise their status in relationship with local authorities or where there are none' (Public policies and advocacy senior adviser, NGO13).

Secondly, activists interacted with governmental organisations at the county and central level in order to draft the Governmental Strategies. Network members manifest different degrees of commitment. In 1999, the Roma network started working on the Strategy. Meetings between authorities and NGOs were organised for drafting it: 'People just sat at the table and they wrote. Each on one field, they were working for two days and they have written; and at the end, somebody put it all together' (Programme coordinator, NGO7).

The beginning was marked by disagreements pointed out by the activists in County 1, who contributed to the creation of the draft of the 2001 Strategy. In April 2000, the Strategy was approved without any warning or without finishing the discussions with NGOs. The same opinion that consultations were not real is also highlighted by a former governmental worker. In 2010, representatives of civil society were invited to improve the draft of the second Strategy. A major problem was emphasised again by respondents. That is, there was no real consultation:

'What frustrated us was the lack of a real consultation. Even if it's not easy to organise a consultation with organisations, to make a real consultative process, not only to invoke a meeting with an organisation or another organisation as being a consultation' (Specialist Social Policies, NGO5).

In 2011, the National Agency for the Roma created a first draft of the 2012 Strategy which was available on line. The feedback was given both during meetings held at the National Agency for the Roma and via email. For example, a draft was sent on 16th June 2011 by SNSPA students, containing general observations and recommendations regarding the strategy.

Aware that the challenges of the 2001 Strategy repeated the 2012 Strategy, in March 2011, Romani CRISS sent a letter to the European Commission, the Hungarian Presidency of the Council of the European Union, The European Parliament, and the Prime-Minister of Romania. The organisation highlighted the concern towards the Romanian 2012 Strategy: 'the Romanian Government has moved too fast by adopting a National Strategy for Roma, while neglecting critical stages' (Romani CRISS, 2012).

The point raised by Romani CRISS was that this period was not long enough to accommodate public debate, as required by Law no. 52/2003, regarding transparency in public administration, which obliges public institutions to notify and consult citizens and organisations on issues of public interest which are discussed for implementation.

Managing credibility

Numerous respondents focused on the lack of communication and ways to increase commitment with Mayors. These referred to a challenging relationship with local authorities, in particular Mayors.

Respondents claimed that Roma are still considered equal citizens once every four years, in the election period:

> 'In that moment they are asked to exercise a citizen's right like other citizens. After, they are no longer citizens, they are Gypsies, people who ruin the image of Romania, thieves' (Director, NGO7).

Mayors were not actually part of the Roma network, but they influenced it, by coordinating and controlling the activity in the place where they were elected. They could influence considerably the work of the Roma expert, school mediators, and health mediators, who were usually based in City Halls:

> 'If Municipalities had understood the role of school and health mediators, local experts, surely, things would have gone much better. But often these roles are: "go and make me a coffee; go dig in the garden". Instead of staying in the office, to learn and to have something to learn, including accessing the Internet, they [mediators] are doing other jobs' (Programme coordinator, NGO7).

Mayors could also refuse partnerships. As a result, the activist sub-network ought to find creative ways to engage them: 'We created some methods for the financial contribution to come from our side; employees' contribution, donations from NGO7's team, or attract donations from others' (Director, NGO7).

In other cases when there was no support from the Mayor, NGOs found other communities where problems were acknowledged and there was a will to solve them: 'when you say that there are no problems, nobody will come with a solution. NGO1 will never go in an area where help wasn't asked' (Programme Officer, NGO1).

This section presented how these NLO happened, in particular through the role of bridging people and cliques/alliances as forms of collaborations/coalitions, as explanatory factors. Finally, using Ospina and Saz-Carranza's (2010) framework, it highlighted how the Roma network deals with conflict inside and outside the network.

To summarise, Chapter 4 described County 1, as a higher context for change. Initially, County 1 was selected because it had the highest literacy rate for Roma. The focus was on Romas' health and education. It described local key initiatives, network structure, the role of social entrepreneurs (bridging people), cliques/alliances as forms of collaborations/coalitions, and Roma network members' responses to paradoxes.

It emphasised that the administrative and governmental sub-networks remain bureaucratic; they also influence the activist sub-network, imposing a slower pace. Changes were also imposed politically every four years, when the winning party brings in new teams of Directors, Inspectors in the central and local administration. This is an important part of the Romanian context which is closely connected with perpetuating an uncertain environment for implementing Roma policies, where people in key positions lose those positions due to political agendas.

CHAPTER 5

County 2: A medium receptive context for Roma policy implementation

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the case study work in County 2. County 2 was initially selected looking at medium literacy rates for Roma. This was also different in terms of geographical position and types of ethnicities, in order to capture insights of a different context (See 3.3.1. Selecting the case studies). The approach is similar with County 1.

5.1. Organisational context: initiatives and narrative of policy implementation

While some initiatives are specific to County 2, others are imposed by the Government and implemented at the local level, e.g. immunisation campaigns. General initiatives were briefly presented in a previous section. Following, those particular initiatives are described, showing what happened in County 2 that was unique.

In terms of health, fewer initiatives were implemented in comparison with those in education. The focus was on training health mediators. The 'Continuous training of health mediators in County 2 and four other counties' was a programme implemented by NGO25 in partnership with County Public Health Bistrita and Romani CRISS. In 2009, they trained health mediators, focusing on delivering information about health and children's rights.

In terms of education, firstly, the activist sub-network focused on implementing projects able to generate income for rural and inter-ethnic NGOs. 'A step towards improvement' was implemented by NGO18 between 2005 and 2007 and it was financed by the EU with Phare funds, aimed to improve the managerial capacity of 15 NGOs in rural areas, elaborate and implement projects bringing income.

Secondly, 'From local solutions to public policies' was an initiative of NGO18 implemented between 2006 and 2007 in partnership with the Open Society Foundation. It aimed to increase the capacity of Roma NGOs to initiate and to coordinate activities to make them more active in local communities.

Thirdly, another initiative in County 2 was to educate Roma communities about the positive role of education and vocational training. This was mostly done through representatives of the church, a common practice especially in villages, in small or remote communities. For example, in Locality7 an American pastor established a small church and a Foundation, to inform people about education, health, social and economic issues.

Roma parents' participation in their children's education is essential. Parents are involved in activities developed in communities or schools. Previous Roma education programmes pointed out that:

'Low parental involvement can change very rapidly, and it is not as much of a problem as some would maintain. If parents are listened to at the level of the school and they get minimum support and explanation required through outreach programmes, such as school mediators, their attitudes may swiftly change... when parents' participation can be enlisted, it has a direct and rapid impact on the success of Roma children in school' [Rorke, 2011, p. 16].

Fourthly, in 1995, a university in County 2 introduced for the first time a measure of 'positive discrimination'. Young Romas were admitted to university on special places allocated for them. Annually, 10-15 students have been enrolled: 'These students have become role models and they form an important human resource for institutions which provide social services for Roma' [Preoteasa et al., 2009, p. 124]. Later, this practice was also adopted by high schools:

'An improvement is noticed in high schools, due to special places allocated for Roma. Regardless what final grade students have, in the 8th grade[18], at the admission, they can apply for special places and they choose areas that they want' (School mediator, County 2).

Fifthly, an organisation constituted under the authority of the Romanian Government, which studies ethnic minorities had a great impact at the local level. Its objectives are to conduct inter- and multi-disciplinary studies and research with regard to the preservation, development and expression of ethnic identity, as well as on social, historical, cultural, linguistic, religious or other national minorities and ethnic communities living in Romania:

'We have conducted surveys in collaboration with the local administration. We have studies about Roma, sociological research made on the entire population, because it's about the attitudinal context in which these policies take place' (Researcher, Governmental).

The initiatives of this organisation are diverse, including changing policies concerning national minorities in Romania: political and institutional analysis of recent history (Governmental organisation, 2012).

5.2. Organisational action: outcomes (content) and how they emerged (process)

The previous chapter briefly described what happened in County 2, the county level initiatives. This section analyses network structure. It is important to summarise some opinions on what respondents consider outcomes and what they want to achieve.

The activist, administrative, and governmental sub-networks had different representations of change. In County 2, the Roma network looks at progress and performance in the context of poverty of Roma communities and amount of resources available. At the governmental level, the Roma network was following the provisions of the Governmental Strategy, while the non-governmental organisations had other specific objectives. School mediators pointed out that the number of Roma accessing special places has been increasing steadily: 'We, those working in the system, if we look at what it was

---

[18] 14-15 year olds

before, we can clearly observe results: visible and useful for society' (School mediator, County 2). Despite the fact that the number of mediators was not sufficient, when assessing mediators' success they overlooked the failures:

> 'County 2 represents the 3rd place in the country for the number of mediators, not a significant number, but enough. Considering also the problems in the education system, at the School Inspectorate, every year vacancies for school mediators were approved; they are clearly aware and they see great outcomes as a result of school mediators' (School mediator, County 2).

For the activist sub-network, an important issue when assessing NLO was the introduction of school and health mediators, and local councillors. A respondent working in the field since 1999 stated that the situation of the Roma in terms of representation at the institutional level has improved considerably: 'I work in 30 rural communes; I have seen that it has gained a lot from the institutional representation perspective' (Specialist in Social Relations and Civil Society, NGO20).

Activists evaluated the situation, prioritised, and focused on what is not efficient:

> 'It's important to realise that it's a process. A process also needs to be followed constantly by a community and to be a constant effort: once you identified a problem, , you have to work to resolve it' (Specialist in Social Relations and Civil Society, NGO20).

They believed that progress has been made in Roma communities; Romas' improvement had the same pace as for other disadvantaged groups:

> 'In comparison with 20 years ago it's an improvement. They [Roma communities] followed the trend in Romania, but now they share the same problems with the majority' (Community facilitator, NGO19).

Next, the network structure will be presented. In particular, the structure of the Roma network and changes emphasised by respondents with regard to education and health.

Network Structure

Figure 6 presents the network in County 2:
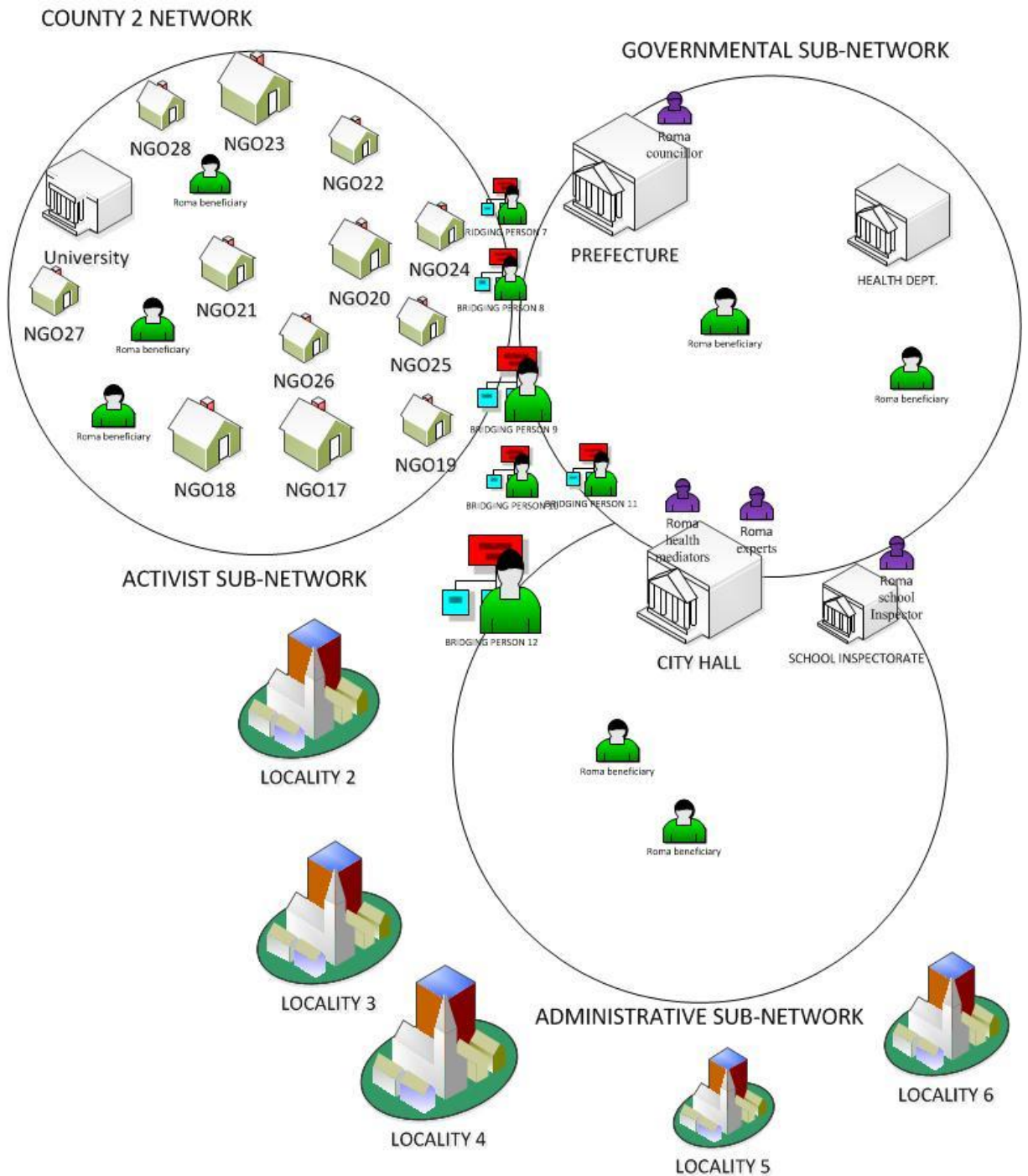
Figure 6: Representation of County 2

The three circles represent the three types of sub-networks. It also includes five localities where there were also interviewees. Firstly, the activist sub-network is mainly formed by NGOs, which in County 2 are not as numerous as in County 1, but they are actively involved in implementing programmes for Roma communities:

'County 2 is a positive example, in comparison with other counties, of there being activities and services for Roma. This is also due to NGO18, an important national and international organisation in the field, which develops numerous activities in the area' [Preoteasa et al., 2009, p. 124].

Secondly, the administrative sub-network is formed by school and health mediators. They are part of the governmental sub-network and they are implementers not initiators of policies or initiatives.

A very important progress in education has been achieved through the School Mediation Programme: 'There are over 20 schools with a mediator' (School mediator, Locality2). Due to the partnership signed between them, in the first year, they were paid through the Phare 2002 Programme, after that by the local council.

Thirdly, the governmental sub-network is formed by governmental workers (Roma councillor, Roma expert, workers at the Regional Office, National Agency for the Roma). The Roma councillor within the County Office is employed by the Prefecture. He coordinates and implements activities at the county level as stated in the Governmental Strategy [ANR, 2012].

In County 2, there was no Roma expert:

'There is no local expert. I have also this responsibility… to improve the relationships between Roma and local public authorities. I work at the Department of Prevention of the Separation of the Child from the Family' (Social worker, Child Protection).

The National Agency for the Roma has six Regional Offices. One of them is in County 2. It includes two Roma experts. The Regional Office tries to create institutional mechanisms to implement the Strategy of Improving the Situation of Roma:

'Based on this mechanism [we try] to gather some forces, institutions which eventually will access funds. At the moment, at the state's budget there are no funds for Roma; to act in Roma communities, specifically to improve the situation of the Roma' (Roma expert, ANR).

In County 2, five people interviewed are part of two different networks: one person was Associate Professor at the University and researcher at a governmental organisation (B8), one was a Roma expert and NGO President (B9), two were activists and university staff (B7, B10), and one was a school mediator and local councillor in Locality2 (B12).

The structure of the network refers also to relationships and reconfiguration of relationships between members, funding structures, new legislation or regulations. There are differences between sub-networks.

Firstly, changes in structure were determined by the provisions of the 2001 Strategy to create new agencies: County Office (BJR), the Mixed Working Group, and Regional Offices of the National Agency for the Roma. In County 2, the BJR (County Office) was set up in 2002. At the beginning it had five members; but in the last years it counted only four members. The Roma councillor was the

coordinator of the BJR. Its members worked within other departments of the Prefecture; they did not focus only on the activity of the Office. The councillor changed many times according to the structure of the Government and of the Prefect. The tenure of the Office also led to turnover.

Secondly, network structure changes were facilitated by the University in County 2 and a governmental organisation which studies ethnic minorities. The University introduced special places for Roma students. The second organisation is in majority financed by the Romanian Government; a small number of projects are supported through European funds: 'One direction is research on Roma, Hungarians, and other minorities. We also have a research strategy on the Roma problem, and in this direction we work and we have many studies' (Researcher, Governmental).

Thirdly, changes were facilitated by the new Roma elite emerging:

> 'An elite has emerged in the past ten years. It's that generation of former students who entered universities on the first special places who have benefited from the Soros Foundation. A total of 30-40 young Roma students have benefited from the best training, and consultancy training at that time in Romania, in NGO management and writing project proposals' (Community facilitator, NGO19).

Fourthly, changes were enabled by volunteers, who joined the activists in their work with Roma:

> 'Two groups have come and they have said: 'we want to be volunteers'. They have been exposed to the volunteering environment in urban areas and they did some sensational things in rural areas: fundraising campaigns, sanitation; they found sponsorship' (Specialist in Social Relations and Civil Society, NGO20).

Finally, changes involved the number of mediators, which fluctuated according to decentralisation, training courses, introduction of a new network created to supervise health mediators, and budget cuts: 'they informed us about the wage cut; instead of five million they will give us only three million' (Health mediator, Locality3).

The decrease of wages and blockages of employment drastically affected the number of school mediators: 'We want to increase it all the time, but the problem is that jobs are blocked and we can't employ. We also want to have a school mediator in each locality with 30% Roma' (School mediator, Locality2).

A summary of network structures in County 2 is shown below:

Sub-Network/ Outcomes	Network Structure	
	General	**Changes**
Activist	NGOs emerge	Alliances between NGOs emerge. Introduction of special places for Roma students in schools. Introducing volunteers.

Administrative	Health mediators	Budget cuts, decentralisation, training courses.
	School mediators	Decentralisation, budget cuts, payment delayed, training courses.
Governmental	Roma experts, councillor, School Inspector	Contributed to creation of a qualified human resource. Set up of County Office, Working Group, and Regional Office.
Public	Roma beneficiaries	New Roma elite emerge.

Table 14: Summary table of network structures in County 2

5.2.1. Network receptivity

The next section looks at bridging people, cliques, and managing paradoxes. The process of change is guided by network receptivity; it includes key explanatory factors. In particular, it analyses who are the bridging people by making a link with NLO and showing how initiatives and practices were implemented. It also describes how bridging people re-shape the structure of the Roma network into cliques, in order to manage paradoxes.

5.2.2.1. Bridging people

Next, bridging people will be presented, their interpretations and practices. In this research, bridging people are defined as people actively involved in at least two different networks. Another characteristic is that they develop effective collaborations with both types of network they are part of.

In County 2, five people interviewed are part of two different networks (see Network Structure). Overall, bridging actors focused on desegregation, obtaining European funds, local needs, fighting excessive politicisation, corruption, and racism.

In Locality2, B12 was a school mediator, local councillor, and the president of the Commission of Education, Cults, and Commerce: 'I tried to collaborate with everybody, because that's good, also, the support we had from the local council Locality2' (School mediator, Locality2). He had more influence than other members of the Roma network. B12 adopted his practices without difficulties, for example, he helped all children in the school, not only the Roma, in believing that problems are not ethnic or cultural, but social:

> 'At this moment I'm not a mediator for Roma; I'm a school's mediator. I'm responsible for all children in the school. The first time it wasn't like this. The first time, I had only Roma children' (School mediator, Locality2).

B12 understood the importance of collaborations with both authorities and NGOs. His practices were not particularly innovative: the strategy used to encourage Roma children to come to school is to repair the roads, so people would have easier access to schools:

> 'To reduce dropouts, the first thing I was interested in was the access to school. We managed to pave all access roads …so parents wouldn't say that they can't take them' (School mediator, Locality2).

Children were encouraged to perform well in school, receiving rewards: they can play at the centre only if they achieve high grades[19]:

> 'We have 'School after School'. Besides the fact that they were doing their homework, they were playing table tennis, chess, but conditions are put by us…. If the child didn't have in that day at least grade seven, they were not allowed to play. Therefore, it was like a reward, which in time it proved to be efficient' (School mediator, Locality2).

---

[19] Romanian education awards grades between 1-10.

One approach to enhance the Roma elite was to encourage students to embrace professions which are required in the community and to bring this new human resource back after graduation: 'I have three girls at the Pedagogy High School and I want to bring them back after they have finished high school …so they can be school teachers' (School mediator, Locality2). B12 managed to obtain a high number of scholarships and to reduce the school dropouts.

B7 and B10 were Roma activists and academics, representing the 'new' type of bridging actors, involved in human rights campaigns. They were part of a successful alliance – NGO24 – formed by researchers, human rights activists and academics from County 1 and County 2. The work of NGO24 has had a significant influence on poor Roma communities, constantly pressuring local authorities in County 2 to take action against various abuses against Roma, in particular, forced re-locations.

B8 worked as an Associate Professor at the University and at a governmental organisation, as a researcher, but he had no interest in being a Roma activist or leader. In a brief interview with B11, he strongly rejected any links with local authorities, pointing out that he was offered a job with them, claiming that these positions bring about corruption:

> 'The public administration and the politics are mixed. I'm apolitical because I don't want to and I'm not allowed to. I wanted to be councillor at the City Hall and it was not possible; I'm not the person to do that; I work with my heart and soul' (NGO27 and School mediator).

B9 highlighted being part of projects in Roma communities targeting professional training, qualification and re-qualification, finding jobs; education, scholarships, counselling for prisoners, help to find work, support in project writing.

The table below summarises the bridging actors interviewed in County 2, their interpretations and practices:

Structure	1. Interpretations and Practices
1. B7: Director NGO17 and member NGO24, Lecturer 2. B8: Researcher Gov. and Associate Professor 3. B9: Roma expert City Hall and President NGO30 (youth branch) 4. B10: NGO24 and Lecturer 5. B11: NGO27 and School mediator 6. B12: School mediator, and Local councillor.	• focused on desegregation, obtaining European funds, local needs, fighting excessive politicisation, corruption, and racism; • encouraged Roma children to come to school by repairing the roads, so people would have easier access to schools; • encouraged students to embrace professions which are required in the community and to bring this new human resource back after graduation; • establishing alliances; • involvement in research; • focused on professional training, qualification and re-qualification, finding jobs; education, scholarships, counselling for the prisoners, help to find work, providing support to write projects.

Table 15: Bridging people in County 2

5.2.2.2. Cliques and alliances

In County 2, the use of cliques can have a positive or a negative outcome. The positive use of cliques was employed to avoid bureaucracy when no previous partnership has been established between the two parties. This can be used by any member of the Roma network, not only by bridging people. For example, although recording the ethnicity of students is illegal and schools deny that they have such data, in practice, records of Roma students are kept by schools. School mediators and School Inspectors know the students and their families well:

> 'Every time we asked for support, information, about Roma students, she [Roma School Inspector] was open….to me personally, not the institution. We don't have a partnership or an official collaboration, only through our acquaintances and our own personal relationships. That's the easiest way to solve problems, because the bureaucracy is really high' (Social worker, Child Protection).

The use of cliques in implementing policies was not illegal and it was not perceived as a negative practice especially if the clique was not blocking the access of other network members:

> 'I see no major problem, if these leaders coincide with the real leaders of the community and by doing so they do not block the access of other leaders. When the collaboration is at the community level, the micro level of the society, it is quite difficult to select or to identify other leaders, to generate other leaders or to challenge current leaders, especially formal ones' (Specialist in Social Relations and Civil Society, NGO20).

In County 2, members of NGO30 constitute a clique. Certain people are appointed in key positions: e.g. Roma experts in City Halls. NGO30 promoted only their own members, acting as a closed or exclusivist group which represents the clique. This is the negative use of cliques, when it was formed with the purpose to extend the network with people who would serve a clique's interests.

In administrative and governmental jobs, NGO30 had the monopoly and they planned to extend their influence: 'The National Agency has six jobs in County 2, in six City Halls in rural areas. I hope that soon we will reach a higher level, especially since we have 16 local councillors from NGO30 … We have a protocol with the City Hall; we will try to put our people there' (Roma expert, Locality1). This practice was openly declared and widely used in all state institutions; when a Roma expert was asked by the researcher how is the relationship with the Roma councillor, he answered: 'very good, we chose him' (Roma expert, Locality1).

As it was not enough data regarding the work of NGO21, more information was added from reports published by other NGOs and by reading local news on the Internet. The facts exposed were largely linked to allegations of corruption which could not be proved by prosecutors in County 2, or articles highlighting the luxurious lifestyle of B9 and his family.

As policy implementation is complex matter, those involved in this process ought to deal with challenging situations and 'wicked issues'. Next the main responses to these situations are described.

118

It will follow the same framework used in County 1 (see 4.2.2.3. Managing paradoxes – Inward work of building community).

5.2.2.3. Managing paradoxes – Inward work of building community

FACILITATING INTERACTION

In County 2, interaction inside the Roma network is facilitated by employing two main methods: monthly meetings organised by the Roma councillor and consulting/engaging communities. Firstly, in County 2, there were not enough data to present how the Roma councillor organised the monthly meetings. None of the respondents here made any references to this subject. Instead, a 2009 report was used. This shows that the Roma County Office meets up every three months. Their activity is only writing reports for the Prefect. A county plan for County 2 was created for the period 2001-2008, but they did not create one for 2009-2010 [Preoteasa et al., 2009].

Secondly, communities are engaged differently: activists focused on community participation, establishing associations, while mediators focused on promoting the advantages of health and education. The activist sub-network understood that when initiating partnerships with Roma communities it is important to value what the community already has. NGO20 identified structures which could be capacitated, mobilised and invested in, helping setting up Community Associations.

The focus was on creating opportunities for communities to solve their own problems:

> 'We used to give them more clothes than they needed and Roma were selling them or they binned them after use. But we told them to wash them, to re-use them. Now, we only give some clothes so they won't sell them' (Worker, NGO29, Locality5).

The same, the community helped building a playground for children, who until then had to travel 25 km: 'We had money only to buy materials. And we gathered the community, we took also from the City Hall and we collaborated with parents' (Worker, NGO22).

Mediators undertook various activities, registering patients to GPs, informing communities about health issues. They also had an important role in informing them about social issues: their rights in terms of health insurance, benefits, pensions, and child allowances.

To increase parents' involvement in their children's education, school mediators made them aware of the importance of education, encouraging them to get involved in school activities.

CULTIVATING RELATIONSHIPS

In County 2, the collaboration between the activist, administrative, and governmental sub-networks was challenging. The main local issue was the forced relocations of Roma in marginalised neighbourhoods. One of them happened on 17th December 2010, when 270 Roma residents were relocated by the City Hall with only 24 hour-notice. The living conditions where they were relocated were insalubrious and dangerous for people's health:

> 'The modular homes provided lack heating, hot water, and kitchens; between 7 and 13 people are crammed into maximum 18 s.m. single-room apartments and four apartments share a single bathroom. Romania's Moratorium on winter relocations was ignored, as was the fact that many of affected Roma were paying rent to the municipality, working and attending school in the city centre' [ERRC, 2012].

The activist sub-network pressured the governmental sub-network to consider these problems created to Roma people. They had numerous public initiatives, including a protest in front of the Prefecture, observed also by the researcher.

In 2011, NGO24 had a big success in tackling this issue when it created a project and it took the local authorities as partners. To implement the project 'Preparatory Phase for Model Project: making the most of the EU fund for Sustainable Housing and Inclusion of Disadvantaged Roma in County 2 Metropolitan Area', both public institutions and NGOs were collaborating: NGO1, Open Society Institute, City Hall County 2, and Regional Office.

The project aimed to facilitate the process of mobilisation of existing local resources in order to use European funds for social inclusion. The whole process focused on Roma communities in Locality7, as a pilot initiative, but it also aimed to develop a strategy to include marginalised groups in County 2 for 2012-2020. As this project is considered already a success, other three municipalities – County 3, Braila, and County 1 – have required the support of NGO1 for creating similar strategies. A group of experts from both local authorities and civil society have identified a list of projects suitable for this area, focused on housing, setting up a multifunctional centre for single parents, and creating the business infrastructure for recycling materials (City Hall County 2, 2012).

PROMOTING OPENNESS
In County 2, the Roma network was promoting women's participation. Here, simple practices proved efficient in helping Roma women, e.g. NGO20 took a group of women from Baisoara, a village in the mountains, to a Hungarian person who created a museum in his house. This event inspired them to have their own initiatives: 'After one month they went to Mrs Mayor to receive a venue and they decorated it. It was a context and all I did was to take them on a mini bus and I got them back' (Specialist in Social Relations and Civil Society, NGO20).

5.2.2.4. Managing paradoxes – Outward work of influencing target

MULTI-LEVEL WORKING
With regards to the collaboration with other counties, or national organisations, a number of NGOs from County 2 and County 1 set up an alliance, NGO24, which took various initiatives and it pressured the City Hall to help the Roma relocated in remote areas. At the beginning they only succeeded in patching the needs identified. The work capacity of NGOs was limited, showing that a

clear improvement is not possible without collaboration and support from the governmental sub-network:

> 'We have good practices and we tried all sorts of methods. To change the situation in the Roma community, [these practices] should be taken, transformed into public policy and implemented at the macro level. But the Government is not interested in working with us, to transform these best practices into public policies and to be implemented nationwide' (Community facilitator, NGO19).

MANAGING CREDIBILITY

In County 2, respondents highlighted the need to increase communication and commitment with Mayors. A driver of change was often the Mayor, by coordinating and controlling activities where he was elected. Therefore, developing projects in the local area depended on the relationship with the Mayor:

> 'The problem appears in rural areas where things are more difficult to monitor, or many times it's closely connected to the relationship you have with 'Mr Mayor', who from this point of view is the absolute leader in many communities' (Specialist in Social Relations and Civil Society, NGO20).

Activists stated that the absorption of funds means making use of existing resources 'When I think about absorption I'm thinking about something that comes and you integrate it into something that you have already' (Specialist in Social Relations and Civil Society, NGO20). Likewise, the capacity to absorb resources depends on the type of Roma leader in the community; who can be either a facilitator or a blocker in this process.

In County 2, activists highlighted that the most frequent type of leader in Roma communities behaves like a rival, blocking collaborations. On rare occasions community leaders focused on collaborations or 'collaborative leadership': understanding how important it is to bring in a person who knows how to write a project, to work in social services and to understand it well, to invite priests and other leaders of the community, formal or informal, to a dialogue:

> 'I found this type but very little, out of 13 communities in two I would say that there were people who would come closer to this type of leader' (Specialist in Social Relations and Civil Society, NGO20).

Especially in small localities, Mayors behaved in an authoritarian manner: for example, a Cultural Association is perceived as a threat or a competitor for the City Hall:

> 'We have Community Associations created for guarding traditions, where the leader of the association is perceived by the Mayor as a competitor. It provokes him and it doesn't help him. You can't develop activities' (Specialist in Social Relations and Civil Society, NGO20).

In County 2, the perception on volunteering is different: it is a matter of pride; it is not less important than employment. This changed behaviour is a significant achievement, especially in the context of volunteering in Romania:

> 'By contrary they [volunteers] are appreciated. Now, it changes a bit. You have to be a volunteer, it's the thing, and this is the perception' (Specialist in Social Relations and Civil Society, NGO20).

The purpose of Chapter 5 was to describe the case study work in County 2. County 2 was initially selected looking at medium literacy rates for Roma. This was also different in terms of geographical position and types of ethnicities, in order to capture insights of a different context.

This section presented how these NLO happened, in particular through the role of bridging people and cliques/alliances as forms of collaborations/coalitions, as explanatory factors. Finally, using Ospina and Saz-Carranza's (2010) framework, it highlighted how the Roma network deals with conflict inside and outside the network.

CHAPTER 6

County 3: A low receptive context for Roma policy implementation

6.1. Organisational context: initiatives and narrative of policy implementation

County 3 was initially selected as part of the sample, as a low receptive context for change (see 3.3.1. Selecting the case studies). It also had higher levels of poverty and unemployment.

In health, the main initiatives taken by the Roma network focused on educating women about health and training health mediators to work in the community. In general, Roma girls get married and get pregnant at a young age:

> 'Nobody in their family explained to them how to protect themselves. Moreover, we give them soap, toothpaste, and a toothbrush; things that represent a civilised lifestyle' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31).

Projects regarded training health mediators to work in the community: 'it involves everything that means first aid and it trains mediators in order to work inside the community' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

Initiatives taken by the Roma network in education focused on creating Day Centres, highlighting Roma role models, or projects such as 'Diploma – a step towards the Roma social inclusion', and 'Together to school for success in life'.

Due to the high level of poverty, a successful programme was creating Day Centres, or 'School after School':

> 'After they finish school they come to a multifunctional Centre, where for two hours they do their homework supervised by qualified teachers. Afterwards, they have traditional activities: they learn to sing and to dance traditional Gypsy dances, Romani language, and sport activities' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31).

Children's lack of education was affected by parents' low education. Many parents were illiterate and they had poor knowledge of the options available for children:

> 'We confront ourselves with parents' desire to transfer to us some of their responsibilities; we have 20 children who come to do their homework and they have a hot meal' (Social Worker, NGO32).

'Diploma – a step towards the Roma social inclusion' was an initiative taken by activist and governmental sub-networks:

'383 people got the certificate. Requests started flowing after the project finished: the rest of them saw this and they said: "look that piece of paper has a big value, and it's difficult without it"'. (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

Another initiative of both governmental and activist sub-networks was 'Together to school for success in life' aiming to stimulate school participation and increasing the level of training of pre-school children in marginalised communities. Implemented in eight schools in County 3 by the School Inspectorate County 3, local council in County 3, and two NGOs, this initiative tried to improve the school performance of 450 Roma students, helping 130 Roma to attend 'Second Chance' classes, employing five school mediators, and integrating 108 children with learning difficulties into mainstream education.

6.2. Organisational action: outcomes (content) and how they emerged (process)

The previous section briefly described what happened in terms of health and education in County 3. This section analyses the process of policy implementation, in particular network structures and network receptivity. The approach is similar to County 1 and 2.

As mentioned previously, in County 3 there was a high level of poverty. Overall, respondents admit that policies and programmes are helping Roma communities, but their problems are complex and the outcomes develop slowly: 'The vast majority we can't help, because they need money. We give them advice, to see a doctor, or hygiene issues' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31). Although numerous, policies proved insufficient:

'It was better then [before 1989] than now, when there are so many policies for Roma, so many strategies, so many developmental plans. … But this doesn't mean I don't agree with all the policies implemented for Roma as long as they are really implemented for the benefit of the Roma community' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

Network Structure

In County 3, the Roma network was easier to describe than in the other counties studied, because of the smaller size. The network is represented in Figure 7. Due to the fact that here cliques were openly declared, this figure was represented differently than in County 1 and County 2. It portrays cliques 1 and 2, the activist sub-network and the three other smaller localities from which respondents were interviewed.
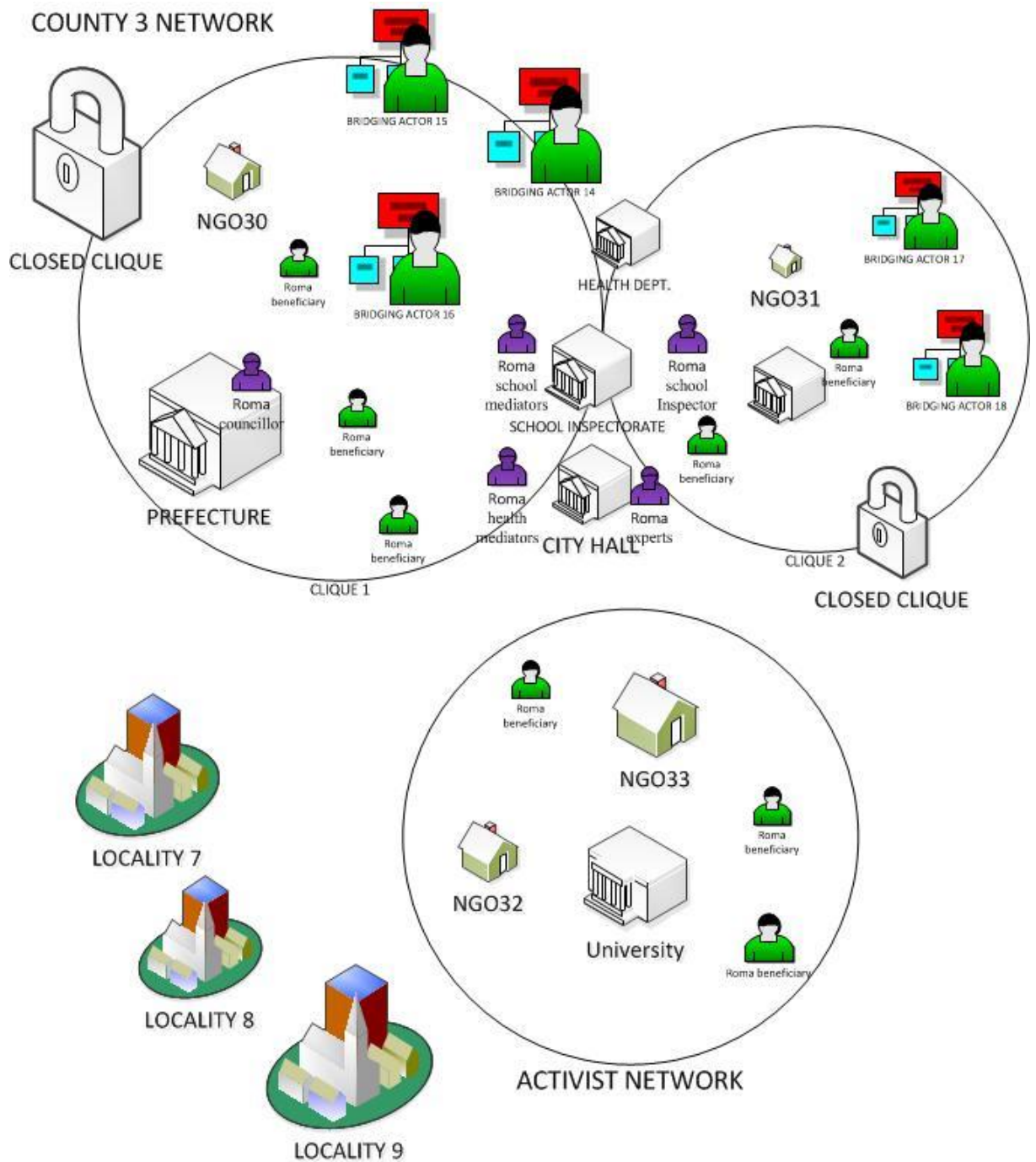
Figure 7: Representation of County 3

County 3 has certain characteristics: the number of NGOs is smaller (NGO30-NGO33) and people trained here are less numerous. The administrative sub-network is formed by school and health mediators, who deal directly with Roma communities: 'When people have to come for vaccines, the doctor gives me a list and I have to let people know about the dates when they have to see the doctor' (Health mediator, Locality9). Mediators inform doctors about Romas' needs.

The number of health mediators and GPs is insufficient, especially in the city where the density of people is high:

> 'In County 3, in the City [municipality], there are only three [mediators] who need to cover a large geographical area and a high number of Roma. In the rural area, GPs wish to have more patients, while in here they claim that they have too many already. There are not many doctors compared to the number of people. When they go to register with a GP, they are refused because there are already 3000-4000 registered' (Legal advisor, City Hall and NGO30).

The governmental sub-network included a Roma councillor and a Roma expert. The Roma councillor was employed by the Prefecture. She coordinates the activities at the local level and she implements at the county level the activities stated in the Governmental Strategy [ANR, 2012].

Local Roma experts were employed by City Halls. Their responsibility was organising, planning, coordinating, and developing activities from the General Action Plan at the local level [ANR, 2012]. In County 3, Roma experts were mainly employed in 2007, when the Roma councillor intervened at the City Halls. There were 21 Roma experts in the Roma communities; among them only two are employed through accumulation of roles[20] [Preoteasa et al., 2009].

Network structure also refers to relationships and reconfiguration of relationships between the members, funding structures, new legislation or regulations. Changes were determined by the provisions of the Strategy to create new agencies targeting Roma communities: BJR, Mixed Working Group, and Regional Offices of ANR. Changes were also caused by initiatives taken at the governmental level and frequent changes in Roma workers' jobs.

Firstly, the Mixed Working Group (GLM) was created in 2006 through the Governmental Strategy, including directors or deputies of main institutions, part of local authorities in the county and facilitating collaboration relationships in Roma communities. The National Agency for the Roma has six Regional Offices. One of them is situated in a nearby city, which also represents County 3 at the regional level.

Secondly, the shape of the Roma network changed due to austerity measures introduced by the Government in 2010: 'They reduced the wage, they sent us home for eight days without pay. And imagine that I haven't got much' (Health mediator, County 3).

As a result, many mediators quit their jobs: 'At the beginning we were seven people employed. Now, we are only three. Some of them gave up. My guess is that the issues encountered were too difficult and they couldn't cope' (Health mediator, County 3).

---

[20] 'Accumulation of functions' is a strategy used throughout the country; it means that an existing worker receives extra tasks instead of employing a new worker.

Thirdly, many Roma experts changed jobs, either to continue their education or for better paid jobs. As most experts did not finish high school, many have continued their education, which led to a lack of tenure.

The table below presents a summary of the network structures in County 3:

Sub-Network/Outcomes	Network Structure	
	General	Changes
Activist	NGOs emerge	Alliances between NGOs emerge.
Administrative	Health mediators School mediators	Fluctuations in their number caused by legislative uncertainties and internal pressures.
Governmental	Roma experts, Councillor, School Inspector	County Roma Office, Mixed Working Groups, and Regional Offices are set up.
Public	Roma beneficiaries	

Table 16: Summary table of network structures in County 3

6.2.2. Network receptivity

This section looks at bridging people, cliques, and managing paradoxes in County 3. In particular, it analyses who are the bridging people, their interpretations, practices, and network members' responses to paradoxes.

6.2.2.1. Bridging people

In County 3, five bridging actors were interviewed. They were part of the activist and governmental sub-networks. The most influential bridging actor, B14, is a Roma councillor at the Prefecture and the Director and founder of NGO30. B15 is a Community facilitator at a government organisation and NGO31 Director. B16 is a Roma expert at the City Hall and an NGO30 member. B17 is a legal advisor at the City Hall and at NGO30. B18 is a Roma expert at the City Hall, in a small town in County 3, Locality8, and a President of NGO31, the local branch.

Romas' problems are complex, because of the vicious cycle of poverty, unemployment, and illiteracy:

> 'In vain I struggle to ease the situation for them at school. First of all, we have to find out the causes. Why isn't a certain Roma taking his child to school? Because he cannot afford to keep his child clean, he does not have money to buy him shoes. Why? Because he doesn't have a job. Why doesn't he have a job? Because he doesn't have an education? Why? Because he didn't want to go to school or because he couldn't afford it either. And we go round a vicious circle.' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

Bridging actors believed that they should adapt the Strategy to local needs, focus on creating IDs and education. For example, B14 emphasised that the objectives and responsibilities of the Roma councillor are written in the Strategy. But in practice, in the field, the councillor was not only coordinating the implementation of the Strategy at the local level; she also undertook the job of a social worker and a leader: assessing social and economic needs, mediating conflicts. Although important, these activities are not mentioned in the Strategy as part of her job description.

Bridging actors from NGO30 and NGO31 were reluctant to collaborate with each other: 'From the Roma councillor I don't need information. I know everything even better than she knows' (Roma expert, Locality8). When the researcher suggested that in the future the collaboration might improve the answer was clear: 'No, never… If I need anything from County 3, I have L [Roma worker at City Hall also member of NGO31], L has her own access tools' (Roma expert, Locality8). The implications of this behaviour are reflected in lower efficiency at the community level. Considering that County 3 has higher levels of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, racism, more collaboration would be needed to tackle these issues.

Bridging actors refused to collaborate with certain people whose abilities they contest: 'It is better to work with state institutions where there aren't Roma than to work with the National Office for Roma. The Regional Office never helped me' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

Although Regional Offices were created to coordinate the work of the BJR and Roma councillor, their competency is challenged:

> 'I don't even know who works at the local office. I have never talked to them, but there are three employees there who spend public money and do nothing; they are simply three employees from the Romani ethnic group' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

In County 3, the main practices observed were empowering women, establishing partnerships with the local authority, education of people, getting things done without necessarily following procedures, and self-assimilation. In general, bridging people are open towards learning new things outside their job description, gaining extra knowledge and skills. They have a good understanding of the legislation and of actions to be taken to obtain their outcomes. B14 is confident and knowledgeable:

> 'When I see the Mayor, I must be sure of what I am saying. "Mrs. Mayor, this is what the law stipulates, and I can help you on this matter, along with my colleagues."' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

A practice of the bridging actor is to ensure the continuity of the results of the projects implemented: '[Our partner] wants these plans to be included in the county plans. That is when I come in: I have to make sure they are included in the yearly county plans at the Prefecture' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

For example, in a project involving late birth certificates registrations, the bridging actor finds a solution to achieve outcomes, by combining the resources from NGO30 – money – and from the Roma Office – Prefect's signatures on the applications: 'Even if the project is finished, all these registrations are made through the Office, [but] with money from NGO30' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

Bridging people can reduce legal barriers. For example, four school mediators who have been trained on a Phare project were later employed by the City Hall:

> 'They were not going to be employed [school mediators] but I found the solution: 'I will go to the Local County and I am going to propose them a partnership with me, as a supplier, and I am going to send them to schools [to work]'' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

B15 has a strong interest in empowering women to be active in the community. This is important because, traditionally, Roma women were not encouraged to have roles outside their household:

> 'We made sure that there are more women in our group, to show that they can take decisions. For example, in Locality10, the group is formed by women of different ages; they spend two or three hours monitoring the project' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31).

A frequent practice of both bridging actors was training young Roma as new human resources: 'We trained 80 children; we taught them to work on PCs, to write a CV. After this, some went to high schools; others even found jobs' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31).

Bridging actors try to consolidate their position by training volunteers and encouraging new members to join. This new elite joins high schools and universities:

> 'I work with almost 30 university students and around 15 high school students. These are students who received documents from us showing that they are Roma and they enrolled on special places' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31).

They are trained as a potential, new human resource:

> 'We have a very young staff, young people who we helped get into high schools, universities; they help us later on with the organisation. They have their own organisation, youths' branch. And we're in a way 'mother' organisation. We give them funds too, but in exchange they work a lot. They do a lot of field work and we help them through the process' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31).

In County 3, bridging actors include Roma communities when taking decisions: 'What is certain is that the Roma community will be consulted in public meetings. We'll ask 'What do you need?'' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

Bridging actors aspire to be part of two networks because of the difficulty of managing on their own. For example, according to the Governmental Strategy, the Municipal Office for Roma is part of the Prefecture. But it does not have a legal entity. This means that the Prefecture cannot apply or get funds to implement projects and programmes. For this reason, the Roma councillor set up NGO30 to attract funds to help Roma communities: 'We have created NGO30 as an organisation which combines the effort of the Municipal Office for Roma' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30). When the researcher asked if she initiated certain activities as a councillor or as a NGO30 Director, she replied:

> 'I am talking about both [governmental and activist roles]. What could I have said to Roma if this institution did not have money? 'The Office does not have money to solve Romas' problems?'' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

As a result, B14 set aside the official documents and she prioritised the real needs in the community:

> 'This Government Strategy, Law 430/2001, is a pile of papers in someone's drawer, and I don't take it out to see what I have done or if I have something to do.' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

To be able to achieve outcomes, bridging actors consolidated their network. In particular, for B19, a good collaboration with the Mayor led to obtaining a venue where Roma workers met regularly and where beneficiaries come for help.

Mediators were helped by the Roma councillor to obtain ID papers for beneficiaries in the shortest time possible. For example, if they needed birth certificates, the councillor would write a letter signed by the Prefect to reduce the time to release the documents. At the Centre there were also students who volunteer and a legal advisor who supported the mediators. Moreover, B14 had a significant role in the decentralisation process when out of 25 mediators initially trained, 23 have been taken over and their salaries paid by County Health Department:

> 'In our County we have 25 health mediators. You won't find so many health mediators in any other county. The proof that our health mediators work very well is that, after decentralisation, there was no Mayor from County 3 to tell me that he wouldn't work with one of the health mediators' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

As a result, in County 3, the Roma health mediators' network was bigger than in other counties. This was due to the work of the bridging actor. Mayors considered mediators useful for their communities: to mediate the health problems between medical staff and the Roma to avoid creating points of infection:

> 'Authorities realised that it was easier to name a Gypsy to go with the pregnant mothers to the doctor, to take the children to be vaccinated. There is no interest for them either not to vaccinate children and to create a focal infection' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

The outcomes after years of recruiting and training Roma workers were substantial in comparison with the other clique: 'In County 3, there are 25 health mediators, 9 school mediators, 19 local, 9 social workers, 9 Romani teachers, 13 local councillors named by NGO30' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

The table below summarises the bridging actors interviewed in County 3, their interpretations and practices:

Structure	Interpretations and Practices
1. B14: Roma councillor, Prefecture, NGO30 Director; 2. B15: Worker Gov, NGO31 Director; 3. B16: Roma expert and NGO30 member; 4. B17: Legal advisor City Hall and NGO30; 5. B18: Roma expert City Hall, President NGO31	• empowering women, establishing partnerships with local authority, education of people, getting things done without necessarily following procedures, and self-assimilation; • open towards learning new things outside their job description, gaining extra knowledge and skills; • good understanding of the legislation and of actions to be taken to obtain their outcomes; • to ensure the continuity of the results of the projects implemented; • empowering women to be active in the community; • training young Roma as new human resources; • training volunteers and encouraging new members to join.

Table 17: Bridging people in County 3

The most common practice used by bridging people was to form cliques, or small groups which follow the same interests and help each other when needed. These will be described next.

6.2.2.2. Cliques and alliances

This section will describe cliques and alliances in County 3 and how they form and operate. Cliques work in various ways and for different purposes. In County 3, cliques were easier to observe and analyse, mainly because members openly admitted belonging to them. The Roma network included two main Roma cliques and a small number of NGOs which have initiatives targeting Roma or a high number of their beneficiaries are Roma:

> 'In County 3 there are two big Roma organisations: NGO31 and NGO30. NGO30 has a representative in Parliament. NGO30 also has profit.' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31).

Other organisations were not as successful as NGO30: 'We don't have funds. We survive through subscriptions. We also contribute with money from our own pockets.' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31).

Clique 1 was more strategically created than clique 2. Its leader, the Roma councillor, knew that she needed to create around her a team that could be trusted:

> 'When I started working at the Municipal Office, I created this non-governmental organisation and I named as founding members the most reliable people I had worked with. I wanted these people to be some sort of leaders in the communities where they were and after a while I managed to get them jobs at the City Hall. I sent people who worked efficiently, as volunteers, to training courses for health mediators, school mediators and Romani language teachers' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

County 3 was a good example of 'getting things done' using old practices, which although not illegal, are not always transparent or according to procedures: 'In the end, I don't care about work instruments, or procedures. What it counts is the result. It does not matter through which means you got to that result; you have the result, it's OK' (Legal advisor, City Hall and NGO30).

Building a trusting network required time and perseverance. At times, some members were excluded and new ones joined. The aim was creating a network that can be successfully accessed by the leader at any time:

> 'Now, we can be proud of having, at the municipal level, at least a hundred people of Roma origin on our staff; there were even more, but some of them left, others came to replace them, and they are people I can count on. I know that if I phone them and I ask them to go somewhere, at a certain date and time, they will definitely be there, as promised' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

Some network members were trained, even taught how to dress when attending work meetings:

> 'I have taught them that whenever you have to go to an institution, you must pay attention to what you wear. Nobody will respect you when you go in there in flip-flops, with a t-shirt on and a big chain around your neck. I gave money to those who couldn't afford a suit and I sent them to get one done for them, so there wouldn't be any excuses' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

In implementing projects, both cliques allied with other local and national organisations, but never with each other. Clique 1 was dynamic and it had close ties; led by the Roma councillor, it was formed by health and school mediators, the majority of the Roma experts, people working in NGO30. Clique 2 was also dynamic, but it had less power, resources, and outcomes.

Following the same format as in previous case studies, the next section looks at how members of the Roma network interacted inside and outside the network, in order to implement their Roma policies (see 4.2.2.3. Managing paradoxes – Inward work of building community).

6.2.2.3. Managing paradoxes – Inward work of building community

FACILITATING INTERACTION

In County 3, interaction inside the Roma network is facilitated by employing two main methods: monthly meetings organised by the Roma councillor and consulting/engaging communities. In County 3, the Working Group was not perceived as a formal group or network, but as a functional structure where members can tune their initiatives to the priorities set up at the Strategy at the local level [Preoteasa et al., 2009].

These meetings took place at the centre created for Roma by the Roma councillor. Health and school mediators, coordinated by the councillor, discussed their problems and they shared their experiences: 'We discuss our problems one by one. We have meetings where all local experts attend, school mediators, health mediators in the city and in the county. We let them know problems we encounter.' (Health mediator, County 3).

In County 3, there were three ways to engage communities. Firstly, activists believed that beneficiaries' participation was vital in developing programmes:

> 'When we start a project; we create an initiative group, of minimum 30 people who will get involved. If we want to rehabilitate a road, those 30 people will monitor project development.' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31).

Secondly, many Roma did not have identity papers; therefore they could not have a GP. As a result, first, they solved this administrative issue and then tackled the health problems. Health mediators had to persevere with traditional Roma who were reluctant to vaccinate their children because of their fear

of side effects: 'There are children under four who need to be vaccinated; they are those children who haven't had immunisation where you go again and again' (Health mediator, County 3).

Thirdly, Roma workers dealing directly with Roma communities were drivers of change at the community level. Through their work, the level of trust in the health care system has increased:

> 'They understood the most important things: they shouldn't commit crimes, should have a GP, send their children to school, have a number on their fence, they shouldn't stay two or three generations under the same roof' (Roma expert, Locality8).

Roma workers stated that often parents need guidance: 'This year we tried to help some parents to enrol their children into school, because they didn't know what to do' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31).

CULTIVATING RELATIONSHIPS

In County 3, collaboration between local authorities and NGOs was vital, because they complement each other. NGO workers had the training and skills to write proposals which can be funded. Local authorities had limited budgets; they needed NGOs as partners to supplement that. Moreover, one of the requirements to apply for these funds was for the applicant to sign a partnership with a diversity of state institutions; in other words it was difficult to implement projects individually, with no collaborators.

Overall, people in the activist sub-network were more open towards learning and changing old patterns of behaviour. Learning meant getting better skills, to attract projects and funds. To break barriers created by bureaucracy, legislation and the lack of information or skills, Roma workers mediated issues between Roma communities and institutions:

> '[Our work] depends on almost all institutions. People with problems are coming to us and we have to go to institutions to solve them and it all depends on the people from these institutions, on the legislation' (Legal advisor, City Hall and NGO30).

Due to the role of the councillor, in the municipality many initiatives are supported by the local authority:

> 'We receive money from the City Hall: we pay wages, electricity, facilities, and children's transport. The City Hall helps us a lot. I don't know if they could have helped us more. There are many who ask for help from the City Hall and there are more Day Centres in County 3' (Social Worker, NGO32).

But in smaller localities, many City Halls were not open to collaboration. For example, they refused the employment of the Roma experts or they preferred to designate current workers and to give them more responsibilities. The Roma councillor intervened to employ Roma experts, to keep or to introduce new health and school mediators [Preoteasa et al., 2009].

In County 3, the Roma network operated in various ways to promote women's participation: it raised awareness on Roma women among other organisations and it promoted Roma women to be active in society. For example, NGO31 initiated debates about the role of Roma women in society, which had a double purpose: raising awareness on cultural issues of Roma women and highlighting the activities undertaken by NGO31. Also, women were actively involved in projects and programmes implemented:

> 'In County 3, in Locality11, there's a lady who works at the City Hall and she's the president of the initiative group. If you give a woman a little freedom and respect she can amaze you.' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31).

Moreover, Roma women were also encouraged and promoted to be Roma experts in City Halls, health and school mediators.

6.2.2.4. Managing paradoxes – Outward Work of Influencing target

MULTI-LEVEL WORKING

In County 3, the Roma network collaborated with other counties, or national organisations. As the two main organisations which also form the two cliques, NGO30 and NGO31 do not collaborate; NGO31 engaged in partnerships with other organisations, outside County 3. One of them was in Republic of Moldova, a neighbouring country. Their aim was to learn what other organisations are doing. They have already visited many foundations there and they have observed other work methods:

> 'We started to work also in [Republic of] Moldova. We've been there many times. We are going to be part of an organisation, part of the Romanian National Federation. This would be a positive thing, to learn from those organisations' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31).

Similarly, NGO30 was involved with other organisations in the country in implementing joint projects.

MANAGING CREDIBILITY

With regards to increasing communication and commitment with Mayors, in County 3, Roma leaders were different than the leader of the community: the Mayor. Therefore, the latter influenced the work of the former. Although it was not part of the Roma network, the Mayor was often an important driver of change. Reports highlighted that City Halls remained the weak link in terms of intervention to improve Romas' life. In some cases they did not synchronise the development and infrastructure projects with those financed with external money. Some local authorities ignored the active participation of the local initiative groups [Preoteasa et al., 2009]. Especially in smaller localities, Mayors were reluctant to employ health mediators:

> 'There was a governmental decision regarding decentralisation. I had to convince every local council to get the health mediator from the Health Department. Even if the wage of the

health mediator was transferred from the Ministry of Health, we had Mayors where we had to go three, four, five times to discuss with them, to attend the meeting at the local council' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

The employment of school mediators was also difficult and it required numerous interventions; the Roma councillor warranted the employment of mediators. Then they were maintained by Mayors who were aware of their impact in the community. Although there were only five communities with school mediators in 2009; in 2010 another four had been employed [Preoteasa et al., 2009].

CULTIVATING RELATIONSHIPS

In County 3, the Roma network attracted volunteers; it trained and later employed them:

> 'Students who volunteer have the chance to stand out from the crowd and to be offered a job. We tried to introduce a Roma student in the local council to prepare her for two years. When she finishes the degree, she will have a different perception about life, in general' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31).

By engaging volunteers, both the lack of resources and qualified staff were supplemented.

Chapter 5 presented County 3, which was initially selected as part of the sample, as a low receptive context for change. It also had higher levels of poverty and unemployment. It presented how these NLO happened, in particular through the role of bridging people and cliques/alliances as forms of collaborations/coalitions, as explanatory factors. Finally, using Ospina and Saz-Carranza's (2010) framework, it highlighted how the Roma network deals with conflict inside and outside the network.

The next section will give a descriptive comparison of the three networks. The 2001 Romanian Governmental Strategy was the drive which comes from the national context; however, what actually happens on the ground in each county varied. Therefore, to explain the data, some questions become relevant: What are the consequences of these?

6.3. Descriptive comparison of the three networks

There is a big debate regarding network performance. Often, aspirations are greater than what is achieved. This research builds on previous work which focused on the complexity of defining performance, efficiency, and network learning outcomes. It shows a different understanding of concepts such as change, progress, performance, and effectiveness by analysing network learning outcomes (network structures, interpretations, and practices).

The main initiatives in health and education were the School and Health Mediation Programmes. These were initiated by the activist sub-network, then approved by the government as national policies. Decentralisation had a negative effect on them; it decreased the number of mediators. The Roma network did not have the skills to coordinate the process of decentralisation. It started without an implementing methodology; or as a respondent pointed out, it was superficial and 'it looked like a

pilot project'. Bridging people and activists made great efforts to support the mediators by pressuring Mayors to employ mediators.

In terms of network structure, in all three counties, County Offices, Regional Offices, and Working Groups were created. In City Halls, Prefectures, and School Inspectorates Roma workers were introduced. The Roma network agreed that much more can be achieved in partnership. However, collaborations proved very difficult; certain organisations refused to collaborate. For example, in County 3, there was a clear reluctance for collaboration between NGO30 and NGO31, which formed two opposing cliques. Although poor communication was present in County 1 and County 2, in County 3, due to the small size of the network, this problem was critical. When facing rejection in a big network, the possibility to change partners is higher. Moreover, not only bridging actors were key actors in Roma network. In all three counties experienced NGOs developed successful activities in/for Roma communities. Some NGOs managed to create programmes that were later made national and international policies. Organisations in the voluntary sector are inclined to respond differently, sympathetically to diverse states of 'disadvantage' experienced by their users (Billis and Glennerster, 1998).

In terms of interpretations and practices, in all three counties activists and mediators had a holistic approach in tackling health and education issues. The same as described by Williams (2002) 'wicked issues' affected Roma communities. Respondents repeatedly stated that Roma communities face complex problems: they do not have decent housing, money to send their children to school, identity documents, and they often face abuses. It was pointed out that mediators have had a certain impact in raising awareness of the importance of health and education. But again, at the community level, these changes were small.

With regards to leaders in Roma communities, there was one main similarity among all cases: though the Mayor was not part of the Roma network, he was the main leader in the community having the greatest power. Roma councillors and Roma experts were introduced to coordinate the implementation of the Strategy at the local level and to mediate problems between Roma beneficiaries and local administration. Although employing Roma experts in City Halls was stipulated in the 2001 Strategy, the mechanism to introduce them was mostly formal. That was because Mayors were reluctant to employ the experts, claiming the lack of funds to pay them. As a result, many assigned a current employee as a Roma expert through 'accumulation of functions'. This was a common practice adopted by Mayors. That is, the Roma expert's job was done by a previous worker, who had to add the new job description to the previous one, or by volunteers, or in some cases by rubbish men:

> 'City Halls did a trick, almost all of them. Rubbish men who are Gypsies were designated also as part-time Roma experts. So, if you go to the City Hall, the Roma expert is actually the person responsible for rubbish. They have done their job, it looks good on paper, and it looks like they had an expert' (Executive Director, NGO16).

In County 2, Mayors had an influential role; they could decide who was employed in their community and when. In localities where this happened, the Roma network was affected because of fewer workers allocated to solve Romas' problems. In County 2, 43 local experts were hired: 38 were already employed by City Halls while the others were volunteers. Only five of them were of Roma ethnicity:

> 'In the majority of the cases, they [Roma experts] were not familiar with Romas' problems. Many Roma experts do not have the motivation to work towards making a real change because they consider it as an extra task and they do not receive an additional wage to compensate for this extra work' (OSI, 2004, p. 65).

In County 1 and County 2, interviewees pointed out the lack of traditional Roma leadership. In County 1, respondents claimed that leaders are selected based mainly on their wealth, not necessarily on their behaviour inside the community. The Roma leader is no longer the community's wise or elderly man: 'I do not think [that] there are Roma leaders in Romania at this moment. Leadership for me has a clear definition; it is a man with an idea, with certain values and it has followers, people who follow him' (Executive Director, NGO16).

Another respondent made a clear distinction between leaders and managers: 'We don't have leaders; leaders focus on development… [we only have] a weak manager who somehow identifies himself with the leader' (Social worker, Child Protection, County 1).

The Romanian Government made the Roma councillor responsible for implementing the Strategy at the county level. In practice, there was a difference between counties in the amount of power that the Roma councillor has. In County 1, the Roma councillor was not a Roma leader, nor a bridging person. In comparison with the other two counties, the councillor was a non-Roma person. More importantly, she does not do field work, which is an important aspect, because the role of the councillor, as a mediator, would imply interaction with Roma communities. The councillor organised and coordinated a monthly meeting within the Prefecture. Conversely, in County 1, the foundation of the leadership of the Roma councillor was formal coordination and mediation.

In County 2 [the municipality] there was no visible Roma leader. As mentioned by respondents, in Roma communities leaders are not visible, neither are their results: 'Nobody, very few Roma leaders want to play with a child with lice in the Day Centre. But they need action people, them and us all' (Specialist in Social Relations and Civil Society, NGO20).

Only in County 3 there was a proper Roma leader; the Roma councillor was active and confident to mediate ethnic conflicts in Roma communities either among Roma or between Roma and local authorities. She was known and acknowledged as a leader by both Roma and non-Roma. Most of the time, the Prefect's political party does not win the elections, meaning that the next Prefect changes as well as people from his party. Nonetheless, in County 3, the councillor has had a considerable

longevity in comparison with the other two, maintaining her position for twelve years. This shows strong skills and high acceptance as a leader in Roma communities. Her skills as a leader explain the tenure; the ability to negotiate and to ally in other political coalitions leads to outcomes.

CHAPTER 7

Cross-comparison between the three case studies

The next chapter makes comparisons between County 1, County 2, and County 3, moving closer towards theoretical contributions. It explains why certain events happen in one county and not others and emphasises the important role of context in this research: for example the meetings for drafting the Governmental Strategy were only in County 1. County 2 was highly diverse culturally, while County 3 had a high level of poverty.

Cross-comparing and contrasting the data (network structures, interpretations, and practices) was useful, but something else was needed to fully explain policy implementation in Roma networks. It was clear that these cannot be used on their own because they do not capture the implications for the process of Roma policy implementation. Namely, it was imperative to show who is driving the key changes in Roma networks and the dynamics inside and outside them. To give a full picture of how the Roma network makes things happen, this chapter compares the three networks, bridging actors, cliques and alliances. Finally, it looks at how the Roma network dealt with complex situations in implementing policies, while analysing six main responses to paradoxes.

7.1. Comparing networks

Making contrasts/comparisons is another important stage of this research. Comparison 'is a time-honoured, classic way to test a conclusion' (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 254). Variables, cases, persons, roles, and activities can be compared: 'Along with variation, process can lead to the identification of patterns as one looks for similarities in the way persons define situations and handle them' (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p. 100).

To compare networks, key issues will be discussed: the importance of studying whole networks in new democracies, the difficulty of agreeing what is network performance, and the main differences between the three case studies.

In post-communist countries, it remains underexplored how much coalitions add to the building democratic values:

> 'Through evolving elite behaviour and what effects, if any, this has on support for democratic norms at the mass level… coalition behaviour in new democracies is an unexplored area of investigation despite much rich material in post-communist Central and Eastern Europe' (Pridham, 2002, p. 75).

This is particularly important in Romania where the Government is often accused of a lack of transparency (The Economist, 2008).

The main purpose of forming networks is to achieve outcomes and performance. Nevertheless, 'performance is complicated by the fact that performance expectations and approaches to evaluation change over time' (Knight and Pye, 2004, p. 485). To evaluate network learning outcomes, this research looked at enduring changes in network interpretations, structures, and practices (Knight and Pye, 2005). Analysing whole networks providing social services for communities was particularly important. Though some are more active and efficient than others, services users' well-being depends on obtaining services from several agencies. By investigating whole networks, it was explained how networks evolved and how collective outcomes were created (Provan et al., 2007).

Positive changes were brought about by the implementation of the Strategy and by other programmes. For example, some initiatives led to enduring changes (introduction of Roma staff, programmes, projects, training for Roma communities) but some of them stopped (workers quit, programmes finished, without support communities returned to their initial stage). For example, in County 1, respondents highlighted frequent changes in human resources at the top or bottom levels. People who represented the interests of Roma changed frequently; this slowed down the implementation of policies: 'Last year because it was a governmental instability, we had three presidents; each has a different vision' (Superior councillor, Government). Another example is the case of health mediators, who received insufficient training: 'This course didn't last too long. Because these women just finished the 8th grade; they had a school certificate but nobody could employ them' (President, NGO10).

Interviewees had mixed opinions about success, performance, or change. The interview started with the question: 'Do you think that the situation of the Roma population is improving?' The researcher began with a general question because most people have an opinion about the situation of the Roma. Another reason was to use this as an ice-breaker.

Despite these intentions, in most cases, the question put in difficulty both the researcher and respondents. The researcher was reproached by a few people for asking a question which was too general. More importantly, respondents gave ambivalent messages. They answered 'yes' or 'no' then contradicted themselves during the rest of the interview. This variety of perceptions of performance had drawn attention to the difficulty of defining and measuring performance. This apparent lack of consistency was successfully dealt with due to the semi-structured interview, which allowed rich data to be collected.

Overall, respondents agreed that despite the efforts made by the Romanian Government through policies and programmes for Roma, the outcomes of their implementation did not reach their ambitious objectives. The Roma population still faces complex problems, often referred to as 'wicked issues', because they are complex and form a vicious circle, difficult to break.

In the last 20 years there has been a change in public service organisations from hierarchies to networks: 'network forms are seen as particularly suited to handling 'wicked problems'' (Ferlie et al., 2011, p. 307). 'Wicked issues' are:

> 'Complex and seemingly intractable problems and issues – community safety, poverty, social inclusion, health inequalities, teenage pregnancies, urban regeneration, substance misuse, climate change and homelessness' (Williams, 2002, p. 104).

Receptivity towards change (Butler, 2003) was used in order to capture features of high and low receptive contexts for change in Roma policy implementation. The idea behind receptivity, the framework used to collect data, is that organisations do not exist in a void; the context ought to be analysed too. The geographical and administrative position was a significant factor which explained why County 1 was initially selected as a high change context.

In the methodology, it has been presented the process of selecting the three case studies. The cases were situated in three different regions of the country, because Roma communities are different in terms of traditions, culture, employment, and poverty. Therefore, the aim was to select different geographical regions to lead to a diversity of results regarding: types of problems, solutions, and strategies to undertake them. For this reason, each county had a different influence during history. County 1 in the South is the capital of the country. Here is the central government where social policies are drafted. In the centre, County 2 has a strong Austro-Hungarian influence. Finally, in the South-East, County 3 had a powerful influence given by the Russian and Turkish culture. These three differences lead to rich results.

Comparing the three case studies, five main factors explaining variation in policy success were identified. These differences were revealed with regards to: access to funds and information, closeness to decision makers, training of workers, degree of tolerance, and poverty. Data have shown that County 1 had a clear advantage in comparison with the other two.

Firstly, in County 1, the Roma network had more access to funds: 'it's easier here. Here are the funders and the authorities' (Researcher, NGO9). Besides, the access to information was also easier: 'I've worked with other organisations in the country; the access to information is more difficult than in County 1' (Programme coordinator, NGO7). Here, NGOs were more numerous than in the rest of the country; more programmes were successfully implemented.

Secondly, Roma experts from NGOs and local administration took part in creating both strategies. Data have not revealed any participants from other counties. County 1 was closer to decision makers: 'Tomorrow, for example, I have lunch with a representative of the Embassy ... things which are out of reach for my colleagues. It's an opportunity for us to be able to talk with those who matter'

(Director, NGO7). The proximity to the Government and to relevant institutions helped with making changes at higher level: 'we aim to influence public policies, but at a higher level' (Director, NGO7).

Thirdly, in County 1, respondents emphasised that the proximity to the Government drives higher standards, pushing workers to be proficient due to a closer supervision: 'it makes you more careful about what you do. It is not a bad thing if the world is watching you.' (Sociologist, NGO11). The geographical position was important in terms of relationships and networking, but it also meant a better infrastructure and resources:

> 'If I had been in Birlad21 (small town in the South-East of Romania), I couldn't have organised a football match with the kids from the ghetto in Birlad and the guys from the Embassy. I couldn't have made a film about the Holocaust, because they have no strong editing agencies like in County 1' (Sociologist, NGO11).

In County 1, location gave an advantage in terms of human resources, as workers who were better trained tended to migrate to big cities to find jobs: 'in County 1 is gathered the human resource who left from other localities...here are the elite' (Sociologist, NGO11). These migrants increased job competition; County 1 brought together a variety of people with different skills: 'The majority of people who come, either students, or representatives of institutions that are operational, … so mainly they come here [in County 1]' (Director, NGO7).

In County 2, the geographical position has also had a negative impact: it was difficult to attract human resources in remote areas. Even when good work opportunities were created, people avoided working in the countryside:

> 'For the last five years Mr Mayor has been waiting for someone to finish High School, to be employed as a health mediator. He is offering all the conditions that a community can offer. An educational centre, the 'After School' Centre was made in that community, which is much appreciated, very useful' (Specialist in Social Relations and Civil Society, NGO20).

In County 3, the number of qualified human resources was lower. The staff were not as numerous as in the other two counties, where there are many universities and qualified people.

Fourthly, a major difference between cases was in terms of the level of racism and tolerance. In County 1, an expert in public policies pointed out that surveys still show high levels of racism among the Romanian population:

> 'We are one of the most racist, homophobic and sexist societies in Europe. In general, the Orthodox religion is so 'tolerant', the Romanian people are 'very tolerant' people, that is why 8 out of 10 would want [Roma] gone or even exterminated' (Public policies and advocacy senior adviser, NGO13).

---

21 Municipality in Eastern Romania.

Additionally, respondents claimed that the Roma population has a low self-esteem due to the high level of discrimination:

> 'Roma's self-esteem is so low because of stereotypes, prejudice, discrimination existing in society... The best Roma is said to be the Roma who thinks himself as Romanian [assimilated Roma]' (Public policies and advocacy senior adviser, NGO13).

In County 2, people spoke highly of the region called Transylvania, as more tolerant towards diverse communities. In particular, here respondents had a stronger connection with the cultural aspects than in other counties:

> 'I love Transylvania, the cultural environment here. I work in 100% Hungarian communities or in communities with mixed population. This multi-culturality is an amazing advantage. It's also because behind the historical factors which generated Transylvania, living standards are a bit higher.' (Specialist in Social Relations and Civil Society, NGO20).

Although in Romania there is a diversity of people throughout the country, in County 2 the compactness of ethnicities was much higher, making it more visible. Here, projects focusing on empowering people led to an increased cohesion and interest in their culture: 'In some communities I've also noticed a greater cohesion between them. Various forms of commitment appeared, also in projects regarding valuing their traditional culture' (Specialist in Social Relations and Civil Society, NGO20).

In County 3, the debate about racism and tolerance was also part of a politically correct discourse:

> 'Discrimination, segregation, these words were invented so some people could make money out of it. They want Roma to live in mixed communities so they can say that they are the ones who helped that.' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

It was highlighted that, at times, desegregation initiatives did not have positive outcomes: 'They are talking about discrimination and desegregation, and they do more harm than if they would have let people follow their own way.' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

As pointed out by the Roma councillor in County 3, initiatives in schools will not eliminate school dropout completely, improve school attendance dramatically, nor remove completely the desegregation process, either residential or ethnic, because racism is much deeper in people's consciousness and it is more complex: 'Rich children will learn in a different school than the poor.' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

Finally, there were big differences in terms of poverty. Poverty influences the socially marginalised groups and it is one of the main barriers in education. A vicious circle is created: poverty impinges on education, but the failure in education also affects poverty. For example, if children miss more than

thirty classes they lose their child allowance. But many children are failing to attend school because they are too poor; they do not have clothes, shoes, and food:

> 'It was difficult to go [to school] because it was cold, they had no clothes and they did not have what to eat. That's the law. If non attendencies exceed 30 they no longer receive monthly support which it contributes a bit to their subsistence.' (Roma councillor, Prefecture)

As sending their children to school is too expensive for the parents, NGOs try to attract the Roma with financial rewards. However, the help given by the civil society is insignificant in comparison with the challenges that extreme poverty brings about:

> 'There are families with seven children in the barracks. And we say: *we will not give you these things, if you do not send your children to school.'* OK it is normal, to put conditions to the beneficiary, these are the statistics that we learn at social work, sociology, or in NGOs in general. But how to send their child to school, if they has nothing to give him to eat? How to send that child to school when they are living in a barrack and one toilet booth 86 people go?' (Country Director, NGO14)

Although certain programmes help children with clothes, lunches, homework, their problems are complex, including also housing, health, employment, racism, and prejudice. 11% of Roma children live in households where there is no income. (Badescu et al, 2007) Reports have shown that in Roma communities, many children do not have clothes, food or adequate housing (Open Society Foundation, 2009). There were different degrees of poverty throughout the country: 'Their living standard is a bit higher [in County 1] than in the North-East, in Moldova, or the South-East. In Moldova people are dirt poor.' (President, NGO10). In these poor communities, bringing about a substantial change was difficult. The Roma network focused on attracting financial and human resources:

> 'There are entire communities which have this issue [poverty], not only Roma, the majority too, they live in extreme poverty. But the approach of the public policies should be made from the bottom up and to address in particular each region, to look at what cultures and traditions Roma have in that region.' (President, NGO10).

Nonetheless, youths who were trained, or schooled had limited prospects in poor communities, because of the extreme poverty and the lack of resources to support them: 'You cannot go in a starving community with some discussions about human rights. Maybe you can go, but your success is zero: 'oi, let's fight for non-discrimination, to have access to health'. Yes and what do I eat tomorrow?'' (Executive Director, NGO16).

In County 3, the difficulty to successfully implement Roma policies was explained by the failure to solve Roma's biggest problem, poverty:

> 'Many projects were implemented. But I can't say the Romas' problems have been solved. You can try to help them every day, but if a Romani doesn't have enough to get by every day, than all the work is in vain' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

Therefore, as it was suggested, a solution should come in parallel with an improvement of the overall environment: 'Improving Romas' lives depend greatly on the improvement of the live of the majority in this world, including in Romania' (Programme coordinator, NGO14).

To compare bridging actors, four issues will be discussed: the different definitions of social entrepreneurs and bridging actors, who they are, skills, and power, representation of the most complex bridging, and similar practices between the three cases.

7.2. Comparing bridging actors

As the literature review pointed out, leaders are named differently: drivers of change (Butler, 2003), boundary spanners (Williams, 2002), change agents (Battilana and Casciaro, 2012), social and institutional entrepreneurs (Tracey and Phillips, 2011). Leaders have the capacity to bring about change by identifying gaps in their institutions and by detecting administrative holes (Butler, 2003).

Institutional entrepreneurs lead changes in emerging economies (Tracey and Phillips, 2011). In this research, entrepreneurs are referred to as bridging actors, because they act as a bridge between Roma communities, local administration, and NGOs, as an active part of two different sub-networks. By analysing bridging actors in Roma networks, the research aimed to reduce the gap highlighted by Dacin et al. (2010). They believed that describing social entrepreneurship by individual level features will certainly lead to even more debates about what traits: 'it is a debate which can never be resolved, because it is unlikely that a definitive set of characteristics can be applied to all kinds of social entrepreneurial activity across all contexts' (p. 42). Dacin et al. (2010) highlighted the importance of studying entrepreneurs in diverse contexts and why some practices are quickly embraced by them, while others are not.

In Roma networks, there were two types of bridging people: the 'new generation' and the 'old generation' bridging actors. The 'new generation' used 'Western', transparent practices, while the 'old generation' bridging actors, trained during communism, employed less transparent practices; their aim was mainly 'to get things done' regardless of the methods.

The 'old generation' of bridging people are closely connected to the controversial characters described in public administration from the late nineteenth century until the late 1970s and early 1980s. As with public managers, they were impeding policy implementation while following their own interests (Pettigrew et al., 1992).

Using transparent practices was important to align to democratic requirements. But as with 'wicked issues' described in the literature, problems in Roma communities are chronic and complex; they need education, employment, infrastructure, and freedom from discrimination: 'The Roma population is especially at risk, having historically suffered from discrimination, poverty and social exclusion'

(UNICEF, 2010, p. 11). Although 'the new generation' of bridging actors embraced the new, democratic approaches to behaviour, most of those trained before 1989 still remained bureaucratic, reminding one of the 'static and bureaucratic' PA with rigid administration of regulations and directives, policy making and implementation (Osborne, 2006, p. 378). That is, employing less transparent practices was more helpful when dealing with bureaucratic people or institutions.

New practices in emergent fields are influenced by connecting new to old practices, leading to 'stabilization of field level relationships' and associating them with the values of diverse members, leading to the development of new field-level norms:'

> 'Newly stabilized relationships and new norms result as practices are institutionalized because emerging fields, in contrast with mature ones, are initially characterized by an absence of stable relationships among actors as well as by an absence of widely shared, convergent norms.' (Maguire et al., 2004, p. 674).

Different cultures and contexts explain variation in policy implementation (Butler, 2003). Cultural approaches are important to analyse how to bring about social value. Previous research proposed to incorporate cultural methods to study social entrepreneurship (Dacin et al., 2011) and highlighted the role of culture in research (Spradley, 1980; Levinson and Asahi, 1995). The cooperative problem-solving potential of a partnership can be significantly enriched by effectively connecting society's sharing areas:

> 'Beyond focusing on race, culture, politics, and religious ideology as dividing lines, partnerships can use network analysis to identify a lack of trust among organisations and then work to repair it. Engaging people and organisations first in collaboration on non-threatening issues may allow them to collaborate on threatening issues later, when trust is more firmly established.' (Provan, 2005, p. 610).

In County 1, all bridging actors interviewed were doing PhDs in Roma studies. Their age was approximately 25-35 years old. They were not part of any cliques; rather, they were engaged in collaborations. They formed alliances, initiated lobby and advocacy activities. They represented the 'new generation' of bridging actors. They differed from the 'old generation' bridging actors, who followed the old ways to get things done.

In County 2, there were both types of bridging actors. On one side, there were 'old generation' bridging people part of the local administration and NGO (B9 and B12); on the other side, there were the 'new generation' bridging actors involved in initiatives focused on human rights, lobbying, and raising awareness of Roma issues (B7, B10, B11). They were frequently organising protests fighting against abuses against Roma communities. B7 and B10 were academics, but also part of NGO24, organising various events for Roma. B8 was also an academic, but he was working as a researcher in a governmental organisation too; he was not involved in any 'activist' activities.

In both County 1 and County 2, academics played an important role in Roma networks. For public relations to better serve society, professionals and academics ought to embrace an activist role and 'combine advocacy of shared power with activism in the interest of shared power' (Berger, 2005, p. 5). Raising awareness and lobby was important, but respondents pointed out that Romas' immediate needs are more basic: 'You cannot go in a starving community with some discussions about human rights'.

Müller-Seitz (2012) suggested showing what leaders actually do to build on the existing knowledge where leaders are portrayed as heroes:

> 'Acknowledging the risk of reverting to accounts of heroism and limitless human agency, we nevertheless argue that the concept of institutional entrepreneurship should be central to future developments of institutional theory because it enables us to explore actors' degrees of agency, however institutionally embedded human agency might be' (Battilana et al., 2009, p. 66).

The bridging actors have the advantage of being part of two sub-networks. They become leaders in Roma communities because they have more power and resources. In Roma communities there are formal and informal leaders. In general, informal leaders are educated people, who employ a human rights and anti-discrimination speech. But the formal leaders are highly controversial:

> 'In general, local political leaders are 'mafia', people with shady activities, unproved, that's why they are not arrested yet. Now the leadership is poorly, because even the compact communities do not respect the principle of 'bulibasa'[22]. 'Bulibasa' is an old man, not respected, because he doesn't have money anymore; others in the community have money and money governs' (Executive Director, NGO16).

A difference between County 3 and County 2 was that in County 3 the Roma councillor – as a formal leader at the county level – B14, was always in the middle of the Roma beneficiaries (including in situations which are potentially dangerous). In County 2, the councillor had a rather unusual behaviour. For example, during the protest in front of his institution in 2011, he did not engage in a dialogue with those present. People passing by, Roma people, human rights activists, and media representatives were present, but the councillor did not use this opportunity to make his opinion known, although previous studies confirmed Romas' distrust in public institutions and in most institutions and organisations (Voicu, 2007, p. 22).

Usually, paradoxes and uncertainties act as barriers, making policy implementation difficult. Sometimes these act as an advantage for those who observe gaps and turn them to their advantage:

> 'While the high degree of institutional uncertainty that characterises emerging markets often acts as a barrier to entrepreneurship, it can also provide important opportunities for entrepreneurs.' (Tracey and Phillips, 2011, p. 35).

---

[22] In traditional Roma communities, conflicts are mediated by 'Bulibasa'. He decides the sanctions not the Police.

This was the case with the Roma bridging people, who identified administrative holes (Butler, 2003). For example, when Roma communities in County 3 dealt with uncertainty, B14 took advantage of this situation and used it as an opportunity, to help the community, increase her popularity, and win the community's trust.

However, to fight these issues, bridging actors also ought to have certain resources and skills. In Roma networks, bridging actors have various power, perseverance, persuasion, and level of trust. As power and influence determine the dominant positions in networks (Brass and Burkhardt, 1992), bridging people have the advantage of representing two sub-networks, therefore two positions.

Power in collaborations was strongly connected to managing information and resources (Burt, 1992) and network positions (Salancik, 1995). The level of power was closely connected with the type of collaboration: the 'old generation' of bridging people – as part of cliques – had more power than 'new generation' of bridging people – who engaged in alliances. For example, in County 1, the fact that B1 was not part of a clique made his work more difficult. In this case, the clique was replaced by collaborations or alliances.

B1 was part of activist and governmental sub-networks. Although he was a well-respected activist, he had less power as a governmental representative. He was engaging in alliances, while keeping away from cliques or partnerships with the City Hall and Prefecture. He was one of the activists who contested the efficiency of the Roma councillor and as the person applying the Strategy at the municipal level. He had little interest in collaborating with the Roma councillor who officially had the role of the coordinator of activities at the local level.

In County 2, there was a big difference between bridging people identified in the main city and those in smaller localities. Some of those in the city were often accused of various illicit activities, while in a small community, in Locality2, the bridging actor was appreciated in Roma communities, managing to rebuild bridges, roads, and remove illiteracy. Although B7, B8, and B10 were part of two sub-networks, they did not have great influence or power. This was because they were not of Roma ethnicity and also they did not have a position which would facilitate the creation of a clique, namely a job within the local administration. They were important drivers of change, not necessarily as bridging people but as members of the alliance NGO24.

In County 3, B14 was the most complex case of a bridging actor. B14 is described in the diagram below; which also shows the data sources supporting them:

1. REPORTS: 'In County 3, the high number of Roma people employed, is the outcome of the County Office (21 communities have a Roma expert). This was due to a good communication between county institutions and creation of networks and partnerships between local and county levels' (Preoteasa et al., 2009).

2. OPPOSED CLIQUE: 'Why a person of Roma origin, who is in that position to help Roma … This lady, should ask all Roma organisations to convene at least once a week in order to discuss what has come up. In fifteen, twenty years I've been working with Roma, she has not once called us all in a meeting. She does everything as she thinks fit' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31).

B14

3. OWN CLIQUE: 'she's the type of person who gets involved. She knows how to convince people and to get them on her side' (Roma expert, County 3).

6. POLICY EXPERT COUNTY 1: 'If you have like in County 3, at BJR a Roma woman very, very powerful, who knew how to surround herself by at least 15 local experts and she has 'produced' at least 10 local councillors in County 3, she made a team that works, and it attracts projects. She went in the community with all sorts of programmes and she managed to gather those people at the community level and to Mobilise them and to build a team around her that is working. In County 3, for example, things go well because you have a team around you' (Programme coordinator, NGO7).

4. OWN CLIQUE: 'I have been working here for a year and three months. First of all, I want to thank Mrs. B. (for giving the opportunity/job)' (Roma health mediator, County 3).

5. B14: 'When NGO30 initiates partnerships with state institutions - to have more money –
partnerships come from the Office. The Office helps NGO30 in County 3 to apply for projects.
The Prefect has signed and the Local Council can't say anything' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

Figure 8: Representation of the most complex bridging actor

The first source of data was a 2009 report published by Preoteasa et al. (2009). This report stated that B14 acted as a bridge between Roma communities and local and county levels. B14, as a 'change agent', was capable to persuade others 'to adopt changes with different degrees of divergence from the institutional status quo' (Battilana and Casciaro, 2012, p. 382).

The second source of data was given by a bridging actor who was part of NGO31, the opposing clique. He highlighted the closed feature of the clique led by B14. Changes in environment influence the patterns of a network (Koka et al., 2006): 'as the economic environment becomes sharply more competitive, the firm's network assumes enhanced strategic importance' (Gulati et al., 2000, pp. 203-4).

The third source of data came from a member of the B14 clique. It emphasised her skills (dynamic, strategic, and persuasive) to build strong relations in the clique and to gather people around her. B14 understood that becoming a bridging actor and having close links with the local administration was the best way to get things done. For B14, this was a conscious decision, a practice which could be adopted by other people in the country:

> 'I have advised my colleagues from other counties to do the same, but some of them wouldn't listen. For them it was much easier to relax during work hours, to chat to their

> colleagues. I told them to set up an NGO because the greatest luck in County 3 was that the president of NGO30 was working as representative for Roma, within the Office for the Roma ethnic group.' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

The fourth source of data was given again by a member of B14's clique. This quote shows a health mediator's gratitude for having this job.

The fifth source of data was offered by B14 herself, pointing out how to create shortcuts in bureaucratic environments and how to persuade local authorities to get actively involved in helping Roma communities. She described how she uses her positions, the activist and governmental sub-networks, to get things done in bureaucratic City Halls. In response to these challenges, B14 and her organisation, NGO30, built a clique and relationships to control uncertain environments and to counterbalance Romas' need of resources. As a strategic clique, she 'created stable, preferential relationships characterised by trust and rich exchange of information with specific partners' (Gulati and Gargiulo, 1999, p. 1440).

The sixth source of data was from one respondent from County 1 who explained that the Strategy did not work because the rest of the country did not have a leader like the Roma councillor in County 3. This shows that creating an effective network is not a 'natural or social given'; it requires a sustained effort of individuals to 'produce and reproduce lasting, useful relationships that can secure material or symbolic profits' (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 51).

Overall, three practices were employed by bridging actors in all three case studies: focusing on continuity, engaging in collaborations, and empowering people. Firstly, in County 1, bridging actors focused on turnover; they understood that effective programmes ought to be sustainable:

> 'I'm interested in what we do after this. We want to give recommendations on policy for the Roma population, from a health point of view. Because you don't come from top to bottom, but from bottom up on this matter' (President, NGO10).

To ensure turnover, in Locality2, County 2, B12 adopted certain practices: improving the infrastructure, encouraging children to come to school, and facilitating and attracting human resource trained in the city.

As the management in state institutions in all three cases changed after every election, bridging people developed the ability to engage with the new people joining the network. For example, in County 3, this way the continuity of the on-going projects was guaranteed:

> 'The elections came, a new [School] Inspector was installed, new School Directors; these took the project and moved it forward. Therefore, it didn't matter, like in other years when new people were brought in due to political changes and you were put in front of a situation like: "I'm sorry, I didn't sign it, I won't take responsibility".' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

Another strategy used by bridging people to ensure continuity was employing new Roma human resources:

> 'At the end of the year, when 15,000 people became unemployed, we managed to get the approval of another job and a half for school mediators by the School Inspectorate and the Ministry of Education. This is a big thing. We have given two jobs to two people who were already trained and they had no job... we succeeded to create a link between school and children.' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

Secondly, bridging people were open towards collaborations. They were aware that as part of an effective network, they could be more successful than acting alone. Bridging people worked systematically: they organised consultations to assess the needs of the community and identified appropriate partners for collaboration.

Bridging actors prioritised their interventions to unblock the system. They improvised when there were not enough resources or workforce. The capability to 'get things done' entailed the skill in handling the relationship between agreed and developing structures, because change in 'action outcomes will be accounted for by individuals' strategies for maximizing the utility of their networks' (Ibarra, 1992, p. 177).

Institutional entrepreneurs 'bridge institutional distance' (Tracey and Phillips, 2011, p. 34); through institutional bridging organisational practices, norms, and technologies are transferred. Moreover, a strong will could replace the lack of resources and it can facilitate collaborations: 'You can do a lot of things even with little money, but you have to know who to see, how to present the situation; plus you have to know a bit of legislation too' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

Bridging actors realised that engaging in collaborations increases the access to information; they were more flexible and more open to new opportunities. They also had a different vision regarding what Roma communities need, which at times was different than what the formal strategies and plans stated. As pointed out by Butler and Allen (2008), national policies were reinterpreted at the local level, each local organisation uniquely combining elements of national policy with their own requirements making policy implementation unpredictable and sketchier.

Thirdly, empowering people was another common practice adopted by bridging actors. Respondents stated that when implementing programmes for Roma, often the Roma themselves were not included: 'When it comes to Roma communitites, they are not always consulted on different problems that concern them and institutions make decisions in their favour, or not.' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

Bridging people were including Roma and non-Roma when taking decisions. In County 3, one B14 emphasised that the Roma problem is social rather than ethnic: 'We'll not help only the Roma. We

want to help the majority too.' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31). Also, social and economic issues affect all people, regardless their ethnicity:

> 'There are also Romanians[23] who are underprivileged, so when they come to me for help, I never send them away simply because they are not of Roma origin or because the project is only for Roma.' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

As those elected have responsibilities towards the public; bridging people played a 'watchdog' role; they suggested ideas to Mayors, because socio-economic development cannot be done without state institutions. This collaboration depended on cooperation, confrontation, complementarity, and co-optation; their objectives and tools varied (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002).

Battilana et al. (2009) separate official authority and social capital as possible foundations of power connected to social position. They either empower people: 'When their social position does not enable them to easily mobilize others, institutional entrepreneurs might try to convince actors who themselves occupy higher status social positions, to endorse their project' (p. 83), or find means to mobilise them in joint activities: 'they leverage the endorsement of such higher status actors to increase the legitimacy of their project and thereby mobilize other actors behind it' (Battilana et al., 2009, p. 83).

The next section will highlight how cliques and alliances formed and evolved in all three counties. It will discuss four main issues: definition of cliques and alliances, why they emerge in the Roma context, how they form, and their main characteristics.

7.3. Comparing cliques and alliances

In the current literature, cliques are defined as 'sub-sets of a network in which actors are more closely and intensely tied to one another than they are to other members of the network' (Hanneman and Riddle, 2005, p. 174), clusters of three or more organisations connected to one another (Provan et al., 2007), 'cohesive subgroups of actors tied together with relations of some minimal strength' (Schalk et al. 2010, p. 638), or 'groups of agencies' (Lemieux-Charles et al., 2005, p. 456). In delivering health services a clique is more effective than a whole network: 'overlapping cliques of providers were also found to result in more effective client outcomes than when cliques were more fragmented' (Provan and Sydow, 2008, p. 20).

In this research cliques implementing Roma policies are more than alliances between three or more parties. They have the same purposes – they are formed either as a response to bureaucracy, or to create a stronger and more efficient network. But they use less transparent practices than in alliances, for example naming people in certain positions without a fair selection. Similar to how Mills (1999)

---

[23] In Romania, it is common to refer to non-Roma as 'Romanians' and to Roma as 'not Romanian'. Although Roma are Romanian too, these expressions do not carry a pejorative feature.

objectively described cliques, as simply a statement of fact, this research does not clearly say if cliques are good or bad. Rather, it shows how things to get done in networks, by creating cliques:

> 'Insofar as the politician enters into the continuous policy-making of the modern political state, he does so less by voting for or against a bill than by entering into a clique that it is in a position to exert influence upon and though the command posts of the executive administration, or by not investigating areas sensitive to certain clique interests' (Wright Mills, 1999, p. 258).

Studies rarely describe how networks have begun (Gulati and Gargiulo, 1999), but 'partner selection is critical to network theory, as it is a fundamental driver of network stability and change' (Beckman et al., 2004, p. 259). It is important to investigate those collaborations and alliances initiated with a clear purpose and to observe the connection between the reason of their initiation and the type of interaction among network members.

Current literature on cliques highlights the positive connotation of the term, but a clique can be also a group of people 'who unite to intrigue or destroy; a primary group whose members are united for reciprocal obligations' (Cova et al., 2010, p. 882). But networks can also have a damaging influence on some members and outsiders, obstructing them from productive associations, preventing them from founding effective partnerships, and acting as a restraint (Gulati et al., 2000); 'collaboration is not always for laudable purposes' (Raab and Milward, 2003, p. 416).

> 'Neither iron triangles nor open issue networks alone are adequate in explaining policy processes; other structural forms, such as closed circles or arenas, may also play a role – sometimes a significant one – in policy developments. That is, the relationship patterns within smaller arenas can explain some policy innovations better than those of the macro network' (Miskel and Song, 2004, p. 105).

Analysing cliques in Roma networks was an exciting process because they had new features which have not been captured in this context before. In Romania, cliques and alliances were created because of the uncertain and bureaucratic environment and due to the complexity of Roma issues. In Romania, state institutions are rigid; civil servants have little patience with beneficiaries in general and with Roma in particular. Although more 'pluralistic' public governance started at the beginning of twenty-first century (Osborne, 2006), analysing the Romanian context, there was no sense of promoting network governance and collaboration, or efficient networks coordination. Only the activist sub-network focused on new public governance's features: encouraging people's knowledge, skills and ability, enhancing knowledge, and working in partnership (Franks, 1999).

The collaboration between the local administration and NGOs was imperative in order to obtain funds. As shown in the literature, members of NGOs can feel extremely unprotected when cooperating with legal agencies: 'the power to dictate what the collaboration does is often felt to be in the hands of

those who hold the purse strings' (Huxham and Vangen, 1996, pp. 13-4). As Romania is affected by bureaucracy and a lack of transparency, forming cliques was a tool to 'make things happen'.

This finding is closely connected with the type of cliques leading change in Roma networks. Similarly, these cliques seek political allies to leverage their ideas: 'Both the network and arena interpretations support the contention that elite policy actors do not act in isolation and actively seek allies to support and leverage their ideas' (Miskel and Song, 2004, p. 105).

This section presents the data on cliques and alliances, explaining and illustrating key, characteristic practices, as summarised in Table 18 which presents explanatory quotes. The concept of cliques is different than in the existing literature in public administration, where cliques are. In Romania, cliques develop in response to the uncertain and bureaucratic environment and the complexity of Roma issues. Being member of a clique is an advantage as it opens the way to opportunities which are not available to others. Uncertain environments act as an advantage for those who observe gaps (Tracey and Phillips, 2011) and deliberately accessing powerful positions and exploiting them.

Alliances	Cliques
LEADERSHIP Set up and led by 'new generation' of liberal bridging actors, working in partnerships 'We have partnerships with NGOs, we implement projects together, we have people in the community that we…. babysit them' (President, NGO10, County 1).	**Set up and led by one or few 'old generation' of authoritarian bridging actors focusing on 'getting things done' regardless of the means** 'I don't care about procedures. I went and I told them: 'Sir, this is the partnership, if this suits you, this is the last page and I need your stamp and signature.' In 5 minutes we signed and I went. I won't start explaining the procedures because I bore people with procedures. They have other things to do, a director, a CEO of an institution. You get there he has other problems. [If] Somebody called him, you drove 200 km to meet him and you don't solve the problem by working institutionally and applying procedures and work instruments.' (Legal advisor City Hall and NGO30, County 3).
OPENESS Open, initiating collaborations with both NGOs and local administration 'We have partnerships with the Roma leaders, the City Hall, the City Hall from the 5th District, and with the Community Organisation from Ferentari, with the Local Council from Ilfov' (President, NGO10, County 1). 'We had a training session for the local authority's representatives. In June we had a campaign with the representatives in the media. Last year we had training sessions for the Roma. Now were targeted mostly the experts which deal with the Roma: City Hall and School Inspectorate' (Director NGO17 and member NGO24, Lecturer, County 2).	**Closed, rigid when engaging with other organisations outside the clique and include people from the local administration to facilitate access to funds and power** ''Roma will never succeed because they don't get together in a single force. Everyone wants to be a president of some sort. But this is not symbolic; if you don't get involved with all your heart' (Roma expert City Hall, President NGO31, County 3). 'I hope that soon we will reach a higher level, especially since we have 16 local counsellors from NGO30. We have a protocol with the City Hall; we will try to put our people there, also the Roma counsellor' (Roma expert City Hall and President NGO30, County 2). 'The person in charge that comes from the Romani community does not help us communicate. She does not protect the interests of the Roma. She is on the side of the local authorities and wants the job only because she wants to make a living and to try to find work there for her family and relatives, etc." (Community facilitator,

	Government and Director, NGO31, County 3).
CLARITY OF PRACTICES Using transparent/Democratic practices 'We try to develop a series of partnerships from top to bottom, because our organisation [tries] to create, to develop some tools, and to test them, if they work. The local authority, our partner, can take us over or not ... because in Romania the situation is very difficult. People don't understand what advocacy means they like the sound of it, but they don't understand' (President, NGO10, County 1).	**Using opaque practices** 'We are the only organisation in the country which works 24/7 in the interest of the community. Other organisations formed by husbands and wives are after 'catching' projects' (Roma expert City Hall and President NGO30, County 2). 'Everything is politicised, except NGOs'. 'The majority of the directors in institutions are involved in politics; you compromise; you need to play the way they ask you' (NGO27 and School mediator, County 2).
MEMBERS' INTERACTION Members are closely linked through more voluntaristic partnerships 'We had a bigger programme which focused on developing local NGOs and we have tried to develop a strategic plan. We have about 25 organisations in the country like this, at the local or county level' (Programme coordinator, NGO7, County 1).	**Members are closely linked through tighter, authoritarian partnership** 'We have a party and we vote with our party. If we want to help another party we have a meeting and we negotiate: 'what are the advantages, what do you do for us in exchange?' This is why in County 3 things go so well' (Roma councillor, Prefecture, NGO30 Director, County 3).
DYNAMICS Dynamic, its members move between organisations The 'new generation' of entrepreneurs often change their position between governmental and non-governmental organisations.	**Stable, its members do not move between organisations** 'This is the fifth Prefect and no one could say anything against me. As you can see, my office is here [at NGO30] and my colleagues don't see me too often and the Prefect doesn't question what I am doing' (Roma councillor, Prefecture, NGO30 Director, County 3).
POLITICAL IMPLICATION NGOs rely more heavily on organising protests than developing negotiation skills to combine the new with the old entrepreneurial practices 'NGOs do not get involved as much as they should. They do not ask the support of the public institutions, but they create a bad publicity for them.' (Social worker, Child Protection, County 2)	**Cliques are heavily politicised: PA institutions are led by people chosen politically; they take turns according to the winning party** 'The heads of the County Departments of Social Work and Employment are politically named. They are people named not necessarily because they are qualified in the field, but they are people selected on political criteria. That's the system. And this is stupid of course' (NGO24 and Lecturer, County 2). 'This Centre was brought to life due to a project in partnership with NGO1, with the Social Centre for the Roma and City Hall County 3. The building belongs to City Hall and we use it for free' (Roma councillor, Prefecture, NGO30 Director, County 3).

Table 18: Differences between alliances and cliques

Source: Gheorghiu, Knight, Butler (2014)

Alliances are set up and led by 'new generation' of liberal bridging actors, working in partnerships vs. cliques are set up and led by one or few 'old generation' of authoritarian bridging actors focusing on 'getting things done' regardless the means.

Alliances are set up by the 'new generation' of bridging actors. They include people from NGOs and are led by bridging actors working together. Through alliances bridging actors initiated lobbying and advocacy activities. Frequently organising protests against abuses in Roma communities, bridging actors acted as human rights activists, pointing out that the focus should not be put on marginalised people, not only Roma, and adopting a holistic approach when tackling health issues, closely

connected to fighting poverty and social exclusion. They emphasised the real Roma communities' needs considering their diversity. For example, in County 1 and County 2, this new Roma elite emerging facilitated changes in policy implementation:

> 'An elite has emerged in the past ten years. It's that generation of former students who entered universities on the first special places, who have benefited from the Soros Foundation. A total of 30-40 young Roma students have benefited from the best training, and consultancy training at that time in Romania, in NGO management and writing project proposals' (Community facilitator, NGO19, County 2).

Cliques are formed by the 'old generation' of bridging actors, who strategically re-organised the network to form their own clique. Most workers trained before 1989 (during the communist era) still remained bureaucratic, reminding of the 'static and bureaucratic' public administration with rigid administration of regulations and directives, policy making and implementation (Osborne, 2006, p. 378).

Problems in Roma communities are chronic and complex. In this uncertain environment, employing less transparent practices was more helpful when dealing with bureaucratic people or institutions. This is where the role of the 'old generation' entrepreneurs became relevant in breaking the institutional barriers: bureaucracy and slow decision making.

In this challenging context, the outcomes for the Roma network depended on those leading the cliques: whether or not their initiatives targeted the improvement of the Roma situation. Dominant positions were often linked with power and influence (Brass and Burkhardt, 1992). Therefore, 'the ability to 'get things done' consisted in large part of skill in managing the interplay between prescribed and emergent structures' (Ibarra, 1992, p. 177). Leaders' willingness to create change and to make a difference is important; however, a respondent uses two metaphors to highlight that it is easier not to get deeply involved in helping Roma communities:

> 'If the Roma leader in the county is more interested in issues to 'scratch the surface', then it becomes a typical situation: 'We don't get our hands dirty'' (Specialist in Social Relations and Civil Society, NGO20, County 2).

The reputation of cliques' members ought to be maintained in order to be part of a strong clique and to achieve great outcomes. That is, network members need to have a clear image of both success and signs of failure: 'Agreeing on a set of criteria and a process for reflection and review will offer a way to put the partnership back on the when things go wrong.' (Goss, 2001, p. 99).

Alliances are open, initiating collaborations with both NGOs and local administration vs. cliques are closed, rigid when engaging with other organisations outside the clique and they include people from local administration mainly to facilitate access to funds.

Alliances are more open than cliques. The new generation of entrepreneurs were particularly aware that the relationship with local administration ought to improve, while they also focused on involving

Roma in local initiatives. The collaboration between the local administration and NGOs was imperative in order to obtain funds. But having less power, members of NGOs can feel extremely unprotected when cooperating with legal agencies: 'the power to dictate what the collaboration does is often felt to be in the hands of those who hold the purse strings' (Huxham and Vangen, 1996, pp. 13-4).

Cliques are closed: they are not interacting with certain organisations or opponent cliques. In County 1, the Roma network was complex, with high interactions between numerous members, which made cliques less visible. If in County 2 and 3 people were openly admitting that they belonged to a closed group similar to a clique, in County 1 this did not happen. However, some respondents suggested the existence of powerful cliques, using opaque practices. As Romania is affected by bureaucracy and a lack of transparency, forming cliques was a tool to 'make things happen' by reaching to the local administration.

In County 2 these cliques were mostly formed to have a monopoly over administrative positions and resources. Data regarding this clique were scarce, coming from reports, observations, and online journals. All these sources led to the conclusion that the clique in County 2 was not visible at the community level or referred to by other network members interviewed.

A responded strongly rejected any links with local authorities, pointing out that he was offered a job with them, claiming that these positions bring about corruption:

> 'The public administration and the politics are joined together. I wanted to be councillor at the City Hall and it was not possible; I'm not the person to do that; I work with my heart and soul' (NGO27 and School mediator, County 2).

Bridging actors aspire to be part of governmental and non-governmental networks because of the difficulty to manage on their own. For example, according to the Governmental Strategy, the Municipal Office for Roma is part of the Institution of the Prefect[24]. But, it does not have a legal entity. This means that the Prefecture cannot apply or get funds to implement projects and programmes. For this reason, the Roma councillor set up NGO30 to attract funds to help Roma communities: 'We have created NGO30 as an organisation which combines the effort of the Municipal Office for Roma' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30, County 3). When the researcher asked if she initiated certain activities as a councillor or as a NGO30 Director, she replied:

---

[24] The Institution of the Prefect: The Government names a Prefect in each county and in Bucharest municipality. The Prefect represents the Government at the local level and it leads decentralised public services of Ministries and other central public administration.

> 'I am talking about both [governmental and non-governmental roles]. What could I have said to Roma if this institution did not have money? 'The Office does not have money to solve Romas' problems?'' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30, County 3).

In County 3, cliques rarely interacted with each other. Asked about what problems he is facing one member of a clique explained the relationship with the leader of the other clique:

> 'I don't understand why a person of Romani origin, who is in that position in order to help the Roma at the Municipal Office for the Roma … This lady should ask all Roma organisations to convene at least once a week in order to discuss what has come up. "What problems have you been faced with lately? How do you think we should deal with this?" Never. In the fifteen, twenty years I've been working with Roma, she has not once called us all in a meeting. She does everything as she thinks fit.' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31, County 3).

Another member of the NGO31 strongly rejects any collaboration, even talk or share of information with the rival clique, showing a lack of trust in the external network and confidence in its own abilities:

> 'From Mrs Roma councillor I don't need any information. I know everything even better than she knows. Really I don't need information…with the internet and all that, I don't need it… If I need anything I have x, x has her own access tools.' (Roma expert City Hall and President NGO31, County 3).

Strategically created, clique's creator forms a trusted team, comprising both, members of the local administration and of non-governmental organisations:

> 'When I started working at the Municipal Office, I created this non-governmental organisation and I named as founding members the most reliable people I had worked with. I wanted these people to be some sort of leaders in the communities where they were and after a while I managed to get them jobs at the City Hall' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30, County 3).

Cliques included people from local administration to facilitate the access to funds. They co-opted into their clique people who had power (Mayors), who were valuable as a human resource (school and health mediators), who had managerial, communication skills, and access to funds (NGOs members). Through cliques, they created relationships with people who would facilitate access to resources. In return, bridging actors rewarded them, e.g. they supported Mayors during the election campaign.

Alliances are using transparent and democratic practices vs. cliques are using opaque practices

Alliances are using more transparent practices than cliques, to align to democratic requirements imposed by the EU. Network members ought to accommodate diversity, understanding their difficulties and priorities, appreciating diverse views and expertise, and 'finding processes which can build solutions rather than simply arguing' (Goss, 2001, p. 99). In the collaboration process 'principles of democracy and equality' are important (Huxham and Vangen, 1996). This is particularly important in inter-organisational partnerships, especially in relation to 'wicked problems' with chronic policy

failure (Ferlie et al., 2011, p. 309). Although 'the need to lead in a facilitative and supportive manner is both required and expected; yet the research shows that this in itself is not sufficient to generate collaborative advantage' (Huxham and Vangen, 2005, p. 228), rather it leads to 'collaborative thuggery' (Huxham and Vangen, 2005, p. 78).

Cliques are opaque: they are not using transparent practices, but based on nepotism[25]. For example, the clique in County 2 employed its own people to strengthen the network. The practice of appointing people instead of creating a fair and transparent process of selection leaves room for corruption; often, people selected were not qualified for that role:

> 'In certain institutions I came across some strange situations: people with a background, or training in one field who were working in another field. Without contesting their good intentions, you can see that they are tangential to the field; it's absolutely by chance. If in an institution or organisation you don't even try to put the right person in the right place, then problems will show up.' (Specialist in Social Relations and Civil Society, NGO20, County 2).

In administrative and governmental jobs, NGO30 - whose members form the clique - had the monopoly and they planned to extend their influence:

> 'The National Agency has six jobs in County 2, in six City Halls in rural areas. I hope that soon we will reach a higher level, especially since we have 16 local councillors from NGO30 … We have a protocol with the City Hall; we will try to put our people there' (Roma expert, Locality1, County 2).

This practice was openly declared and widely used in all state institutions; when a Roma expert was asked by the researcher how is the relationship with the Roma councillor, he answered: 'very good, we chose him' (Roma expert, Locality1, County 2).

In County 3, the same practice of appointing people and co-opting them in cliques has had a positive outcome by creating shortcuts in accessing bureaucratic institutions. This confirmed that certain public sector organisations remain bureaucratic, a system of rational rules and procedures, with structured hierarchies and a formalised decision-making process (Denhardt et al., 2012).

Another way to create a clique is to employ relatives and acquaintances to fill in jobs in the Roma network. This is a common practice used in Romania:

> 'I was only 17 when I became a school mediator and it was a little strange for me because I did not know what I was supposed to do. In fact, it was my father who was supposed to become a school mediator but he gave up, letting me take his place thinking that I was much younger and that I was going to acquire experience. I began with the training courses and then the practical part'. (Health mediator, County 3).

---

[25] Nepotism is the practice among those with power or influence of favoring relatives or friends, especially by giving them jobs (Oxford Dictionary)

This is clearly not a transparent selection process. But it does not automatically exclude the skills of the mediator to do her job at a high standard. It shows that the mediator had an opportunity which was not available to others who might have want to be mediators. However, the same practice is pointed out as not transparent by people who use this practice themselves:

> 'Do you know what a job interview means? I need a social worker for a project and I organize an interview. … because this is what the law says. But why should I give the job someone really capable when I can give it to my nephew or my niece?'. (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30, County 3).

Cliques were formed in order to have an effective network and therefore an advantage over the other networks in other counties. Although not illegal, they are not always transparent or according to procedures: 'In the end, I don't care about work instruments, or procedures. What it counts is the result. It does not matter through which means you got to that result; you have the result, it's OK' (Legal advisor, City Hall and NGO30, County 3).

In alliances members are closely linked through partnerships vs. in cliques members are closely linked through tighter, authoritarian partnership.

Both alliances and cliques are closely linked; their actors are closely connected. The difference between them lies in the fact that in alliances members are closely linked through partnerships, while in cliques members are closely linked through tighter, authoritarian partnership. Cliques, in particular, involved very strong links between their members, reciprocity, or the 'flow of demands and obligations' (Salancik, 1995, p. 346) was important. The help received from those elected was paid back in votes given by Roma communities:

> 'If the Mayor wasn't a reliable person, I wouldn't have told the Gypsies to vote for him. But I told them to vote for him because I know that the Mayor is a kind man who cares about the Roma people' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30, County 3).

In County 3, meetings take place at the centre created for Roma by the Roma councillor. Health and school mediators, coordinated by the councillor, discussed their problems and they shared their experiences: 'We discuss our problems one by one. We have meetings where all local experts attend, school mediators, health mediators in the city and in the county. We let them know problems we encounter.' (Health mediator, County 3).

Frequently, social entrepreneurs highlighted the vital role of knowing and counting on certain people when needed. This is reflected in their language, especially in the emphasis on certain words like: 'we have people of Roma ethnicity who work at the local public authority, *our* people', 'we have a protocol with the City Hall; we will try to put *our* people there' '*we* put him'; 'I have *my own* tools'. The same as in Miskel and Song's (2004) study, policy changes in the Roma context were done by powerful actors; small cliques of entrepreneurs shaped key changes.

Trust plays a significant role here. Trust is built in time, with continuous effort; it becomes visible especially in difficult times. In order to build successful, long lasting cliques, the trust was built through networking:

> 'I came into contact with all kind of people. The poor needed my help and services that the institution was offering. I was very lucky, I had a gift and I became friends with my colleagues there. They saw that I was a very reliable person, so it was only natural…I managed to become friends with everyone there, in all the departments' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30, County 3).

The close links of the clique was emphasised by the fact that the role of councillor and of NGO Director were swapped: 'You should dress like that when coming to a meeting of the Roma Municipal Office, which is actually the meeting of NGO30' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30, County 3).

'Determination, commitment, and stamina' explain the success of collaboration (Huxham and Vangen, 1996). In time, the clique formed by NGO30 members became stronger and bigger. For example, when the councillor was asked why there is no replacement for the Roma expert at the City Hall in County 3, who was on maternity leave, she replied: 'I didn't want to bring in somebody new in case that person gets too comfortable, enjoys it too much and it refuses to leave; so the girl [expert] loses the job when she returns.'

Alliances are dynamic: their members move between organisations vs. cliques are stable: their members do not move between organisations.

Alliances are more dynamic, while cliques are stable. Actors inside alliances were moving between different organisations, taking various positions. For example, in County 1 one entrepreneur had changed numerous positions; he started as an NGO worker, health mediator trainer, school mediator, before setting his own NGO targeting Roma health issues. He focused on health issues: equal access to health services, education and training in the medical field, developing social care services, research and analysis, and lobbying and advocacy.

Members inside cliques were rigid; they were not changing their position. Network members had distinctive network positions which are explained by their linked relationships. Clique members do not move from one clique or organisation to another. In older and bigger organisations, structural inertia decreases the speed of break ups and forming new relationships.

Building a trusting network required time and perseverance. At times, some members were excluded and new ones joined. However, the key members remained in the clique, especially the leaders of the clique. The aim was creating a network that can be successfully accessed by the leader at any time:

> 'Now, we can be proud of having, at the municipal level, at least a hundred people of Roma origin on our staff; there were even more, but some of them left, others came to replace

them, and they are people I can count on. I know that if I phone them and I ask them to go somewhere, at a certain date and time, they will definitely be there, as promised' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30, County 3).

So far, positive features of alliances have been introduced. However, one negative feature of alliances was emphasised in the data collection: the 'new generation' of entrepreneurs are proficient in creating alliances, but they have not mastered the skill to combine old and new practices when dealing with bureaucratic institutions. Therefore, they rely on organizing protests to respond to a heavily politicised environment where cliques are comfortingly growing.

NGOs rely heavily on organising protests rather than developing negotiation skills to combine the new with the old entrepreneurial practices vs. cliques are heavily politicised.

In Romania, state institutions are rigid and have the lowest transparency in the EU (The Economist, 2008). Using transparent practices was important to align to democratic requirements. But as with 'wicked issues' described in the literature, problems in Roma communities are chronic and complex; they need education, employment, infrastructure, and freedom from discrimination. Although 'the new generation' of social entrepreneurs embraced the new, democratic approaches to behaviour, most of those trained before 1989 still remained bureaucratic, reminding one of the 'static and bureaucratic' PA (Osborne, 2006, p. 378). That is, employing less transparent practices was more helpful when dealing with bureaucratic people or institutions.

New and old practices are closely connected in emergent fields, leading to 'stabilization of field level relationships' and associating them with the values of diverse members, leading to the development of new field-level norms:'

> 'Newly stabilized relationships and new norms result as practices are institutionalized because emerging fields, in contrast with mature ones, are initially characterized by an absence of stable relationships among actors as well as by an absence of widely shared, convergent norms.' (Maguire et al., 2004, p. 674).

This conflict between governmental and non-governmental organisations is the main issue highlighted in County 1, because here is the highest level of interaction between them. Often, they blamed each other for not being committed to the overall Roma cause. Network structures were held accountable for interactions that begin or stop. A programme coordinator stated that this is explained by the organisational culture of the Roma: they fight and they fail to engage in collaborations:

> 'People have not learned yet to give feedback and to consult each other. When they meet up around a table, they attack each other, they criticise... At the end, the subject they were there for wasn't even discussed. ... There is no understanding, common interest for which to move forward without fighting, dissent, and conflicts.' (Programme coordinator, NGO7 and academic, County 1).

In 2010, representatives of NGOs were invited to improve the draft of the second Strategy. The problem emphasised by respondents was that there was no real consultation:

'What frustrated us was the lack of a real consultation. Even if it's not easy to organise a consultation with organisations, to have a real consultative process, not only to organise a meeting with an organisation or another organisation as being a consultation' (Specialist Social Policies, NGO5, County 1).

One Roma organisation highlighted the concern towards the Romanian 2012 Strategy: 'the Romanian Government has moved too fast by adopting a National Strategy for Roma, while neglecting critical stages' (Romani CRISS, 2012). This period was not long enough to accommodate public debate, as required by Law no. 52/2003, regarding transparency in public administration, which obliges public institutions to notify and consult citizens and organisations on issues of public interest which are discussed for implementation.

Cliques are heavily politicised. This is the norm, all governmental institutions and some NGOs are overtly or covertly led by people in local administration politically involved. These are similar to Mills' cliques which are 'in a position to exert influence upon and though the command posts of the executive administration, or by not investigating areas sensitive to certain clique interests' (Wright Mills, 1999, p. 258):

'The heads of the County Departments of Social Work and Employment are politically named. They are people named not necessarily because they are qualified in the field, but they are people selected on political criteria. That's the system. And this is stupid of course' (Worker, NGO24 and Lecturer, County 2).

This finding is closely connected with the type of cliques leading change in Roma networks. Similarly, these cliques seek political allies to leverage their ideas: 'Both the network and arena interpretations support the contention that elite policy actors do not act in isolation and actively seek allies to support and leverage their ideas' (Miskel and Song, 2004, p. 105).

If in County 3 clique 1 managed to have a good collaboration with the local Mayor, obtaining a venue to be used for free by both Roma workers and Roma beneficiaries, we can also show what happens for those who are not in the strong clique. A member of the opponent clique points out his failure to help the Roma communities with their housing issues:

'You need the local authorities to support you, the City Hall, the Local Council. Initially, you have to talk to the Mayor…for example for a housing project you need to go to him to ask for a construction site, for example 10 houses for Roma. The City Hall will decide where will be the construction. For example near the Steel Plant, under high voltage cables, which means a death sentence, because of the high voltage and the fact that toxic residues are thrown there.' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31, County 3).

In County 3, another respondent highlights that Romania has lost a lot of money from the European Union due to the 'incompetence of the people in charge':

'For example, people at the Town Hall. I contact all the Mayors; it's very difficult to convince them to initiate projects for the Roma, even though I know that the money that comes in from the Romanian Government doesn't require any particular effort on their side. And I

know that if we can't solve the problems with that money, the people who work for the Town Hall would have to do it. And even so, it's still difficult to get them to work on that particular project. They don't want to get involved. Roma are always used when the politicians need votes during elections. They are taken into consideration around the time of the elections when the Mayors need them.' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31, County 3).

In all three counties it was highlighted that Mayors were acting as a barrier in helping Roma communities and Roma workers. For example, in County 1, two respondents made some strong statements highlighting that Mayors use Roma workers for their own needs:

'Literally slaves, those [Roma] who have social benefits and do community work are Mayor's slaves. There are numerous cases of Mayors who use them to work/clean their own estate' (Executive Director, NGO16, County 1).

Another feature of the relationship with Mayors, this time with the Roma workers was pointed out in all three counties:

'They have been employed only because they helped out during the election of the Mayor. Because the Roma issue is very much connected with the politics. We talk about politics here: *'you helped me during the elections'*… on the paper/in theory we don't talk about the local autonomy, but in reality we know that the Mayor does whatever he wants at the local level: *'you helped me, I hire you. Or if you didn't help me during the campaign you are my worst enemy'* (President, NGO10, County 1).

7.4. Managing paradoxes

Looking at how leaders of successful networks manage collaborations, Ospina and Saz-Carranza (2010) highlighted that when doing inward work, successful leaders deal with conflicting requests adopting activities that facilitate interaction, cultivate relationships and promote openness, while when doing outward work they focus on activities that emphasise managing credibility, multi-level working, and cultivating relationships (Ospina and Saz-Carranza, 2010). Next, these responses within the three case studies will be contrasted: both when doing inward and outward work.

7.4.1. Inward work of building community

Inward work is defined by Ospina and Saz-Carranza (2010) as 'explicit effort to build, nurture, and maintain the network and to coordinate network members' (Ospina and Saz-Carranza, 2010, p. 414). They summarise three types of responses to paradoxes when doing inward work: facilitating interaction, cultivating relationships, and promoting openness.

FACILITATING INTERACTION

In analysing how interaction was facilitated, a specific response considered was the monthly meeting organised by the Roma councillor.

The Roma councillor was the highest rank at the county level. He/she had the task to coordinate the Roma network, to collaborate with state institutions in Roma issues, and to be close to Roma

communities. This higher scale mediation job was vital and it made a big difference when discussing network outcomes. One of the indicators that the councillor's job had been successful was to look at how he/she managed to organise the county Roma network and how effective were their meetings. This also implied recognition of the Roma councillor as a leader of the network.

Through the 2001 Strategy, a network of Roma and non-Roma representatives from both NGOs and local authorities was formed, called the Working Mixed Group. The Roma councillor has been appointed to organise and coordinate this Group. As respondents pointed out, in some counties this body worked, while in others it was not effective. For example, in County 1, the Roma councillor was not of Roma ethnicity and in comparison with other counties she was not doing field work. In County 1, the Roma councillor set the scene for collaborations between various institutions. As the researcher observed in the meeting organised by the councillor, the collaboration with other institutions was polite: they exchanged information. In collaboration with other partners, the councillor also implemented activities in the Roma communities: education campaigns focused on prevention of school dropout, she released monthly updates to all districts regarding employment opportunities for Roma citizens, and she got involved in annual job fairs for Roma.

As in County 2 the Roma councillor refused to be interviewed; the researcher found data about this meeting in a report created by NGO7 and funded by the Romanian Government. In this report, in an interview, the councillor stated that these 'monthly' meetings take place every three months and the participants discuss 'the themes from the County Plan regarding the implementation of the Governmental Strategy to improve the situation of the Roma in Romania for 2001-2008'. However, he did not create an Implementation Plan for 2009-2010. In comparison with the other councillors in other two counties, he did not have a proactive approach. Instead he explained that 'he was not helped to write this plan' (Preoteasa et al., 2009, p. 126).

Although the Roma councillor was supposed to be the leader in County 2, he was not visible in the community, nor did he facilitate interaction and collaboration. He also lacked credibility and a proactive approach:

> 'If the Roma leader in the county is more interested in issues to scratch the surface, then it becomes a typical situation: 'We don't get our hands dirty'' (Specialist in Social Relations and Civil Society, NGO20).

In County 3, the monthly meeting was an opportunity for Roma workers to interact and exchange ideas: 'at the local and county level, Roma representatives admit that local groups are functional because of the involvement of the local Roma specialists' (Preoteasa et al., 2009, p. 167). In the semi-structured interview, health and school mediators, the Roma expert, and the legal advisor emphasised the vital role of these meetings, where they get together to share their problems. In County 3, these meetings accommodated only people from NGO30, representatives from state institutions, and other

actors who were considered important by the organiser of the meeting, the Roma councillor. Here, NGO31 members were not invited and they were not included in this process of helping each other and sharing experiences.

The second response to facilitate interaction was consulting, empowering, or engaging communities. Relations between state and society, government and citizens, and state and non-state institutions have changed (Kennett, 2010). Policy makers start looking at new forms of partnership and considering a broader variety of stakeholders in the design, development, and delivery of policies (McQuaid, 2010). The public is the centre of interest in policy implementation organisations, being encouraged to comment on public services efficiency (Mintzberg, 1983).

In this research, networks were different in terms of structures, interpretations, and practices. As a result, leaders in governmental and voluntary organisations needed to comprehend each other's perspectives in order to discuss collaborations and to supervise their performance (Harris et al., 2005). Different types of sub-networks had different responses when consulting Roma communities. For example, activists had a progressive vision when implementing projects. An important aspect in implementing governmental change was the capacity to take into consideration public participation in setting up the reform agenda. Activists included both authorities and beneficiaries in their programmes. The integration of the Roma was a two-way process where the Roma communities were an active rather than a passive part of the policy making process. The public was actively involved; they had 'equal and effective opportunities for making known to other members their views about what the policy should be' (Dahl, 2006, p. 9).

In County 2, activists used existing local resources and mobilised the community. NGOs empowered communities to take responsibility and to initiate their own activities. Roma communities were consulted before deciding together on what initiatives are suitable for them: 'People wanted water; we had money for pipes and for gravel, but we had to dig the hole where to put the pipe. Then, the whole street came out to dig the hole.' (Worker, NGO22).

For the administrative sub-network, simple practices proved efficient in engaging communities. In all three counties, in order to intensify parent and community participation, school mediators talked with both children and parents making them aware of the importance of education. Parents were stimulated to get involved in school activities. To encourage children to attend school, extracurricular activities programmes included summer camps, trips and summer schools.

In all three counties, school mediators found the cause of school dropout during a social enquiry at the child's residence. They gathered information about the status of the whole family, assessing their needs. The social enquiry determined future intervention based on personal needs. In order to have access in the communities and to do their work, mediators gained the trust of the communities. More

importantly, they adapted to beneficiaries' needs: 'I've never been upset that I worked until late; last night until 10pm, I let the community know because we had meeting with the children at 9am' (Roma School Mediator, School 13).

CULTIVATING RELATIONSHIPS

To highlight how relationships were nurtured, the collaboration between the activist, administrative, and governmental sub-networks was analysed. In the literature review, we established the boundaries between public, private, and non-profit sector organisations. They have the same purpose, to accomplish constant escalation, independence and control over their actions. They also try to effectively apply those procedures that are 'not disruptive to their resource acquisition patterns' (Quinn and Hall, 1983, p. 71). Knowing where the boundaries are in a whole network is central for understanding which organisations to include in a network study: 'network bounding is a question best answered by individual researchers based on their knowledge of a network and its activities' (Provan et al., 2007, p. 482).

Collaboration was a key ingredient for a network to function, but there were differences between the three sub-networks. According to the type of creation, a network can be mandated or voluntary. 'Voluntary networks' were created bottom-up, whereas 'mandated networks' are typically created by a government agency (Kenis and Provan, 2009, p. 449).

Network boundaries can be either perfectly itemised or unclear, as when relationships are self-defined (Provan et al., 2007). In this research there are three types of sub-networks: activist, administrative, and governmental. It is important to make this distinction when analysing whole networks, because there are significant differences between sub-networks in terms of structure, interpretations, practices and type of relationships.

The administrative sub-network was more bureaucratic than the activist sub-network. It was managed by the governmental sub-network. That is, bureaucracy left no space for improvisations, innovations and shortcuts. Despite this, mediators were important drivers of change at the community level. They have met and exchanged ideas: 'We are a team in County 1. We are almost ten mediators; we have monthly meetings and we discuss, we exchange ideas, together' (Roma school mediator, School 13).

The activist sub-network engaged in collaborations with both local authorities and governmental organisations. Partnership with the governmental sub-network was vital because NGOs are monitoring the efficiency of state institutions. Although people initially agree on a 'clear set of goals to moving forward' (Huxham and Vangen, 2000, p. 799), in practice this is often not successful because of the failure to agree on contradictory and secret agendas.

NGOs reduced the mismatches within the public sector in service provision:

> 'While a public agency may provide funding for the collaborative initiative and perhaps professional expertise, the role of a small community group in the collaboration may be to provide essential expertise in the form of local knowledge.' (Huxham and Vangen, 1996, pp. 13-4).

The collaboration between government and non-profit started as a consequence of governmental, voluntary or political failure in implementing policies (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2002). Partnership was vital to decrease the education gap between Roma and non-Roma. A respondent emphasised that creating education policies and implementing them is teamwork, where authorities and NGOs have clear tasks.

Overall, NGO representatives have declared that in partnership with state institutions their voices are stronger in helping Roma communities. They have become a real force in terms of influencing public policy, raising awareness on discrepancies between Romas' needs and available resources. The activist sub-network highlighted the problems inside Roma communities or legislative procedures at the governmental or international level. It created and implemented projects at the local level. It was vital to include the local authorities, especially the City Hall, in any local events.

Collaborative advantage (Huxam and Vangen, 2000, p. 772) represents the awareness that in partnership much more can be achieved than alone. In Roma networks, members valued the cooperative process and believed that this will help the network achieve its aims. Network members admitted that their network was not operating to its full potential, or that they do not have the tools to start inspecting the quality and performance of the connections. Although in all three counties it was admitted that collaboration was a key ingredient for a network to work, there were also suggestions that more cooperation was required from the governmental sub-network.

In all three counties, different issues were emphasised in the collaboration between activists and governmental people. Firstly, in County 1 respondents concluded that more support was required instead of passing responsibilities to each other:

> 'It's not our job to develop education but that of the Education Ministry. We renovated schools, we have good teachers, but nobody comes to school. It is not our job, it is the Labour Ministry's job. So the problem must not be passed from one place to another but a coherent programme must be thought out.' (Programme Officer, NGO1).

In this research, interpretations were analysed in connection with culture and traditions. Analysing Romas' traditions as 'something transmitted' (Hibbert and Huxham, 2010, p. 527) helped in understanding Roma networks. Although the word 'tradition' is used to signify nothing more than 'premodern' (Hibbert and Huxham, 2010, p. 526), tradition is still an actual feature in Romas' case.

Often, network members blamed each other for not being committed to the overall cause. Network structures were held accountable for interactions that begin or stop. A programme coordinator stated

that this is explained by the organisational culture of the Roma: they fight and they fail to engage in collaborations:

> 'People have not learned yet to give feedback and to consult each other. When they meet up around a table, they attack each other, they criticise... At the end, the subject they were there for wasn't even discussed. ... There is no understanding, common interest for which to move forward without fighting, dissent, and conflicts.' (Programme coordinator, NGO7).

Secondly, in County 2, through communication and lobbying, the activist sub-network managed to improve their relationship with the local administration and help Roma communities in this process. A specific issue in County 2 was the lack of proper housing for the Roma community in Locality7, which was also a rubbish dump and toxic waste site. Although projects and programmes were initiated throughout the county, this Roma community has had more attention in terms of campaigns.

The activist sub-network tried to solve the housing problems through proposals and protests; they failed to reach an agreement. However, in 2011 the relationship between the governmental sub-network and activists started to improve. More precisely, an important initiative taken to change the situation of the Roma community in Locality7 was taken through a project implemented by the NGO1 in collaboration with the City Hall in County 2.

Thirdly, in County 3, the Roma network was difficult to create. Initially, many City Halls in small localities refused to employ Roma experts or they preferred to designate current workers and to give them more responsibilities. Health mediators' employment was difficult and required numerous interventions from the Roma County office. The Roma councillor argued for the employment of mediators; then they were maintained by Mayors who were aware of their impact in the community. As a result, although in 2009 there were only five communities with school mediators, during 2010 another four were employed (Preoteasa et al., 2009).

PROMOTING OPENNESS

In all three counties, an important response was promoting women's participation in education and in public life. Respondents highlighted that to break the pattern of Roma exclusion the emphasis should be put on their education and empowerment to make their own decisions. Roma women suffered from double exclusion: due to their ethnicity and gender. They also had little or no education; they were encouraged to get married and to have children at a very young age.

The programmes targeting women led to an increased awareness of health issues. Programmes aimed to empower Roma women, to create role models and to promote them in local administration and politics. They were involved in educational and professional training meant to raise awareness on women's rights, family planning, parental skills and to get involved in the decision making process in their community.

The Roma network operated in various ways to promote women's participation: it raised awareness on Roma women among other organisations and it promoted Roma women to be active in society. Moreover, Roma women were also encouraged and promoted to be Roma experts in City Halls, health and school mediators.

But in terms of how to achieve these, there was a difference of approach. The activist sub-network developed initiatives and programmes for women, but it also intended to create legislation and strategies to support them. The governmental sub-network was not as articulate as the activist sub-network. Moreover, the provisions of the Governmental Strategy were not clear on how they would support women to be more active. The administrative sub-network focused on informing women about health and education, and offered support in solving social and economic issues.

In all three counties, participation of Roma women in political life was non-existent at the national or county level. In the last ten years no Roma woman has been elected to the Romanian Parliament. Also, there was a gap in public policies on Roma women: 'The Roma woman is only a quantitative indicator in the National Strategy: '50% of programmes, projects, development initiatives should focus on Roma women'. (Coordinator public policy, NGO6).

7.4.2. Outward work of influencing target

MULTI - LEVEL WORKING
Outward work 'includes task-oriented behaviors to achieve the network's goals independently or through its members' (Ospina and Saz-Carranza, 2010, p. 414). One specific feature of Ospina and Saz-Carranza's (2010) model is the multi-level working. In this context, multi-level working represents the collaboration with other counties, or national organisations.

In all three counties, there was an openly declared willingness to collaborate with organisations from other counties. The Internet has become a vital tool to disseminate information, to raise awareness of various issues, e.g. new legislation, deadlines for course enrolments, tools available to support the Roma network, a guide for enrolment of Roma children in pre-school education, employment of school mediators in schools, or the mechanism of allocating places for Roma in universities.

All three counties developed partnerships with organisations from other counties. But not all of them engaged in as much collaboration and confrontation as County 1. That is because in County 1, NGOs, local authorities and governmental representatives collaborated in order to draft the Strategy. They were bringing in different experiences and expertise due to the fact that the Roma communities have complex needs. Yet, the collaboration between them had challenging moments. More importantly, many respondents pointed out that there was no real collaboration between the central administration and the NGOs. More than that, when invited to give their input to the 2001 Strategy, the consultations were not consistent.

Greenwood and Hinings (1996) claim that 'a potential pressure for change is the extent to which groups are dissatisfied with how their interests are accommodated within an organisation. Then, a high measure of dissatisfaction becomes a pressure for change.' (p. 1035). In this case, highlighting the lack of commitment, insufficient funds allocated or bureaucratic organisation by activists has had no results. They pointed out a variety of problems to show dissatisfaction with policy implementation, including insufficient political willingness and lack of mechanisms for implementation.

This failure to bring about change is explained by 'practical fashions to solve problems' (OECD, 2008, p. 9). One cause of this slow progress was the fact that the Roma problem happened to be 'in fashion' at that time: 'We were in fashion for a while. The Roma were very sexy at the European level.' (Senior councillor, Government). They became important again in 2011, when the EU pressured them again to continue with the second Strategy.

MANAGING CREDIBILITY
The issue highlighted as an important way to manage credibility was increasing communication and commitment with Mayors. Not only were Roma workers important actors in Roma policy implementation; other people influenced their work (Mayors, Prefects, governmental representatives, medical staff and teachers). Increasing communication and commitment with Mayors was relevant in this research because a blocker of change in all three counties was often the Mayor. As a result, it was important to analyse the type of relationships the Roma network had with Mayors and the type of responses to increase communication and commitment and also to enhance network outcomes.

The relationship with Mayors was different among different communities. As he had a great influence on the Roma network, being one of the first people to contact when initiating an activity in Roma communities, the Mayor's willingness to collaborate in programmes initiated in Roma communities influenced their success. For example, in County 1, at the City Hall in the 4th District, Roma experts were free to take the initiative and to work independently, which was an unusual behaviour: 'We are allowed to do what we want. We are under the Mayor's order. It was his idea. He's a very reliable man. He never said 'no' to an activity. But we didn't go without strong ideas' (Inspector, City Hall 4th District). This type of response and openness from a Mayor was one of the exceptions. Overall, local authorities and Mayors were bureaucratic, slowing down the initiatives started by the activist sub-network. Solely engaging in collaboration did not guarantee its success:

> 'Regarding the cooperation with the authorities it may need to be a better communication, it might need more support and a real involvement in what authorities declare.' (Researcher, NGO9).

The challenging relationship with Mayors was affected by the fact that Roma communities were not represented by strong Roma leaders. It was repeatedly highlighted that there was a lack of 'authentic' Roma leaders.

A difficulty for Roma experts was that the formal leader had to have the following attributes: at least ten degrees in education, to come from the community, to know its problems, and to be accepted there. Especially in traditional communities, Roma leaders did not have enough education to qualify them for the job. Nevertheless, studies have shown that community representatives were more active and they had a more important role than of those employed through an accumulation of functions (Preoteasa et al., 2009). Also, the lack of separation between politics and public administration – described as utopic – was important to look at when describing these issues:

> 'The local authority can't be separated from the politics. The Mayor is elected. To have this clear separation...is not going to happen, because through them you have access to financial resources, material resources in general, and the politics can never be separated from the financial resource.' (Social worker, Child Protection, County 1).

In County 3, most initiatives were implemented through partnership between various members of the Roma network and they included local administration. They also agreed that Roma communities need to be involved in the decision making process. However, in practice, this collaboration with local authorities and Mayors was challenging. Mayors had different agendas, priorities, resources, time, or expertise. Despite the collaboration between networks, in order to implement programmes, an insufficient communication and commitment by Mayors was highlighted.

Roma were involved in the political life only when they were invited to vote, every four years during elections. During the campaign, their benefits were paid; they are treated well, politicians encouraged them to vote for them. Activists were particularly aware that the relationship with local administration ought to improve, while they also focused on involving Roma in local initiatives. It was also stated that the lack of information was another cause of the gap between Roma and non-Roma:

> 'It's common for the local authority not to give information to the lay person, to show him/her the way, because information is power. You are informed, you are powerful. The misinformed person is always completely confused. And this is the state they keep us. The Roma community is kept in complete darkness, in the unknown.' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31).

CULTIVATING RELATIONSHIPS

In all three counties, activists engaged volunteers in their activities. For example, in County 2, people were already used to volunteers. Moreover, volunteers organised themselves in alliances:

> 'Now, we have a meeting under NGO20's umbrella, a network, the first network in the country for volunteering centres in a rural area.' (Specialist in Social Relations and Civil Society, NGO20).

Or, for a better use of the volunteers, one organisation invited another one, specialised in volunteering to learn new practices. In County 2, the perception on volunteering was a matter of pride:

'By contrary they [volunteers] are appreciated. Now, it changes a bit. You have to be a volunteer, it's the thing, and this is the perception' (Specialist in Social Relations and Civil Society, NGO20).

In County 3, the Roma network attracted volunteers; it trained and later employed them:

'Students who volunteer have the chance to stand out from the crowd and to be offered a job. We tried to introduce a Roma student in the local council to prepare her for two years. When she finishes the degree, she will have a different perception about life, in general' (Community facilitator, Government and Director, NGO31).

By engaging volunteers, both the lack of resources and qualified staff were supplemented. In County 3, the training of volunteers had a more practical purpose. Volunteers were supplementing the lack of paid staff; also, training volunteers was seen as an investment in future employees.

Chapter 7 made a cross-comparison of the three case studies. It analysed networks, bridging actors, cliques and alliances in County 1, County 2 and County 3. It also compared how members of the Roma network managed uncertain and challenging issues inside and outside the network.

There was a variation in policy implementation (Butler, 2003). For example, County 1 was receptive to contributing or creating the Governmental Strategies, but the other two were less receptive. County 2 was more receptive towards accepting different cultures and ethnicities. More than that, positive and negative features apply in all counties. The complexity of Roma policy implementation made it hard to manage and measure the network changes.

To compare networks, key issues were discussed: the importance of studying whole networks in new democracies, the difficulty of agreeing on what is network performance, and the main differences between the three case studies. Comparing the three case studies, five main factors explaining variation in policy success were identified. These differences were revealed with regards to: access to funds and information, closeness to decision makers, training of workers, degree of tolerance, and poverty.

To compare bridging actors, two types of actors were identified and analysed. In Roma networks, the 'new generation' used 'Western', transparent practices, while the 'old generation' bridging actors, trained during communism, employed less transparent practices; their aim was mainly 'to get things done' regardless of the methods.

To compare cliques and alliances, six main features were observed and examined: leadership, openness, clarity of practices, members' interaction, dynamics, and political implication.

The next chapter develops these arguments further by focusing on the answers to the research questions and addressing the theoretical contributions.

CHAPTER 8: Discussion and conclusion

This section brings together the main findings of the research. It restates the main themes; it explicitly addresses the research questions, the implications for theory and practice, and the limitations of the research. Finally, it suggests possible paths for future research.

8.1. Reiterating the main themes of the study

In the public sector networks are created to increase understanding about each organisation part of the network and to perform better. Governments are pushed to combine innovative reforms and effective strategies to tackle social needs and raise standards in care (OECD, 2008). Governments are controlled by agents from both public and private sectors at global, national and local levels.

This continual relationship and reliance on resources encourages national governments to engage in 'self-organising and interdependent policy networks' (OECD, 2008, p. 10). Collaboration between governments and non-profit organisations is vital when describing change in the public sector. Networks are formed by governmental and non-governmental organisations, but also by public policy experts, organisational theorists and practitioners, because 'wicked issues' in public administration demand interdisciplinary intervention teams (Quinn and Hall, 1983).

Despite the awareness and efforts made to support Europe's largest ethnic minority, the Roma population, they are poorer than under communism, when despite generalised poverty they had guaranteed work, housing and welfare (The Economist, 2012). This invited practitioners and academics to look into different ways to explain why the Roma population still lives at the margins of society. In this research various frameworks have been used as tools in the attempt to provide both academics and practitioners with some empirical-based solutions; they will be summarised below.

8.1.1. Whole networks, sub-networks, cliques, individuals

This study had a multi-level approach to collect, describe, and analyse the data. Analysing networks as a whole was difficult for a number of reasons: access, time, financial and human resources. The configuration and size of a network were significant; they played out in different ways. This research confirmed previous work which has shown that different types of networks had different network structures. It used a different categorisation than that of Kenis and Provan (2009), who argued that three exogenous factors influence network performance: the form of the network, whether the network is mandatory or voluntary, and the developmental stage of the network. Their categorization of networks was: shared governance form, lead organisation form and network administrative form.

The Roma network was broken down into activist sub-network (academics, NGOs), administrative sub-network (school mediators, health mediators, local administration), and governmental sub-network (people at higher level: Roma expert, Roma councillor, governmental workers), showing specific network structures, practices and interpretations. Each sub-network faced tensions and

conflicts coming from inside or outside the network. These tensions were caused by different agendas, practices, tools, skills, resources and expertise.

Having a multi-level approach was important when making sense of the Roma network. Multi-level studies consider the field, community, organisational and individual levels of analysis:

> 'Only multi-level research will enable scholars to reconcile the need to account for a distributed view of agency in institutional processes with the need to account for the role of individual actors in institutional processes, including in the process of institutional entrepreneurship' (Battilana et al., 2009, p. 91).

In this research, selecting this approach was not a conscious decision; it was not established in the initial research strategy. Instead, changing the level of analysis naturally emerged in making sense of the data. As Myers (2009) suggested, 'The final written report thus combines grounded theory as a research method with the use of some other theory as an overarching framework for the study' (p. 112). Combining different theories sharpened the understanding of the social phenomena studied.

8.1.2. Receptivity towards change

To collect the data, receptivity towards change was used to identify factors which contribute to organisations being either low-change, non-receptive contexts or high-change, receptive contexts (Butler and Allen, 2008). Receptivity towards change adopts a contextual and multi-level approach sufficient to permit thick data to be collected and a wider perspective to be taken. Receptivity was tested in three case studies in different geographical areas of Romania, enabling a contextualist perspective on change, highlighting how Roma policies were implemented in different contexts.

This framework was an effective approach to understand change and to find ways to improve the government's actions addressing social issues. In particular it was helpful when coding the data and contrasting the results from the three cases. Data collected using organisational receptivity were rich enough to allow a network level analysis. What has been shown is that networks and certain leading actors play a central role in receptivity towards change. This wider focus is a re-orientation from organisational level, to multi-organisational level, hence understanding the whole network. Therefore, after a deeper analysis, a new framework was introduced in the analysis of the data: network learning.

8.1.3. Network structures

Network structures gave a fuller picture of emergent changes in three different networks. Same as receptivity, this allowed a greater understanding of developments in networks in time and analysing of network structures. A positive feature of this research was to study three whole networks. However, there is a difference between the two: receptivity is more generalist because of its theory which does

not focus only on networks, while network structures is more focused on emerging changes at the network level.

Doing genuine network level analysis is challenging. Getting access is difficult as is establishing the boundaries of the network (Halinen and Tornroos, 2005). By looking at the whole network, it was analysed how networks evolve, how they were governed and how collective outcomes were generated (Provan et al., 2007).

8.2. Answering the research questions

The first research question is: **What role do Roma cliques play in Romanian policy implementation?** The rationale for selecting this question is to show how cliques form in Romania and how they are used to make things happen. It also highlights the specifics of this context: e.g. resources available, level of poverty, literacy, and bureaucracy.

As presented in previous sections, there are different terms for groups of people and organisations joining in partnerships, alliances, networks, and coalitions. The reason the word clique is preferred is that it takes into consideration the discretion and the political nature: clique carries power.

Current literature on cliques highlights the positive connotation of the term. However, very few authors, such as Cova et al. (2010) have another approach seeing cliques as a group of people 'who unite to intrigue or destroy; a primary group whose members are united for reciprocal obligations' (p. 882), or Ahmad (2003) who state that cliques are formed around power and conflict in organisations, higher degrees of conflict and 'cliquish activities' (p. 56) are closely linked. Looking at this literature was relevant, as it pointed out the use of cliques in the context of policy implementation and delivery of services for citizens, as a means to implement policies. But these cliques were 'apolitical', which is not the case in the Romanian context.

The second question is: **What are the roles played and actions taken by bridging actors during the Roma policy process?** The rationale for choosing this question is to understand the process of policy implementation by Roma bridging actors. It will show their role as a social entrepreneur, bridge, mediator, social worker, activist, governmental representative and their actions, i.e. mediating, organising campaigns, forming cliques and alliances and networking.

Current literature defines institutional entrepreneurs as 'individuals, small or large firms, or governmental or not-for-profit organizations' (Tracey and Phillips, 2011, p. 29); or 'actors who initiate changes that contribute to transforming existing, or creating new, institutions' (Battilana et al., 2009, p. 66). Although research on entrepreneurship has been increasing, there are still gaps which ought to be approached by researchers. For example, Dacin et al. (2011) advised taking a contextual approach built on the assignment of social entrepreneurship considering both positive and negative

outcomes of social entrepreneurs. Focusing on outcomes allows to observe the processes through which these results are attained and advance new theoretical insights, and to focus on specific contexts (Dacin et al. 2011).

As Salancik (1995) recommended, this research focused on the overall picture at the beginning, then shifting the focus onto interactions inside networks. One way to do this was to narrow down the focus from networks to certain key individuals. The aim was to reduce current gaps which rely on the essentially 'descriptive and atheoretical stylized picture' (Dacin et al., 2011, p. 1205) of what people really do.

8.2.1. Research question 1

▶ **What role do Roma cliques play in Romanian policy implementation?**

In the public sector there is a strong demand for organisations to work together in networks. These pressures vary from region to region (Goss, 2001). Theoretically sound and practically useful research on change should explore the context, content, and the process of change together with their interconnections over time (Pettigrew et al., 2001, p. 698). Different contexts explain variation in policy implementation (Butler, 2003), but also different cultures. Cultural approaches are important to analyse how to bring about social value. Previous research proposed to incorporate cultural methods to study social entrepreneurship (Dacin et al., 2011) and highlighted the role of culture in research (Spradley, 1980; Levinson and Asahi, 1995).

The context under study here was the Roma population, the largest ethnic minority in Europe (European Commission, 2014). Their need to overcome social exclusion is not new in social sciences. The Economist (2012) compared the living conditions of the Roma to those in deprived communities in Africa or India. Their situation has become a policy issue highly debated in the European Union. The EU acted as a regulator of public policies in EU member countries, including in Romania.

The European Commission strongly encouraged Romania to recognise active citizenship as essential to social inclusion and Roma participation: 'Roma communities and representatives must be accorded the opportunity for participation in shaping the policies and initiatives that directly impact their lives' [Rorke, 2011, p. 7]. But, despite all the efforts made by national and international organisations, the Roma population still lives at the margins of society. Existent research still cannot fully explain why despite experiencing the same institutional pressures organisations have different behaviours (Greenwood and Hinings, 1996). The contextual aspect and the cultural environment are key. New practices in emergent fields are influenced by connecting new to old practices, leading to 'stabilization of field level relationships' and associating them with the values of diverse members, leading to the development of new field-level norms' (Maguire et al., 2004, p. 674). As a relatively new democracy and a new EU member, Romania still struggles to endorse transparency.

The literature on networks and collaborations highlighted mostly the positive side (Raab and Milward, 2003). In particular, studying cliques, authors compared them with forming friendships in personal life, or at work based on various attributes: age, gender, race, ethnicity, religion, and beliefs (Rowley et al., 2005). Although the concept of cliques in networks is broadly recognised, there is no formal definition: 'cliques are relatively dense or cohesive substructures and cohesiveness demands' (Rowley et al., 2005).

In service delivery, small cliques are more effective than full networks (Provan and Sebastian, 1998). In certain contexts, strong, multiplex, reciprocal ties among small network subgroups can be particularly effective. Beneficiaries' well-being depends on the integrated and coordinated actions of many different agencies separately providing a variety of services and the way to understand how to solve this issue is to look at what makes the Roma network which provides these services more effective as a whole (Provan and Milward, 1995).

The new definition introduced in this research for cliques. Cliques are groups of people and organisations set up and led by one or few 'old generation' of authoritarian bridging people focusing on 'getting things done' regardless the means. They have certain characteristics: they are closed, rigid when engaging with other organisations outside the clique and include people from the local administration to facilitate access to funds and power. They use opaque practices. Their members are closely linked through tighter, authoritarian partnership. They are stable, their members do not move between organisations. Finally, cliques are heavily politicised: public administration institutions are led by people chosen politically; they take turns according to the winning political party.

What was common among all three Roma networks studied was the reason for creating cliques: to increase efficiency in an uncertain environment. They were used because a single organisation had no means or resources to implement policies. This led to formation of cliques, where resources were made available for members who had access to people with decision making power.

Cliques evolved from whole networks. The provisions of the 2001 Governmental Strategy facilitated forming a Roma network by creating special jobs for Roma in local and central administration. The Strategy also stated that these people ought to be recommended by Roma leaders. But in different counties, leaders and their agenda varied. Therefore, an instrument created to form an effective Roma network was used in order to fight bureaucracy, but also to gain control over administrative positions by forming closed cliques.

Pressured by environmental challenges, some members of the Roma network undertook a double role, of Roma activists and Roma administrative or governmental representative. They have become 'bridging actors', creating a bridge between Roma communities and authorities.

Two types of bridging people become obvious: the 'old generation' of bridging actors, part of a clique that made things happen by strategically building a team of professionals in key administrative positions ; and the 'new generation' of bridging actors, part of an alliance that made things happen by strategically building a team of professionals as part of NGOs. The latter type is analysed in research question 2, which specifically discusses bridging actors. Here the focus is on cliques and how they are created.

The 'old generation' of bridging actors strategically re-organised the network to form their own clique. Cliques were more authoritarian than alliances; they were led either by one person or a number of people. Cliques were created more strategically and they always included people who were part of the local administration. They were openly controlled by cliques' leader(s) who could decide not to collaborate even if this decreased their efficiency in Roma communities.

They co-opted into their clique people who had power (Mayors), who were valuable as a human resource (school and health mediators), who had managerial, communication skills, and access to funds (NGOs members). Through cliques, they created relationships with people who would facilitate access to resources. In return, bridging actors rewarded them, e.g. they supported Mayors during the election campaign.

The lack of continuity of people in top position was widespread, also the practice of replacing management once a new Party wins the elections. Institutions are not efficient because when the government changes, directors of certain institutions, Prefects, Mayors automatically change:

> 'Those who take over the political power have their own people to replace previous ones. The new Prefect or the Mayor has a certain obligation towards people who helped him during election. So, they have to make sure everyone ge   ts a place there… so they fire the one who is familiar with the situation and he/she is experienced, because they consider him/her on the side of the political party that has lost' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

Organisational changes differ within the private and the public sector, both in methods and outcomes (Coram and Burnes, 2001). Previous findings which point out that often workers in charities 'feel like small players on the global scene when compared with the various government bodies with which they have to work' (Huxham and Vangen, 1996, pp. 13-4). This confirms that certain public sector organisations remain bureaucratic, a system of rational rules and procedures, with structured hierarchies and a formalised decision-making process (Denhardt et al., 2012).

This problem leads to corruption and bureaucracy and it discourages beneficiaries or Roma workers to complain: 'So every four years, people change here and they all keep very quiet and they mind their own business, because they know that if they say something or they have an opinion, they're out' (Roma councillor, Governmental and Director, NGO30).

The outcomes for the Roma network were down to those leading the cliques: whether or not their initiatives targeted the improvement of the Roma situation, or were only a façade for their own agenda. Dominant positions were often linked with power and influence (Brass and Burkhardt, 1992). Therefore, 'the ability to 'get things done' consisted in large part of skill in managing the interplay between prescribed and emergent structures' (Ibarra, 1992, p. 177). Consequently, at the individual level, change in action outcomes was accounted for by people's practices for exploiting the efficacy of their networks.

Roma networks created partnerships and leadership which were not based on what are commonly regarded as positive features of collaboration, as it did 'not necessarily include most of the activities that are key to leading collaboration' (Huxham and Vangen, 2005, p. 213); these activities were towards 'collaborative thuggery' (p. 78). Roma cliques in Romania were linked to power and social status. They were formed around conflict and their 'cliquish activities' (Ahmad, 2003) by not including all network members in their agenda and adopting practices which were not transparent for others. Moreover, leading in the spirit of thuggery did not automatically imply an autocratic behaviour where partnership managers participate in determining the actions to be pursued by others.

Despite the potentially negative connotation of the term, cliques can have positive outcomes; they are the way of getting things done in complex, bureaucratic environments, where Western and democratic practices are not always be the right approach. As pointed out by Gulati et al. (2000) strategic management networks can also have a damaging influence on some members and outsiders, obstructing them from productive associations, preventing them from founding effective partnerships, and acting as a restraint. Similarly with what was previously described in the literature, Roma collaborations are not interactions which can be explained in black and white terms. Instead, collaborations in Roma networks included both, these positive and negative sides. This was showing in the tensions between 'the spirit of collaboration' – represented by Roma alliances - and 'collaborative thuggery' – represented by Roma cliques. 'Thuggery' (Huxham and Vangen, 2005, p. 213) in this case was an extreme type of collaboration, not based on transparent partnership, but this did not necessarily exclude obtaining certain network outcomes.

8.2.2. Research question 2

▶ **What are the roles played and actions taken by bridging actors during the Roma policy process?**

One important finding in this research was about bridging people and their vital role in the network as main drivers of change. Empirical work has shown already the important role of boundary spanners in networks (Williams, 2002) and how institutional entrepreneurs deal with uncertainty in emerging economies (Tracey and Phillips, 2011). This research combines divergent literature, showing the

complexity of entrepreneurs. It also introduces the term 'bridging actor' and a definition in 8.3.1. Theoretical implications.

By analysing bridging actors in Roma networks, the research aimed to reduce the gap highlighted by Dacin et al. (2010). He believed that describing social entrepreneurship by individual level features will certainly lead to even more debates: 'it is a debate which can never be resolved, because it is unlikely that a definitive set of characteristics can be applied to all kinds of social entrepreneurial activity across all contexts' (p. 42). Dacin et al. (2010) highlighted the importance of studying entrepreneurs in diverse contexts and why some practices are quickly embraced by them, while others are not.

Working in policy implementation is challenging. In response to these challenges, organisations build relationships to control uncertain environments and to counterbalance their need for resources. In these strategically generated networks, 'organisations create stable, preferential relationships characterised by trust and rich exchange of information with specific partners' (Gulati and Gargiulo, 1999, p. 1440). Bridging actors are key explanatory factors of the change process in Roma networks due to their ability to 'get things done' while creating a team around them – either a 'clique' or an 'alliance'. Bridging people found these shortcuts to achieve their objectives. They were part of two sub-networks because of the difficulty to manage on their own. They were acting as a bridge between Roma communities, local administration, and NGOs, as an active part of two different sub-networks.

In Roma networks, there were two types of bridging people: the 'new generation' and the 'old generation' of bridging actors. The 'new generation' mostly used 'Western', transparent practices, while the 'old generation' of bridging actors, trained during communism, generally employed less transparent practices. Their aim was mainly 'to get things done' regardless the methods. Their roles and actions will be analysed below.

Firstly, the analysis will look at the 'new generation' of bridging actors. In County 1, all bridging actors interviewed were doing PhDs in Roma studies, while in County 2 the 'new generation' were teaching at the university. They formed alliances, initiated lobbying and advocacy activities. Frequently organising protests fighting against abuses against Roma communities, bridging people acted as human rights activists, emphasising that the focus should not be put on marginalised people, not only Roma, and adopting a holistic approach when tackling health issues, closely connected to fighting poverty and social exclusion. They emphasised the real Roma communities' needs considering their diversity.

They differed from the 'old generation' of bridging actors, who followed old ways to get things done. The 'new generation' of bridging actors worked mainly as a group or alliance, as they had little influence as a single actor in the network. The low influence and power did not necessarily lead to a

lack of success. They were actively involved in drafting the Governmental Strategies and they have created health and education policies which have been implemented nationally.

Figure 9 shows the link between the 'new generation' of bridging actors and their practices. They were using transparent practices both when dealing with alliances (with other NGOs) and when interacting with the cliques in public administration.
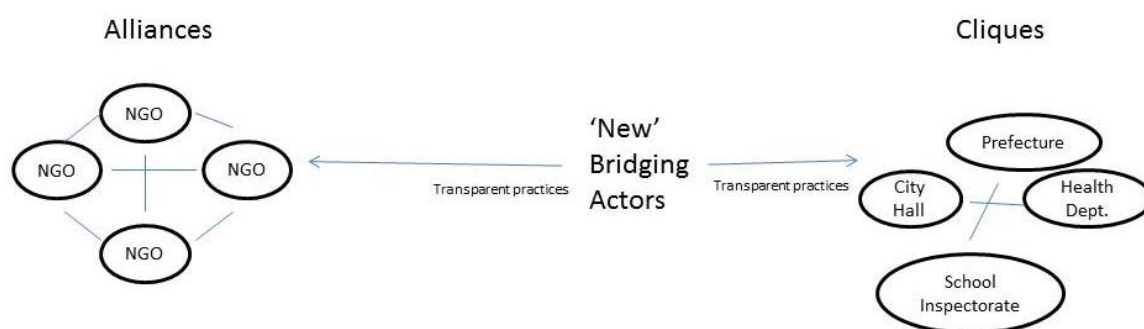

Figure 9: Relationship between new bridging actors, cliques, alliance, and practices

Their practices were based on cooperation; they were similar to collaborative advantage (Huxam and Vangen, 2000, p. 772), admitting that in partnership can be achieved much more than alone.

In County 1, the Roma network was more complex. A high number of network members meant a variety of potential collaboration partners. This permitted dynamic relationships because the alliances were not closed; instead they allowed changing partners and moving between other positions. This contravenes Burt's (1992) idea that 'increasing network size without considering diversity can cripple the network in significant ways. Contacts are redundant to the extent that they lead to the same people and so provide the same information benefits' (Burt, 1992, pp. 64-65). In this study, network members were redundant if they did not actively engage in joint activities. Otherwise, a bigger network meant increased opportunities for collaboration and a stronger network.

The 'new generation' of bridging actors embraced new and democratic practices. Using transparent practices was important for them to align to democratic requirements. But similar with the 'wicked issues' described in the literature by Williams (2002) as 'Complex and seemingly intractable problems and issues – community safety, poverty, social inclusion, health inequalities, teenage pregnancies, urban regeneration, substance misuse, climate change and homelessness' (p. 104). Problems in Roma communities are chronic and complex; they need education, employment, infrastructure and freedom from discrimination: 'The Roma population is especially at risk, having historically suffered from discrimination, poverty and social exclusion' (UNICEF, 2010, p. 11).

Most workers trained before 1989 still remained bureaucratic, reminding of the 'static and bureaucratic' PA with rigid administration of regulations and directives, policy making and implementation (Osborne, 2006, p. 378). In this uncertain environment, employing less transparent practices was more helpful when dealing with bureaucratic people or institutions. This is where the role of the 'old generation' of bridging actors became relevant in breaking the institutional barriers.

The second part of this research question looks at roles and actions of the 'old generation' of bridging actors. Figure 10 shows the link between the 'old generation' of bridging actors and their practices. These actors used opaque practices both when dealing with alliances and cliques. The 'old generation' bridging people were closely connected to the controversial characters described in public administration from the late nineteenth century until the late 1970s and early 1980s. As with public managers, they were focusing on their own interests (Pettigrew et al., 1992) and getting things done in their own way.
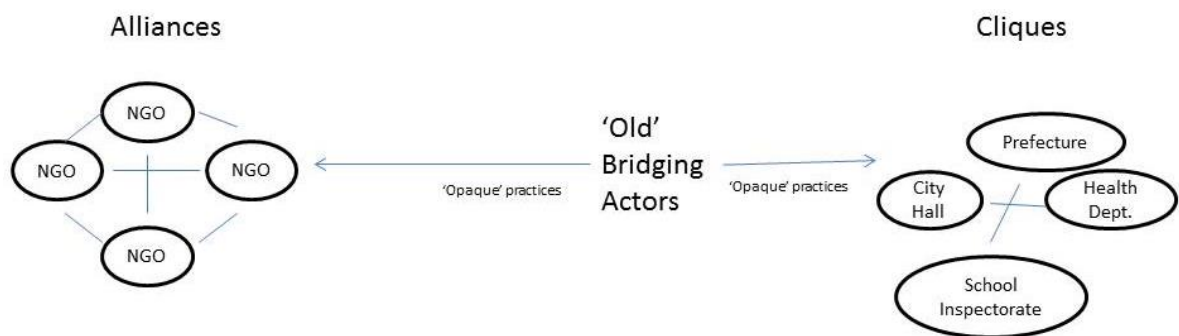
Figure 10: Relationship between old bridging actors, cliques, alliance, and practices

The 'old generation' of bridging actors understood the importance of collaborations with both authorities and NGOs. Their practices were not particularly innovative, e.g. they encouraged Roma children to come to school by repairing the roads, to increase access to schools. Practices adopted by bridging people were strongly connected to pushing the boundaries. They deliberately accessed powerful positions and exploited them, which is different than the current understanding of Huxham and Vangen's (2000) 'making things happen', in transparent networks. In this case, outcomes are achieved, even if they are partial.

These actors, behaving as entrepreneurial agents, used their internal resources to unfreeze the system. Bridging actors were charismatic, perseverant and passionate; they had more influence and power than the other members of the network. They had more skills, knowledge, resources (or they knew how to get them if they did not have resources). They created a team with strong links between clique members.

Bridging actors believed that they should adapt the Strategy to Romas' local needs. Although their objectives and responsibilities were written in the Strategy, they also undertook other tasks, e.g. helping people to get IDs, assessing Romas' social and economic needs and mediating conflicts.

In general, both types of bridging people were open towards learning new things outside their job description, gaining extra knowledge and skills. They had a good understanding of the legislation and of actions to lead to outcomes, e.g. ensuring the continuity of the projects implemented, training young Roma as new human resources, consolidating their position by training volunteers and encouraging new members to join, empowering women, establishing partnerships with the local authority, education of people and getting things done without necessarily following procedures.

One similarity between the 'new' and 'old' types of bridging actors was the strong connection within their group. The tight ties explained the success in policy implementation: 'when entrepreneurs build trust with one another they can experience cognitive, emotional, and social changes by participating in a network' (Bergh et al., 2011). People in the clique or alliance were constantly aware of what their members were doing; there was a high interaction between them, many meetings, exchange of opinions and experiences.

Trust became visible, especially in difficult times. Network members had a clear image of both success and signs of failure: 'Agreeing on a set of criteria and a process for reflection and review will offer a way to put the partnership back on course when things go wrong' (Goss, 2001, p. 99). The reputation of bridging actors had to be maintained in order to be part of a strong clique and to achieve significant outcomes: 'some groups and individuals are listened to more keenly than others. Some have more or less potential for enabling or resisting change' (Greenwood and Hinings, 1996, p. 1038).

To comprehend network dynamics we ought to understand 'how interaction reflects the actors' perceptions, ideas and knowledge of their network' (Abrahamsen et al., 2011, p. 122). The fight between network members can lead to a reconfiguration. Unsatisfied, members changed their network position. This shift was easier in a big network. For example, in County 1, especially members of the activist sub-network frequently changed their roles: from one organisation to another, or from the activist to the governmental sub-network.

One difference between the two types of bridging actors was their dynamism. Bridging actors inside alliances were moving between different organisations, taking various positions, while those inside cliques were rigid; they were not changing their position. Network members had distinctive network positions which are explained by their linked relationships: 'If an actor wants to change this network position by altering his connected relationships or respond to the actions of others, he will most

likely face differing and perhaps conflicting views and ideas about how the network should be organised' (Abrahamsen et al., 2011, p. 122).

Williams (2002) distinguished competent boundary spanners as capable of new ways of working and others who are stuck in conventional organisations and ways of thinking. However, in the Roma case, bridging actors are in both categories and they can be equally successful in achieving positive outcomes; the difference between them is that those 'stuck' in old practices form closed cliques while those who are 'innovative' form open alliances. The first set of actors employ less transparent practices, while the bridging actors forming alliances clearly stand out because of transparent practices, focusing on lobby and advocacy. In conclusion, the notion of cliques is useful for more nuanced analysing 'how things get done' in public policy networks and cliques are best viewed as both structure and practice.

The next section highlights the theoretical and practical contributions of the research.

8.3. *Making conceptual/theoretical coherence*

Researchers ought to determine what the data mean, to move from metaphors and interrelationships to constructs and from there to theories, while linking the findings of our study to overarching, across-more-than-one-study propositions that can account for the 'how' and 'why' of the specific study of how to make things happen in complex settings (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

8.3.1. Theoretical implications

This research makes two main contributions: analysing cliques, as a practice not only structurally and evaluating how social entrepreneurs implement change in Roma networks.

The first theoretical contribution relates to cliques. More particularly, in this research, 'clique' is understood as a structural matter, but also as a practice. In existing public administration literature, the concept of clique relates to configuration; clique is a smaller network which evolves from whole networks. Cliques have proved to be more effective in health service delivery than when using the whole network (Provan and Sebastian, 2008).

Cliques are similar to strategic alliances; they represent a 'voluntary cooperation in which organisations combine resources to cope with the uncertainty created by environmental forces beyond their direct control' (Gulati and Gargiulo, 1999, p. 1441) or 'an organised group engaging in collective action' (Knight, 2002, p. 431), more interconnected and purposive than a usual network, the same as 'cooperative alliances' (Provan and Milward, 1995, p. 1). Created in order to increase competitiveness and effectiveness, they represent an outcome of 'a longitudinal dynamic' where action

and structure are closely tangled (Raab, 2002, p. 581); their 'decisions usually have utilitarian motives' (Raab, 2002, p. 581).

These strategic alliances can face challenges frequently leading to poor results (Larsson et al., 1998). Success or failure in strategic alliances depends on how partners handle the collective learning process (Larsson et al., 1998). Moreover, 'networks' ability to learn inter-organisationally becomes critical, especially in relation to 'wicked problems' with chronic policy failure' (Ferlie et al., 2011, p. 309). Only a few studies linked cliques to a group of people 'who unite to intrigue or destroy; a primary group whose members are united for reciprocal obligations' (Cova et al., 2010, p. 882) or concluded that cliques are formed around power and conflict in organisations, higher degrees of conflict and 'cliquish activities' are closely linked (Ahmad, 2003, p. 56).

Looking at this literature was relevant, as it pointed out the use of cliques in the context of policy implementation and delivery of services for citizens, as a means to implement policies. But these cliques were 'apolitical', which is not the case in the Romanian context.

Although similar in some aspects with alliances, Roma cliques had some key new features. To sum up, these are:

- Alliances are set up and led by 'new generation' of liberal bridging people, working in partnerships while cliques are set up and led by one or few 'old generation' of authoritarian bridging people focusing on 'getting things done' regardless the means.
- Alliances are open, initiating collaborations with both NGOs and local administration whereas cliques are closed, rigid when engaging with other organisations outside the clique and they include people from local administration mainly to facilitate access to funds.
- Alliances are using transparent and democratic practices while cliques are using opaque practices.
- In alliances members are closely linked through partnerships while in cliques members are closely linked through tighter, authoritarian partnership.
- Alliances are dynamic: their members move between organisations while cliques are stable: their members do not move between organisations.
- NGOs rely heavily on organising protests rather than developing negotiation skills to combine the new with the old entrepreneurial practices whereas cliques are heavily politicised.

Studying the Romanian context called for a wider conception of the term clique. Looking at cliques as related to power and elites – a perspective employed by sociologist C.W. Mill – brought into view a new facet of this issue. This way, the word clique was used critically. There were different responses when dealing with 'wicked issues' within the three cases, which showed a variety of results compared

to using either open alliances or closed cliques. Having a more discriminating view of cliques led to a more refined definition and a better understanding of different types of cliques and their either positive or negative outcomes. In particular, what made cliques different to other partnerships was the reciprocity between people, or the 'flow of demands and obligations' (Salancik, 1995, p. 346). In Roma cliques, this reciprocity was at the boundary between what is permitted and being illicit.

The new definition introduced for cliques was introduced as: groups of people and organisations set up and led by one or few 'old generation' of authoritarian bridging people focusing on 'getting things done' regardless the means. Cliques are closed, rigid when engaging with other organisations outside the clique and include people from the local administration to facilitate access to funds and power. They use opaque practices and their members are closely linked through tighter, authoritarian partnership. They are stable, their members do not move between organisations. Finally, cliques are heavily politicised: public administration institutions are led by people chosen politically; they take turns according to the winning political party.

The second contribution is linked to social entrepreneurs. This research combines divergent literature, showing the complexity of Roma entrepreneurs in a specific context of implementing policies in an uncertain and challenging environment. By relating this concept to the Romanian context, this research has shown variables that have not been explored before, such as entrepreneurs' practice of forming either cliques or alliances in order to get things done. This research also introduces new terms – old/new 'bridging actors' – defined as the most influential network members, part of two or more different sub-networks (governmental and non-governmental), who form and use cliques or alliances as a strategy to achieve network outcomes and to get things done in these complex settings.

In contrast to Tracey and Phillips (2011), who define institutional entrepreneurs as 'individuals, small or large firms, or governmental or not-for-profit organizations' (p. 29), this research went a step further by presenting the vital role of bridging actors as part of more than one network. The argument was that they are the main drivers of change because of their ability to get resources and access power from two different networks.

This research aimed to reduce the current gaps in the literature, showing a 'descriptive and atheoretical stylized picture' (Dacin et al., 2011, p. 1205) of what entrepreneurs really do. In Roma networks, there were two types of bridging people: the 'new generation' and the 'old generation' of bridging actors. The 'old generation' of bridging actors created cliques to increase efficiency in an uncertain and bureaucratic environment. The process and the perceived outcome differed throughout the three cases and their agenda varied. In Romania, the use of the clique in implementing policies was legitimate and it was not perceived as a negative practice if bridging actors were not blocking the

access to resources of other network members. As they are not using transparent practices the 'old generation' of bridging actors created blockages in the Roma network, using closed cliques.

Strategically created, cliques always included people as part of the local administration. They also had stricter rules on who they would collaborate with and who would stay out, despite the need to work in partnership, as a *whole* network. Because closed cliques were rigid and very selective in terms of partnership with outside members, the researcher described them as 'opaque practices'. These were used by older and more experienced people, representing the legacy of the communist era, as opposed to the 'new generation' who engaged in transparent partnerships, allowing other members of the network to join, purposively created to fight challenges, formed usually by PhD-schooled Roma and academics.

The 'new generation' of bridging actors built alliances. Alliances in the Roma context are similar to policy networks: they represent relationships between independent actors as part of the public policy making process, where both governmental and non-governmental organisations intervene. In these alliances, members were interdependent because they need each other's resources to reach their objectives. Resources and information were exchanged thorough repeated interactions which 'develop formalised rules' (Kickert et al., 1999, p. 6).

This research agreed with current literature showing some key ideas with regards to entrepreneurs, their practices and the environment in which they operate. Firstly, although the high level of institutional uncertainty was an obstacle to entrepreneurship, entrepreneurs took advantage to turn this into an opportunity to stand out (Tracey and Phillips, 2011). Analysing the Romanian context, it confirmed that bridging actors identified new opportunities when they faced environmental challenges, tensions or paradoxes.

Secondly, institutional entrepreneurs combine new organisational practices with existent ones (Maguire et al., 2004). Similarly, Roma bridging people used both, but they differed in their task to combine old and new practices: the 'old generation' were inclined to use old ways of communication, based on less negotiation, while the 'new generation' preferred to be more open and transparent when taking decisions.

Thirdly, as Dacin et al. (2011) have stated, 'much of the social entrepreneurship literature focuses on individual social entrepreneurs and tends to characterise these individuals as heroic' (p. 1205). This was not the case for the 'old generation' of bridging people, part of closed cliques who were not perceived as heroic; on the contrary, most of them were highly controversial people. Instead, the 'new generation' of bridging actors are closer to the 'heroic' type, as they focus of human rights activities.

Next, the practical implication of this research is discussed.

8.3.2. Practical implication

This research took a different approach in describing policy implementation in Romania, namely using a combination of three theoretical frameworks: receptivity towards change and network structures. As such, this research provided an important base for research in this area, while complementing existing reports looking at Roma issues.

This research has one main practical implication: combining different theories to capture new insights of the Roma policy implementation. These help equally the EU, governments, organisations, policy makers, and managers in assessing Roma issues in Romania, explaining how Roma policies are implemented, to get a full picture of the context, practices and key actors in Roma networks.

The EU is the scene of dialogue on policy reform and close cooperation, the place where governments and non-governmental organisations meet [Rorke, 2011]. Organisations need to be aware of the policy framework for actions they finance and to understand the reasons for blockages in programme implementation. This knowledge exchange can provide more effective policy advice for governments. A recent World Bank study pointed out that inclusive education policies focused on poor populations generate fundamental outcomes in the long term by enabling them to access the employment market and to contribute to society. Researchers combined economic with human rights areas in order to understand Roma policy implementation. In this collaboration, researchers ought to be included to provide more effective policy advice for governments.

In public policy, there is a rising convergence between the human rights perspective and economic and social arguments: 'the costs of exclusion and discrimination take a heavy toll on social cohesion and that social inclusion is economically smart and ethically sound' [Rorke, 2011, p. 15]. The World Bank claims that 'the cost of educating Romania's Roma would be far exceeded by the contribution an educated Romani workforce would make to the national economy' (Economist, 2010). Roma inclusion ought to be valuable for non-Roma: 'the integration brings with it benefits for the entire society in terms of lower rates of welfare dependency and higher rates of production' [Rorke, 2011, p. 15].

Researchers highlighted Romas' extreme poverty, complex social and economic problems and the state's failure to provide adequate support. Now, there are calls for systematic efforts to investigate the factors that influence change in Roma communities. Researchers are undertaking empirical work to address this issue, evidenced by EU calls for consultants to find such methods (EU, 2009).

Although the Roma population faces complex issues and both national and international organisations have combined their efforts to support them, these problems remain a constant in Roma communities. In Romania, there are no studies associating the social exclusion determined by poor policy

implementation for Romas with institutional receptivity towards change and network structures, by examining it in both governmental and non-governmental organisations, as responsible agents to implement public policies. This is why receptivity towards change was vital to explain variation in policy implementation and how policies were adapted to local contexts (Butler, 2003). Receptivity and NL explained variation in strategy implementation (Butler, 2003) and the emergence of changes in practices, interpretations and structures (Knight and Pye 2004). The implication for practice was a better understanding of policy implementation for policy makers and governments by accurately locating tensions in the network and how entrepreneurs respond to challenging situations.

There are no studies looking at policy implementation using these models, because authors have traditionally taken a sociological perspective or used a human rights framework, not organisational change, when explaining change in Roma communities. This is why it is important to understand why an organisational studies perspective is valuable. Some of these reports have been summarised in the methodology chapter, pointing out that so far they have had a human rights framework or a sociological methodology assessing performance of strategy implementation by describing successes and failures in a limited number of case studies.

Therefore, the practical contribution is to understand and analyse in new ways Roma policy implementation practices by recognising and accepting cliques as a policy implementation approach, not to be stereotyped as negative. Additionally, the case studies lead to a network picture that explains the process of the implementation of social policies for the Roma population.

Another is related to bridging actors, because they make the clique a useful management practice in uncertain environments or emerging economies, where adopting new, democratic practices might be too soon for certain organisations which have not adopted yet these new practices.

8.4. Limitations of the current research

This research has two main limitations: it has a high complexity and a reduced generalisability.

Firstly, this research was very complex; various frameworks were used to get a full picture of how Roma policies were implemented in the Romanian context. Both network structures and receptivity, argued the value of context, multi-level embedded. Receptivity towards change model (Butler, 2003) was used to frame the data collection. Contextualism is a valuable approach to analyse 'wicked issues' because it explores a variety of practices and it allows new organisational responses to emerge.

Ospina and Saz-Carranza's (2010) framework explained the results; it narrowed down the focus from networks, highlighting particular network members who are the main drivers of change. All these frameworks helped with framing theoretical and practical contributions.

The main contribution of this research highlighted new features of entrepreneurs (bridging actors) and cliques as key explanatory factors in Roma policy implementation. The important question is how these relate back to the three frameworks used to collect and analyse the data.

The idea of bridging people as drivers of change is closely linked to one of the receptivity towards change factors: leading change (Butler, 2003). These people 'bridge institutional distance' (Tracey and Phillips, 2011, p. 34); they have power and strategies to 'get things done' (Ibarra, 1992) and 'make things happen' (Huxham and Vangen, 2000) act as a bridge between Romas' needs in an uncertain environment and existing resources. This research also analysed practices and interpretations of a different type of network, the clique, formed specifically in uncertain environments to breach institutional barriers: e.g. bureaucracy. This is different to Knight's (2003) type of network, where the environment is stable.

It presented the process of policy implementation, but it did not clearly make statements about the scale of change in policy implementation. Change in public administration is complex:

> 'The principal focus of change is the administrative culture as the traditional values, priorities, routines, and above all mindsets in public organisations are under pressure. The extent of change, however, remains unclear' (Melchor, 2008, p. 4).

It is difficult to estimate if change in policy implementation really happened; it is even more difficult to measure it. Data about Romas' health and education are scarce and unreliable; collecting ethnic data in considered illegal in Romania (Open Society Foundations, 2010). Also, high levels of bureaucracy made collecting data challenging; the Helsinki Committee admitted that previously it has sued Romanian governmental institutions for not replying to official letters, which is mandatory.

Secondly, the results of this research apply to a specific context. Although other Central and Eastern European countries have similar problems when implementing social policies, these results describe the situation in County 1, County 2, and County 3, between 2009 and 2011. It can only provide some suggestions to academics and practitioners, giving them an understanding of the nature of policy implementation in emerging economies like Romania.

It is important that this academic research targeted a major practical issue at the EU level. For public relations to better serve society, professionals and academics ought to embrace an activist role and 'combine advocacy of shared power with activism in the interest of shared power' (Berger, 2005, p. 5). One of the suggestions made by Isett et al. (2011) is that Public Administration academics ought to get more engaged with practitioners, tackling the real problems that practitioners face, rather than focus on issues driven solely by theoretical interests:

> 'Theory strongly grounded in the experience of practitioners equals relevance – something that many in our field would like to achieve. Strong practitioner-researcher linkages will likely

result in practitioners posing thorny issues that academics have not thought of, opening a whole new universe of intellectually interesting questions to our scholarly community' (Isett et al., 2011, p. i169).

Unfortunately, the methods to reduce failure in implementing policies are limited. Regardless of the external pressures put on governments in developing countries, they remain 'masters in their own houses' (McCourt, 2008, p. 473).

Equally important, there is not much of an audience – either researchers or practitioners – for this type of research. An article in 2014 highlighted that '31 per cent of the reports that the World Bank has put online have never been downloaded, ever, by anyone' (The Slatest, 2014). Moreover, Bartunek et al. (2006) in their article 'What makes research interesting, and why does it matter?' show that, surprisingly, 'Aim for higher impact; address more socially important issues' was in the fifth place (5%), while 'Accept more innovative, less formulaic research' (17%) and 'Loosen the theory requirement' (10%) proved more appealing to readers (p. 10). The key idea of their article was that 'A theorist is considered great, not because his/her theories are true, but because they are interesting' (Davis, 1971, p. 309).

Further research might be able to reduce the limitations in current literature and the present research. Three possible topics are suggested below.

8.5. Future research

From this growing body of research, practical recommendations are now being made to assist research in organisational change. Future research develops in three ways.

Firstly, further research could study cliques in more depth, showing cliques' outcomes, taking a step further by moving from the process of creating cliques and alliances to their outcomes. Raab and Kenis (2009) questioned what exactly are the collective outcomes or goods produced by networks. Other research pointed out that cliques are more effective in health service delivery than when using the whole network (Provan and Sebastian, 2008).

Further research could also look at indicators of what makes alliances, cliques or coalitions effective. Coalition effectiveness could be assessed, e.g. coalition functioning and community wide changes (Zakocs and Edwards, 2006, p. 351), also in terms of the six coalition-building factors that enhance coalition effectiveness:

> 'Coalitions that enact formal governance procedures, encourage strong leadership, foster active participation of members, cultivate diverse memberships, promote collaborations among member agencies, and facilitate group cohesion may be more effective' (Zakocs and Edwards, 2006, pp. 357-8).

Also, further research can analyse the link between cliques' outcomes with power and conflict. Perception of power and cliques can highly correlate to organisational conflict (Ahmad, 2003). These features can be vital for the development of a comprehensive theory of organisational conflict in cross-cultural settings.

Secondly, cultural approaches are important in research to analyse how to bring about social value. Dacin et al. (2011) proposed using network theories to comprehend the context of social entrepreneurship, specifically power and dominance and to incorporate cultural methods to study social entrepreneurship, to look at how rituals and narratives generate social value. Spradley (1980) and Levinson and Asahi (1995) similarly highlighted the role that culture has in research. The cooperative problem-solving potential of a partnership can be significantly enriched by effectively connecting society's sharing areas:

> 'Beyond focusing on race, culture, politics, and religious ideology as dividing lines, partnerships can use network analysis to identify a lack of trust among organisations and then work to repair it. Engaging people and organisations first in collaboration on nonthreatening issues may allow them to collaborate on threatening issues later, when trust is more firmly established' (Provan, 2005, p. 610).

A worthy further step would be to compare the case of Roma policy implementation in Romania with other contexts. More precisely, to compare change in Romanian counties with counties in other Eastern European countries; change at the governmental level in Romania can be compared with change at the governmental level in these counties, the bottom-up policies in Romania with those in other countries.

Thirdly, further research could focus on whether forming a clique was a conscious decision and how these cliques evolved over time. People could be asked if they are aware that they are part of a certain network, clique or alliance. If they are, was this a strategic decision in order to achieve outcomes? Still little is known about strategically formed networks. Following Knight's (2002) idea of purposefully forming strategic networks, this issue could be examined further: do networks in public administration emerge from the beginning with a clear purpose to access shortcuts in the bureaucratic system?

More research is required to describe how various types of networks mature over time, also to highlight 'multiple levels of analysis, particularly the individual and organisational field levels, in order to connect better with studies of personnel leadership' (Müller-Seitz, 2012, p. 439). One could look at how Roma cliques evolved over time, and how bridging actors managed to maintain their alliances and cliques. More importantly, it could build further to increase the understanding about the practice of Roma policy implementation, a first step in overcoming policy failure.

References

Abrahamsen, M. H., Naudé, P., Henneberg, S.C. (2011). Network Change as a Battle of Ideas? Analysing the Interplay between Idea Structures and Activated Structures, *The IMP Journal*, **5**(2), 122-139.

Adler, N. E., Ostrove, J. M. (1999). Socioeconomic status and health: what we know and what we don't. *Annals of the New York academy of Sciences*, **896**(1), 3-15.

Ahmad, A. (2003). An Exploratory, Comparative Perspective on the Dynamics of Conflict in American Professional Organizations, *Journal of Applied Social Science*, (2), 42-64.

Andrews, M. (2010). Good Government means different things in different countries, *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions*, **23**(1), 7-35.

Andreescu, G. (2004). Analytical Report PHARE RAXEN_CC, Minority Education RAXEN_CC National Focal Point Romania Ombudspersons for National Minorities Report on minority education in Romania, Vienna.

Association of the Roma Women, Document de politică publică privind incluziunea socială a femeilor rome din România (Trans. Document regarding Roma women inclusion in Romania), http://www.incluziuneafemeilorrome.ro/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/DPP-final.pdf, Accessed on 12th April 2012.

Battilana, J., Leca, B., Boxenbaum, E. (2009). How Actors Change Institutions: Towards a Theory of Institutional Entrepreneurship, *The Academy of Management Annals*, **3**(1), 65-107.

Battilana, J., Casciaro, T. (2012). Change agents, networks, and institutions: a contingency theory of organizational change, *Academy of Management Journal*, **55**(2), 381-398.

Bazeley, P. (2007). Qualitative analysis with NVivo.

Beckman, C.M., Haunschild, P.R., Phillips, D.J. (2004). Friends or Strangers? Firm-Specific Uncertainty, Market Uncertainty, and Network Partner Selection, *Organisation Science*, **5**(3), 259-275.

Berger, B. K. (2005). Power over, power with, and power to relations: Critical reflections on public relations, the dominant coalition, and activism, *Journal of Public Relations Research*, **17**(1), 5-28.

Bergh, P., Thorgren, S., Wincent, J. (2011). Entrepreneurs learning together: The importance of building trust for learning and exploiting business opportunities, *International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal*, 7, 17–37.

Blaxter, L.; Hughes, C.; Tight, M. (2002), *How to do Research*, Open University Press.

Bleahu, A. (2006). Mecanisme ale excluziunii de la serviciile de sănătate, cu accent pe problematica romilor (trans. Mechanisms of social exclusion in health, focus on the Roma), Calitatea Vieții, XVII, nr.1-2.

Bourdieu, P. (2011). The forms of capital. (1986). *Cultural theory: An anthology*, 81-93.

Billis, D., Glennerster, H. (1998). Human services and the voluntary sector: Towards a theory of comparative advantage, *Journal of Social Policy,* **27**(1), 79-98.

Bitektine, A., 2008. Prospective case study design qualitative method for deductive theory testing, *Organizational Research Methods,* **11** (1), 160–180

Briciu C., Grigoras V., Evaluarea impactului programului de mediere sanitarã. Centrul Romilor pentru Politici de Sãnãtate (Trans. Evaluating the impact of the health mediation programme) – Sastipen, 2011.

Brinkerhoff, J. M., Brinkerhoff, D. W. (2002). Government–nonprofit relations in comparative perspective: evolution, themes and new directions, *Public Administration and Development*, **22**(1), 3-18.

Bryman, A. (2001). *Social Research Methods*, Oxford: University Press.

Buchanan, D. A., Bryman, A. (2007). Contextualizing methods choice in organizational research, *Organizational Research Methods*, **10**(3), 483-501.

Burt, R. (1992). The Social Structure of Competition in *Networks and Organisations, Structure, form, and action*. Nohria, N. and Eccles, R.G. Ed., 57-91, Harvard Business School Press, Boston, Massachusetts.

Butler M.J.R. (2003). Managing from Inside Out: Drawing on 'Receptivity' to Explain Variation in Strategy Implementation, *British Journal of Management*, **14**(Special Issue), S47-60.

Butler M.J.R., Allen, P.M. (2008). Understanding Policy Implementation Processes as Self-Organizing Systems, *Public Management Review*, **10**(3), 421 - 440.

Butler, M. J., Gheorghiu, L. (2010). Exploring the failure to protect the rights of the Roma child in Romania, *Public Administration and Development*, **30**(4), 235-246.

Butterfoss, F. D., Goodman, R. M., Wandersman, A. (1993). Community coalitions for prevention and health promotion, *Health education research*, **8**(3), 315-330.

Brass, D. J., Burkhardt, M. E. (1992). Centrality and power in organizations, *Networks and organizations: Structure, form, and action*, *191*, 215.

Calhoun, C., Rojek, C., Turner, B. S. (Eds.). (2005). *The Sage handbook of sociology*. Sage.

Cattell, V. (2001). Poor people, poor places, and poor health: the mediating role of social networks and social capital, *Social science and medicine*, **52**(10), 1501-1516.

Center for Documentation and Information on Minorities in Europe - Southeast Europe (CEDIME-SE), 2001, Minorities in Southeast Europe, Roma of Romania.

Council of Europe, Project Education of Roma Children in Europe, Deportations from Romania, 1-8, Accessed on 5th June 2012 at http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/roma/Source/FS/5.5_romania.pdf

Corbin, J., Strauss, A. (Eds.). (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Sage.

Cova, B., Prévot, F., Spencer, R. (2010). Navigating between dyads and networks, *Industrial Marketing Management*, **39**(6), 879-886.

Coram, R., Burnes, B. (2001). Managing organisational change in the public sector-Lessons from the privatisation of the Property Service Agency, *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, **14**(2), 94-110.

Dacin, M.T., Dacin, P.A., Tracey, P. (2011). Social Entrepreneurship: A Critique and Future Directions, *Organisation Science*, **22**(5), September–October 2011, 1203–1213.

Dahl, R. (2006). *On political equality*, Yale University.

Denzin, N.K. (1978). *The Research Act: A Theoretical introduction to Sociological Methods*, 2nd ed, New York: McGraw-Hill.

Denhardt, R. B., Denhardt, J. V., Aristigueta, M. P. (2012). *Managing human behavior in public and nonprofit organizations*, Sage Publications.

Denzin N.K., Yvonna Sessions Lincoln (Eds.). (2005). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. Sage.

Descombe M. (2003). The Good Research Guide: for Small-scale Social Research Projects, Buckingham: OU Press.

Dodge, J. (2010). Tensions in deliberative practice: a view from civil society, *Critical policy studies*, **4**(4), 384-404.

Dickson, P. H., Weaver, K. M. (1997). Environmental determinants and individual-level moderators of alliance use, *Academy of Management Journal*, **40**(2), 404-425.

Dyer, W. G., Wilkins, A. L. (1991). Better stories, not better constructs, to generate better theory: a rejoinder to Eisenhardt, *Academy of management review*, **16**(3), 613-619.

Easterby-Smith, M., Thorpe, R., Lowe, A. (1991). Qualitative methods.*Management Research: An introduction*, 71-115.

Edmondson, A.C., McManus, J.E (2007). Methodological fit in organisational field research, *Academy of Management Review*, 32, 1155-1179.

Eisenhardt, K. M. (1989). Building theories from case study research, *Academy of Management review*, **14**(4), 532-550.

Eisenhardt, K. M. (2000). Paradox, spirals, ambivalence: The new language of change and pluralism, *Academy of Management Review*, **25**(4), 703-705.

Emirbayer, M., Goodwin, J. (1994). Network analysis, culture and the problem of agency, *American Journal of Sociology*, 99, 1411-1454.

EurActiv.ro, (2012). www.euractiv.ro/, Accessed on 12 May 2013.

EUR-Lex, Access to European Union Law, Council Decision of 28 January 2002 on the principles, priorities, intermediate objectives and conditions contained in the Accession Partnership with Romania, Official Journal of the European Communities, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2002:044:0082:0091:EN:PDF, pp. 1-10.

Europa Summaries of EU legislation,

http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/enlargement/2004_and_2007_enlargement/e50004_en.htm

European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, *Third Report on Romania*, Adopted on 24 June 2005, Strasbourg, 21 February 2006.

European Commission, (2012). http://ec.europa.eu//, Accessed on 23rd June 2012.

European Commission, (2014). http://ec.europa.eu//, Accessed on 1st May 2014.

EU, (1998). Regular report from the Commission on Romania's Progress towards Accession, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/1998/romania_en.pdf

EU, (1999). Regular report from the Commission on Romania's Progress towards Accession,

http://discutii.mfinante.ro/static/10/Mfp/control_prev/documente/regular_report1999.pdf

Europa, Summaries of EU legislation,

http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/enlargement/2004_and_2007_enlargement/e50004_en.htm

EU, (2009). Health and the Roma Community, Analysis of the Situation in Europe, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Greece, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Spain. http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/files/roma_health_en.pdf

Ferlie, E., Fitzgerald, L., McGivern, G., Dopson, S., Bennett, C. (2011). Public Policy Networks and 'Wicked Problems': A Nascent Solution?, *Public Administration*, **89**(2), 307-324.

Foster-Fishman, P. G., Berkowitz, S. L., Lounsbury, D. W., Jacobson, S., Allen, N. A. (2001). Building collaborative capacity in community coalitions: A review and integrative framework. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, **29**(2), 241-261.

Franks, T. (1999). Capacity Building and Institutional Development: Reflections on Water, *Public Administration and Development*, **19** (1), 51-61.

Galaskiewicz, J., Wasserman, S. (1994). Advances in the social and behavioral sciences from social network analysis, *SAGE FOCUS EDITIONS*, *171*, xi-xi.

Gheorghiu, L. (2008). 'The failure to protect the Rights of the Child in Romania', Master's Dissertation, School of Social Sciences, University of Birmingham.

Gheorghiu, L., Butler, M.J.R. (2010). Europe's Forgotten Citizens-Exploring Poor Health Policy Implementation in Roma Communities: A Network Learning Perspective, the 14th IRSPM Conference in Berne, Switzerland, April 2010, "The Crisis: Challenges of Public Management".

Gheorghiu, L., Knight, L., Butler, M.J.R. (2014). Cliques as structures and practices - shaping boundaries and outcomes in Roma policy networks, the 30th EGOS Colloquium Rotterdam, The Netherlands, July 3–5, 2014.

Gilson, L. (2003). Trust and the development of health care as a social institution, *Social science and medicine*, **56**(7), 1453-1468.

Glaser, B. G., Strauss, A. L. (2009). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Transaction Books.

Goss, S. (2001). *Making Local Governance Work. Networks, relationships and the management of Change*, Palgrave.

Granovetter, M.S. (1973). The Strength of Weak Ties, *American Journal of Sociology*, **78**(6) (May, 1973), 1360-1380.

Greenwood, R., Hinings, C.R. (1996). Understanding Radical Organisational Change: Bringing together the Old and the New Institutionalism, *The Academy of Management Review*, **21**(4), 1022-1054.

Gulati, R., Gargiulo, M. (1999). Where Do Inter-organisational Networks Come From? *American Journal of Sociology*, **104**(5), 1439-1493.

Gulati, R., Noria, N., Zaheer, A. (2000). Strategic Networks, *Strategic Management Journal*, **21**(3), 203–215.

Hammersley M. and Atkinson, P. (2007) Ethnography: Principles in Practice, 3rd edition.

Hanneman, R.A., Riddle, M. (2005). Introduction to social network methods. Riverside, CA: University of California, Riverside (published in digital form at http://faculty.ucr.edu/~hanneman/)

Halinen, A., Tornroos J.-A. (2005). Using case methods in the study of contemporary business networks, *Journal of Business Research*, 58, 1285–1297.

Harris, M., Hutchison, R., Cairns, B. (2005). Community-Wide Planning for Faith-Based Service Provision: Practical, Policy, and Conceptual Challenges, *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 34, 88-109.

Harvey, L.; MacDonald, M.; Hill, J. (2000), *Theories and Methods*, London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Hawke, L., Seghedi, A., Gheorghiu, M. (2008). White Paper Learning from America's Mistakes: A Proposal for Closing the Education Gap between Children of Roma Descent and Other Children in the European Union – Starting With Romania, Asociatia NGO9, County 1, http://www.alexfund.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/White-Paper-EN.pdf.

Hibbert, P., Huxham, C. (2010). The past in play: Tradition in the structures of collaboration, *Organization Studies*, **31**(5), 525-554.

Huxham C., Vangen S. (1996). Working together, Key themes in the management of relationships between public and non-profit organisations, *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, **9**(7), 5-17.

Huxham C., Vangen S. (2000). Leadership in the Shaping and Implementation of Collaboration Agendas: How Things Happen in a (Not Quite) Joined-up World, *The Academy of Management Journal*, **43**(6), 1159-1175.

Huxham, C., Vangen, S. (2005). *Managing to collaborate: The theory and practice of collaborative advantage,* Psychology Press.

Ibarra, H. (1992). Structural alignments, individual strategies, and managerial action: Elements toward a network theory of getting things done. In N. Nohria and R. G. Eccles (Eds.), Networks and organisations: Structure, form and action: 165-188. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Iluţ, P. (1997). *Abordarea calitativă a socioumanului: concepte şi metode* (Trad. *Approaches in qualitative study: concepts and methods*), Polirom.

Inkpen A.C., Tsang E.W.K. (2005). Social Capital, Networks, and Knowledge Transfer, *Academy of Management Review*, **30**(1), 146–165.

Isett, K.R., Mergel, I..A.,LeRoux, K., Mischen, P.A., Rethemeyer, R.K. (2011). Networks in Public Administration Scholarship: Understanding Where We Are and Where We Need to Go, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 21, i157–i173.

Jarzabkowski, P., Wilson, D. C. (2002). Top teams and strategy in a UK university, *Journal of Management studies*, **39**(3), 355-381.

Johnson, R. B., Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2004). Mixed methods research: A research paradigm whose time has come, *Educational researcher*, **33**(7), 14-26.

Kanter, R. M., Eccles, R. G. (1992). Making network research relevant to practice. *Networks and organizations: Structure, form and action*, 521-527.

Kenis P., Provan K.G. (2009). Towards An Exogenous Theory Of Public Network Performance, *Public Administration*, **87**(3), 440–456.

Kickert, W.J.M., Klijn, E.-H., Koppenjan (Ed.) (1999). *Managing Complex Networks. Strategies for the Public Sector*, Sage Publications.

Kennett P (2010). Global Perspectives on Governance. In Osborne, S. P. (Ed.). (2009). *The new public governance?: emerging perspectives on the theory and practice of public governance*, Routledge, 19-35.

Kilduff, M., Tsai, W. (2003). *Social networks and organizations*, Sage.

Kim, T.-Y., Oh, H., Swaminathan, A. (2006). Framing Inter-organisational Network Change: A Network Inertia Perspective, *The Academy of Management Review*, **31**(3), 704-720.

Knight L. (2002). Network Learning by Inter-organisational Networks, *Human Relations*, **55**, 427-454.

Knight, L., Pye, A. (2004). Exploring the relationships between network change and network learning, *Management Learning*, **35**(4), 473-490.

Koenig-Archibugi, M. (2003). *Global governance* (318-330), Edward Elgar.

Kolb, D.A., Boyatzis R.E., Mainemelis, C. (1999). Experiential Learning Theory: Previous Research and New Directions, in R. J. Sternberg and L. F. Zhang (Eds.), *Perspectives on cognitive, learning, and thinking styles*, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2000.

Kübler, D. (2001). Understanding policy change with the advocacy coalition framework: an application to Swiss drug policy, *Journal of European public policy*, **8**(4), 623-641.

Koka, B.R., Madhavan, R., Prescott J.E. (2006). The Evolution of Interfirm Networks: Environmental Effects on Patterns of Network Change, *The Academy of Management Review*, **31**(3), 721-737.

Kilduff, M., Tsai, W. (2003). *Social networks and organizations*, Sage.

Langley, A. (1999). Strategies for Theorising from process data, *Academy of Management Review*, 24, 691– 710.

Larsson, R., Bengtsson, Henriksson, K., Sparks, J. (1998). The Inter-organisational Learning Dilemma: Collective Knowledge Development in Strategic Alliances, *Organisation Science*, **9**(3), Special Issue: Managing Partnerships and Strategic Alliances (May - Jun., 1998), 285-305.

Lazar, D. (2004). Selected issues in the philosophy of social science, in Seale, C. (Ed.), *Researching society and culture*, Sage.

Lee, N., Lings, I. (2008). *Doing business research: A guide to theory and practice*, London: Sage.

Lemieux-Charles, L., Chambers, L. W., Cockerill, R., Jaglal, S., Brazil, K., Cohen, C., ... and Schulman, B. (2005). Evaluating the effectiveness of community-based dementia care networks: the Dementia Care Networks' Study, *The Gerontologist*, **45**(4), 456-464.

Levina, N., Vaast, E. (2005). The emergence of boundary spanning competence in practice: implications for implementation and use of information systems, *MIS quarterly*, 335-363.

Levinson, N. S., Asahi, M. (1995). Cross-national alliances and interorganizational learning, *Organizational Dynamics*, **24**(2), 50-63.

Locke, K., Golden-Biddle, K. (1997). Constructing opportunities for contribution: Structuring intertextual coherence and "problematizing" in organizational studies, *Academy of management journal*, **40**(5), 1023-1062.

Locke, K. (2001). *Grounded theory in management research*, Sage.

Maguire, S., Hardy, C., Lawrence, T. B. (2004). Institutional entrepreneurship in emerging fields: HIV/AIDS treatment advocacy in Canada, *Academy of Management Journal*, **47**(5), 657-679.

McQuaid R.W. (2010). Theory of Organisational Partnership: Partnership advantages, Disadvantages and Success Factors. In Osborne SP Ed. (2010) *The New Public Governance? Emerging Perspectives on the Theory and Practice of Public Governance*.

Melchor, H.O. (2008). Managing Change in OECD Governments: An Introductory Framework, OECD Working Papers on Public Governance, No. 12, OECD.

Miller, R.L., Brewer, J. D. (Eds.). (2003). *The AZ of social research: a dictionary of key social science research concepts*, Sage.

Miles, M., Huberman, A. (1994). *An expanded sourcebook: Qualitative data analysis,* London: Sage.

Mills, C. W. (1999). *The power elite,* Oxford University Press.

Milward H. B., Provan K. G. (1998). Measuring Network Structure, *Public Administration*, **76**(2), 387-407.

Ministry of education (2012). http://www.edu.ro/index.php/base/frontpage.

Mintzberg, H. (1983). *Power in and around organizations* (Vol. 142). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Miskel, C., Song, M. (2004). Passing Reading First: Prominence and processes in an elite policy network, *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, **26**(2), 89-109.

Mouton, J., Marais, H.C. (1988). Basic Concepts in the Methodology of the Social Sciences, Human Sciences Research Council.

Müller-Seitz, G. (2012). Leadership in interorganizational networks: a literature review and suggestions for future research, *International Journal of Management Reviews*, **14**(4), 428-443.

Myers, M.D. (2009). *Qualitative Research in Business Management*, Sage.

Nahapiet J., Ghoshal S. (1998). Social Capital, Intellectual Capital, and the Organisational Advantage, *The Academy of Management Review*, **23**(2), 242-266.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Public Governance and Territorial Development Directorate Public Governance Committee (2008), Managing Change in OECD Governments: An Introductory Framework, June 16, 2008, OECD: Paris.

Open Society Foundation, (2010). 'No Data No Progress-Country Findings. Data Collection in Countries Participating in the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005–2015', August 2010.

Open Society Institute (2007), EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program Bulgaria Hungary Romania Serbia Roma Participation Program Education Support Program, Equal Access to Quality Education for Roma Volume 1, Monitoring Reports,

Open Society Institute, Equal Access to Quality Education for Roma (2007). Volume I, 373–374.

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/ccpr.htmb, Accessed on 16th June 2012.

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cescr.htm, Accessed on 11th May 2013.

O'Toole, L.J. Jr (1997). Treating Networks Seriously: Practical and Research-Based Agendas in Public Administration, *Public Administration Review*, **57**(1), 45-52.

Osborne, S. P. (2006). *The New Public Governance?* 1.

Ospina, S.M., Saz-Carranza, A. (2010) Paradox and Collaboration, *Network Management, Administration and Society*, **42**(4), 404– 440.

Pettigrew, A., McKee, L., Ferlie, E. (1988). Understanding Change in the NHS, *Public Administration*, 66, 297-17.

Pettigrew, A. (1990). Longitudinal Field Research: Theory and Practice, *Organisation Science*, **1**(3), Special Issue: Longitudinal Studying Processes of Organisational Change, 267-292.

Pettigrew, A. (1992). Shaping strategic change. The case of the NHS in the 1980s, *Public Money and Management*, **12**(3).

Pettigrew, A. M. (1997). What is a processual analysis?, *Scandinavian journal of management*, **13**(4), 337-348.

Pettigrew, A., Woodman, R.W., Cameron K.S., (2001). Studying Organisational Change and Development: Challenges for Future Research, *The Academy of Management Journal*, **44**(4), 697-713.

Pfeffer, J., Salancik, G.R. (2003). *The External Control of Organisations, A Resource Dependence Perspective*, Stanford University Press.

Poole, M. S., Van de Ven, A. H. (1989). Using paradox to build management and organization theories, *Academy of Management Review*, **14**(4), 562-578.

Preoteasa A. M., Cace S., Duminca G. (2009), *Strategia naționala de îmbunătățire a situației romilor: vocea comunităților (The national Strategy to Improve the Condition of Roma People: the Voice of the Communities),* Editura Expert, from http://www.agentiaimpreuna.ro/files/publicatii/10-RAPORT_tipar-p-ro.pdf

Putnam, R. D. (2007). E pluribus unum: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century the 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture, *Scandinavian political studies*, **30**(2), 137-174.

Provan, K.G., Milward, H.B. (1995). A Preliminary theory of Inter-organisational Network Effectiveness: A Comparative Study of four Community Mental Health Systems, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 40, 1-33.

Provan, K.G., Sebastian, J.G. (1998). Networks within networks: service link overlap, organisational cliques, and network effectiveness, *Academy of Management Journal*, **41**(4), 453-463.

Provan, K.G., Milward, H.B. (2001). Do Networks Really Work? A Framework for Evaluating Public-Sector Organisational Networks, *Public Administration Review*, **61**(4) (Jul. - Aug., 2001), 414-423.

Provan, K.G., Veazie, M.A., Staten, L.K.; Teufel-Shone, N.I. (2005). The Use of Network Analysis to Strengthen Community Partnerships, *Public Administration Review*, **65**(5), 603-613.

Provan, K.G., Fish, A., Sydow, J. (2007). Inter-organisational Networks at the Network Level: A Review of the Empirical Literature on Whole Networks, *Journal of Management*, **33**(3), 479-516.

Provan, K. G., Sydow, J. (2008). Evaluating inter-organizational relationships. *The Oxford handbook of interorganizational relationships*, Oxford, 691-716.

Pridham, G. (2002). Coalition behaviour in new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe: The case of Slovakia. The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, **18**(2), 75-102.

Quinn, R. E., Hall, R. H. (1983). Environments, organizations, and policy makers: Toward an integrative framework. *Organization theory and public policy: Contributions and limitations.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Raab, J. (2002). Where Do Policy Networks Come From?, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 4, 581 -622.

Raab, J., Kenis, P. (2009). Heading Toward a Society of Networks: Empirical Developments and Theoretical Challenges, *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 18, 198-210.

Raab, J., and Milward, H. B. (2003). Dark networks as problems. *Journal of public administration research and theory*, **13**(4), 413-439.

Ross, C. E., Wu, C. L. (1996). Education, age, and the cumulative advantage in health. *Journal of health and social behavior*, 104-120.

Rorke., B. (2011). Beyond Rhetoric: Roma Integration Roadmap for 2020, Priorities For An EU Framework For National Roma Integration Strategies.

Rowley, T. J., Greve, H. R., Rao, H., Baum, J. A. C., Shipilov, A. V. (2005). Time To Break Up: The Social and Instrumental Antecedents of Exit from Interfirm Exchange Cliques, *Academy of Management Journal*, 48, 499-520.

Salancik, G.R. (1995). Wanted: A good network theory of organisation, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, **40**(4), 345-349.

Santana, P. (2002). Poverty, social exclusion and health in Portugal, *Social Science and Medicine*, **55**(1), 33-45.

Sasovova, Z., Mehra, A., Borgatti, S.P., Schippers, M.C. (2010), Network Churn: The Effects of Self-Monitoring Personality on Brokerage Dynamics, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 55, 639-668.

Saz-Carranza, A., Ospina, S. M. (2011). The behavioral dimension of governing interorganizational goal-directed networks—Managing the unity-diversity tension, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, **21**(2), 327-365.

Schalk, J., Torenvlied, R., Allen, J. (2010). Network embeddedness and public agency performance: The strength of strong ties in Dutch higher education, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, **20**(3), 629-653.

Schaaf, M. (2007). Confronting a Hidden Disease: TB in Roma Communities (Open Society Institute), 1-48.

Scott, J., Marshall, G. (Eds.). (2009). *Oxford dictionary of sociology*, Oxford University Press.

Seale, C. (1999). *The Quality of the Qualitative Research*, Sage Publication.

Soros Foundation (2007). http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/, Accessed on 24th August, 2012.

Sydow, J., Schreyögg, G., Koch, J. (2009). Organizational path dependence: Opening the black box, *Academy of Management Review*, **34**(4), 689-709.

Spradley, J. P. (1980). *Participant observation*.

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study*.

Streck, C. (2002). Global public policy networks as coalitions for change. Global environmental governance: options and opportunities, 121-140.

Teddlie, C., Yu, F. (2007). Mixed methods sampling a typology with examples, *Journal of mixed methods research*, **1**(1), 77-100.

The Economist, (2008)a. "The European Union Conceals Romania's Backsliding Corruption", July 5th, 2008, 56.

The Economist, (2008)b. "Corruption in Eastern Europe. Talking of Virtue, Counting the Spoons", May, 22nd 2008.

The Economist, Europe's Biggest Societal Problem. The Plight of Europe's Roma, May 25th 2012, http://www.economist.com/blogs/easternapproaches/2012/05/europe%E2%80%99s-biggest-societal-problem, Accessed on 28th May, 2012.

The Economist (2010). The Romani row, revisited, http://www.economist.com/blogs/easternapproaches/2010/11/romanias_romanies, Accessed on 12th June 2011.

The World Bank, Economic Costs of Roma Exclusion, Accessed on 28th May, 2012, http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/ECAEXT/EXTROMA/0,,contentMDK:22526807~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:615987,00.html

The Slatest, Accessed on 25th May, 2014,

http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_slatest/2014/05/08/world_bank_reports_unread_policy_recommendations_go_undiscovered.html

Tracey P., Phillips N., (2011). Entrepreneurship in Emerging Markets: Strategies for New Venture Creation in Uncertain Institutional Contexts, *Management International Review*, 51, 23-39.

Tsang, E. W. (2013). Generalizing from Research Findings: The Merits of Case Studies, *International Journal of Management Reviews*.

UNICEF and Romani CRISS, (2011) Roma School Participation, Non-Attendance and Discrimination in Romania, Surdu, L. (coord.), Surdu, L., Vincze,, E., Wamsiedel, M. (Authors), Bucharest.

United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/, Accessed on 11th June 2013.

United Nations and CRC, Convention on the Rights of the Child Romania (CRC), Committee on the Rights of the Child, 18 May 2003.

UNICEF, 1946-2006, Unite for Children, (2006). Children on the brink. A focused situation analysis of vulnerable, excluded, and discriminated children in Romania, http://www.unicef.org/publications/cob_layout6-013.pdf.

UNICEF, (2002) "Participation to Education of Romani Children", http://www.errc.org/cms/upload/media/00/04/m00000004.pdf .

Vangen, S. (2012). Understanding, investigating and theorizing inter-organizational collaborations: a focus on paradox.

Vangen, S., Winchester, N. (2014). Managing Cultural Diversity in Collaborations: A focus on management tensions, *Public Management Review*, **16**(5), 686-707.

Wamsiedel, M., Vincze, E, Ionescu, I. (2011). Roma Health. Perspective of the actors involved in the health system-doctors, health mediators and patients.

Winkleby, M. A., Jatulis, D. E., Frank, E., Fortmann, S. P. (1992). Socioeconomic status and health: how education, income, and occupation contribute to risk factors for cardiovascular disease, *American journal of public health*, **82**(6), 816-820.

Williams, P. (2002). The Competent Boundary Spanner, *Public Administration*, **80**(1), 103-124.

Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research—Design and methods* (2nd ed.), Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Zakocs, R. C., Edwards, E. M. (2006). What explains community coalition effectiveness?: A review of the literature, *American journal of preventive medicine*, **30**(4), 351-361.

Appendices

APPENDIX 1: Motivation of the study

The choice to undertake this PhD is a result of my previous experience in education and employment. As a social worker and programme coordinator in Romania, I worked in non-governmental organisations and at the City Hall. Therefore, I have observed how public policies are implemented in poor communities and what needs they have. This encouraged me to study equal rights, which led to obtaining a Masters' degree in Human Rights and Human Values at the University of Birmingham. The study[26] made a parallel between the situation of vulnerable children who were discriminated against and the international standards. It brought face-to-face the human right violations on the one hand, and the legal framework with its instruments on the other: CRC[27], ILO[28] Convention, and the Romanian Penal Code. It emphasised governmental failures, but also cultural factors (stereotypes, tradition) and economic factors (poverty, unemployment).

In making sense of the secondary data, I came across the concept of receptivity towards change for the first time (Butler, 2003). In my findings, I identified a low receptivity to change, lack of transparency, high level of corruption and lack of enforcement as the main reasons why the state only provides limited resources to help fulfil rights and offer the necessary welfare structures to alleviate poverty and exclusion.

These conclusions intrigued me. I decided to do more to understand systemic change, which led to my current PhD research at Aston University. The path chosen is to analyse the network of governmental and non-governmental institutions which implement policies for the Roma population in Romania, an ethnic minority fighting poverty and social exclusion.

The experience acquired in the field has helped me significantly during my academic work, in particular in obtaining a clearer, systematic, contextual, and more objective understanding of how public policies are implemented. I strongly believe that studying and working in two completely different countries is a great advantage. Similarly with the bridging actors, who collect resources from two different networks, I had the opportunity to collect knowledge observing two different environments/contexts, which gave me a different perspective on how societies work and how people balance their resources and needs. Although there are no universally recognised best practices, there are elements which can be acquired through knowledge exchange.

Without this background, the research would not be possible. Collecting data is challenging, in particular in a network still marked by old bureaucratic practices. For this reason, the importance of

---

[26] Gheorghiu, L. (2008) "The failure to protect the Rights of the Child in Romania", Master's Dissertation, School of Social Sciences, University of Birmingham.

[27] The Convention on the Rights of the Child.
[28] International Labour Organisation.

being in a network showed its value because this way I had access to the majority of the people interviewed. Finally, this brought me closer to achieve the theoretical and practical contributions, because existing literature failed to explain adequately the Roma issue as a paradox, or 'wicked problem'.

APPENDIX 2: Consent form

Title of the Project: Testing Organisational Receptivity in the Context of International Development. The Case of the Roma Education and Health in Romania

Researcher: Lidia Gheorghiu

This is to certify that I, _____ have been given the following information with respect to my participation to this study.

This research is trying to find out what determines the Romas' poor health and low access to education. The questions are connected to the success in implementing social policies for the Roma population.

Your institution was selected as part of the sample because it represents the local authorities which implement at the local level the Roma policies. The questions will regard the existing policies/activities to improve Roma's situation.

The participants can withdraw at any time. The refusal to participate involves no penalty, or loss of benefits to which the person is otherwise entitled. The subject may discontinue at any time. There are no inducements offered to the participants.

The researcher will maintain the confidentiality of the records; she will not discuss with other participants about the name or the other interviewees' statements.

Time duration of participation: 1 hour. Questions or concerns regarding the research or the participation in this research should be directed to:

Lidia Gheorghiu

Aston Business School-Aston University,

South Wing, Room 710 A,

7th Floor, Aston Triangle, Birmingham,

B4 7ET, UK

gheorghl@aston.ac.uk

I agree to participate in this study and I have read all the information provided on this form.

Name (please print): _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX 3: Crafting the instrument

Operationalisation is a concept used mostly in quantitative research. Nevertheless, the same principle is followed in the qualitative research. Researchers need to link the theory and the measurement or observation (Mouton and Marais, 1988, p. 70).

Qualitative researchers describe the facts through people's understanding of their world. In qualitative research 'the natural and the subjective components of the sample are emphasised'. The qualitative interviews helped understanding the nature of variation, what, how and why of change in policy implementation. The items focused on the receptivity factors:

1. Ideological vision: the context, common visions, coherent strategies. Vision is an important aspect in implementing reforms. Here, a close attention was paid to policy implementation both, as process and content.

2. Leading change: leaders' skills and methods used. When analysing the process of modernisation and improvement of the public services, the fuse of the organisational with cultural change are examined. It is important that the Roma community could have an input in all the decisions that regards them, because policies ought to strictly reproduce the characteristics of the local community.

3. Institutional politics: coalitions, power relations, relationship building. The efficiency of a network is critical because institutions are not isolated agencies. They need to work in cooperation with each other. The analysis of how governmental and non-governmental organisations collaborate with each other and they supplement each other services to meet the services users' needs was important for this study.

4. Implementation capacity: change initiatives, leader training, rules and procedures. It has been suggested that in capacity building the training of both leaders and staff plays a big role. That explains the focus of this study to discover if the level of knowledge, skills, and ability of people at various levels increases the speed of the policy implementation.

5. Possibility space with four sub factors (choice, no universal best practices, organisational play, and path dependency): creativity, innovation, and experimentation. The interviews highlighted the existence of innovative approaches and daring visions in implementing social policies; if leaders are able to discover the gaps and if they find innovative ways to fill them out. Because institutions are encouraged to align their standards to the dynamic citizens' needs, the research can indicate if the institutions are adjustable and inflexible. In analysing the 'no universal best practice' factor the research looks at if Romania, as a transitioning country, had used the experience of developed countries in implementing policies.

APPENDIX 4: Adapted Semi-Structured Interview

INTRODUCTION

I am undertaking this research for a PhD degree at Aston University, Birmingham. My area of interest relates to organisational receptivity towards change. I assure you that all the information collected during this interview will be handled with extreme care. I also assure you that your name and institution name will be kept confidential throughout the discussions in the research findings.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this interview is to understand the relationship between the external environmental demands (needs of the Roma population, governmental politics) and the organisation's receptivity to change. We want to see what is changing and how; what is not changing and why. This interview also would like to discover which institutional factors affects the ability to change and how this ability would then enhance the speed of implementation of the social policies for Roma.

The outcome of this study is to come up with a checklist of institutional factors that are important towards facilitating change and how institutions could efficiently implement the Roma policies. The reformulated questions are in bold.

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT

1. Please describe a recent environmental condition that has led to your institution to change certain aspects of their operations.
Probe for: environmental factors that have a strong effect on change, environmental dynamism and turbulence.

2. How does your institution respond to the environmental change / factors?

3. What type of change was made in response to the change in the environment?

Was it a political, economic, social, or technological event that changed something in your organisation/institution?

RECEPTIVITY FACTOR 1: IDEOLOGICAL VISION

4. How do you use your institutional vision to generate a need for change and commitment to change?
Probe for: Shared visions, direction of the company, articulation of the vision, complements or contradict/reflect existing ideologies, stakeholders' interest and status quo.

5. How does your institution come up with change strategies that fit your institutional vision?
Probe for: Coherence between vision and change strategies, feasibility of the strategies, parallel functional strategies, reconciliation of procedures.

What is your vision? What do you stand for?

RECEPTIVITY FACTOR 2: LEADING CHANGE

6. How is leadership exercised?
Probe for: Individuals vs. teams, distribution of leadership capacity, and scope of decision making.

7. How does the leader implement the change strategies?
Probe for: justifications, explanations of benefits for change, address concerns.

8. How does the leader influence other members to support change?
Probe for: type of methods used (force, rules and procedures, exchange, persuasion, magnetism), leader's characteristics/traits, leader's skills, leader's knowledge, leader's capabilities.

9. Is the leadership exercise with continuity or stability?
Probe for: creating and sustaining the momentum of change.

How is the leader running your institution? Does he/she consult you?

RECEPTIVITY FACTOR 3: INSTITUTIONAL POLITICS

10. How does the organisational build support for change strategies?
Probe for: formation of coalitions, extent of change success dependent on coalition, seeking participation and support from different groups, status quo, and power relations.

11. What are the strategies the leader use to gain support?
Probe for: opposing coalition, actions, inactions, relationship building, participative strategy, use of power by leader, power of different stakeholders.

Who are your collaborators? What would you need to make the network more effective?

RECEPTIVITY FACTOR 4: IMPLEMENTATION CAPACITY

12. How do you implement change?

13. What are the main institutional infrastructure, procedures and systems that are used to facilitate change implementation?
Probe for: leader training, staff training, forums, seminars, discussions, institutional support, mechanism used, rules and procedures.

14. Are the changes conducted incrementally or radically?
Probe for: issues pertaining time to adapt, allowing a more detailed comprehension of the change initiatives, allow time to improve staff's capabilities.

15. How does a leader communicate the need for change?
Probe for: articulation, methods, timeliness, channels.

What needs do you have? (e.g. funds, qualified people)

RECEPTIVITY FACTOR 5: POSSIBILITY SPACE

16. Which are the factors that are deterring innovation your institution by making it repeating the same patterns?
Probe for: custom, dependency, factors influencing change.

What forces you to follow same pattern?

17. How efficient are the "best practice" models for your institution?
Have you got models to follow, do you use the experience of others?

18. In which manner are creativity, innovation and experimentation part of your institution?
Probe for: Innovative capability.

Do you have to improvise, to use creativity in order to counterbalance the lack of resources?

19. Does the organisation learn from its past mistakes?
Probe for: review of past success or failures, intensity of review, and frequency of review.

Have you learned from past mistakes?

RECEPTIVITY FACTOR 6: CO-OPERATIVE INTER-ORGANISATIONAL NETWORKS

20. To what extent is the change strategy dependent on other related institution?
Probe for: type of influence, and issues.

Do you depend on other institutions? Is you work depending on others?

RECEPTIVITY FACTOR 7: THE FIT BETWEEN CHANGE AGENDA AND LOCALE

21. How does your change strategy take into account the locality of your institution?
Probe for: location, community, and other competitors within the same locale.

Does your efficiency depend on the geographical position?

OTHER RECEPTIVITY FACTORS

22. Are there any other factors that you believe to be an important receptivity factors that are unique to your sector of activity?
What other factors are important to make people/institutions work better?

ORGANISATIONAL PERFORMANCE

23. Which performance variables would be the most important indicator for a successful change strategy implementation?
Which are the performance indicators? How do you know when you are successful?

CONCLUSION

Thank you very much for your cooperation. If you wish to be updated on the research, please feel free to contact me.

APPENDIX 5: Selecting the case studies samples

In Romania, data collection based on ethnicity is forbidden, with some clear exceptions:

- 'when subjects have expressly given their consent for such data processing;
- when processing is carried out by a foundation, association, or by any other non-profit organisation with a political, philosophical, religious or trade union profile, provided that subjects are members of that organisation or have regular contacts with the organisation in its activity profile, and provided that the data shall not be disclosed to a third party without subject s' consent;
- when processing refers to data made expressly public in a clear way by subjects' (Open Society Foundations, 2010, p. 62).

Romanian institutions do not collect data according to people's ethnicity. They state that Roma have equal access to health, education, employment, and other services. Therefore creating an ethnic database would be similar to considering them different than the majority population, and by doing so discriminating them against.

As a result of these challenges, in order to select the case studies, a search was made looking at publications released by important organisations (e.g. World Health Organisation, United Nations, European Roma Right Centre, Romanian and international NGOs, and the Romanian Government). Also, a high number of institutions were contacted to find out if they collect ethnic data. Responses explaining why they have no data on Roma included:

- National Agency for Employment: 'According to Law no 76/2002 and Governmental Decision no 174/2002 we exclude any types of ethnic discrimination'.
- Public Health Directorate: 'our health system does not discriminate against; it treats everybody the same, regardless ethnicity'.
- County School Inspectorate: 'It is no county ranking, as we are part of the EU from 2007! The Roma students are not part of the statistics provided by the Ministry of Education, as the Hungarian students are not. Most of them do not admit that they are Roma, therefore, we can't count them as Roma'.
- National Institute for Statistics: 'We don't have data regarding the number of the Roma that abandoned the school, or the Roma enrolled to a GP'.

The number of the Roma living in Romania is not precisely known. According to the last census from 2002 the Roma population was of 535,140 Roma (2.47 % of the total population) (INS, 2012). NGOs estimate the number of Roma between 2.5 and 3 million. Corroborating data from multiple studies, a research regarding the social and economic status of the Roma population estimated their number to one million people (Zamfir and Zamfir, 1993, pp. 59).

Another shortcoming is that many Roma refuse to declare as Roma. According to the Research Institute for Quality of Life, the number of Roma both self-identified and heteroidentified is 1.5 million (6.7 % of the total population): 'This is the most used reference for an unofficial estimate and is considered the closest to reality' (Open Society Foundations, 2010, p. 64).

APPENDIX 6: Sample County 1 - The first data collection June-July 2010

People interviewed in County 1 in the first data collection were the following:

No.	Institution/Status
1	Senior councillor, ANR, the Romanian Government
2	Roma councillor, BJR, Prefecture
3	Coordinator, Cults and Minority Integration Department, City Hall, 4th District Inspector, idem
4	Roma expert, City Hall 6th District
5	Nurse, Child Protection
6	Roma expert, City Hall, 1st District
7	Roma expert, City Hall, 3rd District
8	Romani language teacher and Roma school mediator, School 95
9	Roma school mediator, School 13 School director, School 13
10	Lecturer, University, Sociology and Social Work University
11	Programme Officer, Head of Socio-Economic Section, NGO1
12	Director, NGO2, 3rd District
13	President, NGO3
14	Sociologist, NGO4
15	Specialist Social Policies, NGO5
16	President, NGO6 and Coordinator public policy, NGO6
17	Programme coordinator, NGO7
18	Director, NGO7
19	President, Pastor NGO8 and Director NGO8
20	Researcher and advocator, NGO9
21	President, NGO10
22	Sociologist and Policy Officer, NGO11
23	Lawyer, NGO12
24	Public policies and advocacy senior adviser, NGO13
25	Country Director, NGO14

Table 1: Interviewees in County 1 in the first data collection

The ethnographic data contains six observations in the first data collection and two observations in the second data collection. Firstly, on 24th June 2010, the researcher took part to the monthly meeting of the Mixed Working Group at the Prefecture: the Roma councillor gathered participants from a variety of institutions in order to discuss matters of interest at the local level.

Secondly, on 24th June 2010 the researcher participated to the course 'Combating discrimination of the Roma access to health services in Romania', financed by OSI through Roma Health Project, Public Health programme. The content of the course included information about National Council for Fighting against Discrimination's claim procedure and solving discrimination cases. These sessions were conducted by a State Secretary, member in the Committee of the CNCD and the legal advisor, from same institution.

Thirdly, on 25th June 2010 the researcher joined the second day of the course 'Combating discrimination of the Roma access to health services in Romania'. The content of the course included information about community social activism focused on the health mediator and an evaluation of the access to health of the Roma. The presentation and the discussions were led by an expert in health policies, from the National Agency for the Roma.

Fourthly, on 25th June 2010 the researcher visited a Roma community a neighbourhood, in the 6th District. In order to find out what are the problems of the Roma communities, NGO12 organised a visit where representatives from local authorities, NGOs, and communities sat around the table and discussed health matters.

Fifthly, on 7th July 2010 the researcher participated to a round table organised for the closing of the Project 'Combating discrimination of the Roma access to health services in Romania'. Here, the results of the project have been presented. Also, the participants gave a feedback on the success of the project and they discussed future collaborations.

Sixthly, on 13th July 2010 the researcher observed a school activity - summer workshop - with Roma children at School No 13. The activity included playing games, learning the alphabet, numbers, letters, and taking a snack. The participants were children between five and nine years old: 12 girls and 16 boys, their parents, five school teachers, and a Roma school mediator.

APPENDIX 7: Sample County 1 - The second data collection Sept. 2011

People interviewed in the second data collection in County 1 are represented in the table below:

No.	Institution/Status
1	Senior councillor, ANR, Romanian Government
2	Programme coordinator, NGO7, former Gov., SNSPA PhD student
3	Social worker, Child Protection, 3rd District, SNSPA PhD student
4	Executive Director, NGO16, SNSPA PhD student
5	Worker, NGO15, SNSPA PhD student
6	Programme coordinator, NGO14, SNSPA PhD student
7	Pastor and president NGO8
8	Sociologist, NGO4
9	Specialist Social Policies, NGO5
10	Country manager, NGO14, former NGO5,

Table 2: Interviewees in County 1 in the second data collection

A brief summary of the ethnographic study is presented below:

Date	Activity	Location and Participants
24th June '10	Monthly meeting of the Mixed group at the Prefecture: the Roma councillor gathers participants from a variety of institutions in order to discuss matters of interest at the local level	BJR, Prefecture **Participants:** Roma councillor Prefecture, Roma school mediator and Romani teacher School 136, Councillor AJOFM, Legal advisor and a Councillor CASMB, Councillor AJOFM, Referent City Hall District 2, Roma expert, Child Protection, District 1, Expert ANR, Roma expert City Hall 3rd District, Roma principal expert 4th District, Vice president ASCA, Councillor district 5
24th June '10	'Combating discrimination of the Roma access to health services in Romania' course. Project financed by OSI through Roma Health Project, Public Health programme	Ambassador Hotel, County 1 **Presenters:** Four representatives of CNCD: two members in the directing committee, a Senior councillor, and a legal advisor. **Participants:** 5 Roma health mediators from County 1 and County 3, Residential doctors, GPs, doctors from DSP (County 3 and County 1), Roma councillor, Prefecture, Legal advisor Prefecture, Nurse Child protection, Student intern Prefecture, Legal advisor CNSAS, President, Lawyer, 2 workers NGO12
25th June '10	'Combating discrimination of the Roma access to health services in Romania' course	**Presenter:** Expert health policies **Participants:** 5 Roma health mediators from County 1 and County 3 counties, Roma councillor Prefecture, Legal advisor Prefecture, Legal advisor CNSAS, Nurse Child Protection, Residential doctors, GPs, doctors from DSP (County 3 and County 1), President, Lawyer, 2 workers NGO12
25th June 2010	Visit in a Roma community - Giulesti neighbourhood, District 6	**Participants:** Members of the community: see pictures, 5 Roma health mediators from County 1 and County 3 counties, Roma councillor Prefecture, Legal advisor Prefecture, Legal advisor CNSAS, Nurse Child protection, President, Lawyer, 2 workers NGO12
7th July '10	Round table organised for the closing of the Project 'Combating discrimination of the Roma access to health services in Romania'	**Participants:** Expert health policies, National Agency for the Roma, Roma councillor Prefecture, Legal advisor Prefecture, Legal advisor and Director CNSAS, President, Lawyer, and 2 workers from NGO12, Doctor, Representative from Centre for Social Development, Director, NGO14
13th July '10	Observation school activity with Roma children: including playing games, learning the alphabet, numbers, letters	School No 13 **Participants:** 12 girls and 16 boys, parents, teachers, Roma school mediator
31st Aug '11	meeting students organising workshops	University, County 1

		Participants: three SNSPA PhD students
13th Sep '11	Discussion about Romanian public administration	University, County 1 Participants: A. Ewoh, Professor of Public Administration, twenty SNSPA students

Table 3: Ethnographic study in County 1

APPENDIX 8: Sample County 2 – The first data collection July 2010

In the first data collection 18 interviews were conducted. The people interviewed in County 2 were the following:

No.	Institution/Status
1	Management, NGO17, Lecturer University, County 1
	Management, NGO17 and Professor, University, County 1
2	Project manager, NGO18
3	Community facilitator, NGO19
4	Roma expert, Regional Office, ANR (National Agency for the Roma)
5	Researcher, Institute for the Research of the National Minorities and Governmental and Associate Professor, University
6	Social worker, Child Protection
7	Specialist in Social Relations and Civil Society, NGO20
8	Social worker, Child Protection
9	Roma expert, City Hall and President NGO30 (Youth Branch)
10	Worker, NGO22,
11	Employment agent, NGO19
12	Roma health mediator, Locality2
13	Roma school mediator, Locality2
14	Roma health mediator, Locality3
15	Worker, NGO24 and Lecturer, University, County 1
16	President, NGO25
17	Worker, NGO26
18	Roma School mediator, Locality4

Table 4: Interviewees in County 2 in the first data collection

APPENDIX 9: Sample County 2 - The second data collection Sept.-Oct. 2011

In 2011 seven more interviews were conducted in County 2. The people interviewed are represented in the table below:

No.	Institution/Status
1	Specialist in Social Relations and Civil society, NGO20
2	Worker, NGO27 and Romani teacher, Roma school mediator
3	Roma school mediator, County 2
4	Executive Director, NGO28
5	Worker, NGO26, Locality5
6	Worker, NGO26, Locality5
7	Roma expert, City Hall, Locality6

Table 5: Interviewees in County 2 in the second data collection

APPENDIX 10: Sample County 3 - The first data collection June 2009

In the first data collection in County 3, eleven interviews were collected. The people interviewed were the following:

No.	Institution/Status
1	Roma councillor, Prefecture and Director and NGO30
2	Community facilitator FRDS and Director and NGO31
3	Roma expert, City Hall and NGO30
4	Social Worker, NGO32
5	President, NGO33
6	Legal advisor, City Hall and NGO30
7	Two Beneficiaries
8	Health mediator (former school mediator)
9	Health mediator, Locality7
10	Sociology lecturer, University
11	Roma expert, City Hall, Locality7 and NGO31
12	Roma School Inspector

Table 6: Interviewees in County 3 in the first data collection

APPENDIX 11: Sample County 3 - The second data collection Feb. 2010

Nine interviews were conducted in 2010. The people interviewed in County 3 are represented in the table below:

No.	Institution/Status
1	Roma councillor, Prefecture and Director, NGO30
2	Community facilitator FRDS and Director, NGO31
3	Social Worker, NGO32
4	President, NGO33
5	Legal advisor, City Hall and NGO30
6	Beneficiary
7	Beneficiary
8	Health mediators, County 3
9	Health mediators, County 3
10	Sociology lecturer, County 3 University

Table 7: Interviewees in County 3 in the second data collection