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THE CHALLENGES OF DEMOCRATIZATION, GLOBALIZATION AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION FOR MUSIC EDUCATION IN ROMANIA

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THE CHALLENGES OF DEMOCRATIZATION, GLOBALIZATION AND
EUROPEAN INTEGRATION FOR MUSIC EDUCATION IN ROMANIA

(Spine title: Challenges for Romanian Music Education after 1989)

(Thesis format: Monograph)

by

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ABSTRACT

This study documents the impacts of democratization, globalization and European integration on the Romanian music education system since the Revolution in 1989 and until the present day. Particular emphasis is placed on government deregulation of public music education, decentralization and re-direction of decision-making to regional school inspectorates and the privatization of music education institutions. The effects on neoliberal educational policy on the development of the national music education system, including the re-conceptualization of education as job training and the introduction of performance descriptors in student evaluation and assessment are examined. The implementation of Bologna Declaration principles and the resulting outcomes for the Romanian music education system, such as restructuring of undergraduate education, introduction of master's and doctoral programs, diploma recognition and increased student and teacher mobility are also documented. This dissertation concludes with a call for a broader vision on the part of Romanian music teachers and professors. Recommendations for future research are also presented.

KEYWORDS: Romania, Democratization, Globalization, Neoliberalism, European Integration, Deregulation, Accountability, Privatization, Bologna Declaration

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Certificate of Examination	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of Contents	v
List of Tables	vii
INTRODUCTION	1
METHODOLOGY	8
Chapter I: CONCEPTUALIZING DEMOCRATIZATION	13
1. Democracy – A Definition	15
Democratic Principles	17
Equality of Opportunity	27
Participation in Political Decision-Making	28
The Right of Choice	37
2. Some Implications for Education	39
3. A Brief History and Definitions of Two Prominent Theories of Liberalism	42
Classical Liberalism	43
Egalitarian Liberalism	48
4. Structural Systems of Governance	53
Chapter II: CONCEPTUALIZING GLOBALIZATION	60
1. Globalization – A Brief Definition	61
2. The Dialectic of Globalization	62

The Political Economy of Globalization	66
Global Neoliberalism	71
Cultural Globalization	74
Cultural Homogenization	75
Cultural Polarization	79
Cultural Hybridization	81
3. Some Implications for Education	83
4. Are Globalization and Democracy Compatible and Complementary?	88
Chapter III: EUROPEAN INTEGRATION	93
1. Historical Background to the Current Structure of the European Union	94
2. Current Structure of the European Union	97
3. Some Implications for Education	101
Chapter IV: DEMOCRACY AND THE CHALLENGES OF MARKET	112
CAPITALISM IN ROMANIA	
1. The 1989 Revolution	122
International Context	122
Internal Causes	125
2. Democratization and Economic Development, 1990 – 2008	131
Ion Iliescu and His Communist Politics, 1990 – 1996	132
The Electoral System	133
The Party System	134
The Communist Legacy of the NSF	138
Introducing the Free Market to Romania	145

Transition Continues: Emil Constantinescu and an Agenda for Change, 1996 – 2000	151
1996 – 2000 – Accelerated Liberalization of the Economy	155
The Return of the Communists? Ion Iliescu at his Third Presidential Mandate, 2000 – 2004	158
2000 – 2004 – Economic Macrostabilization Begins	161
“Live Well!” – Traian Basescu and Consolidation of Democracy, 2004 – 2008	163
2004 – 2008 – Macroeconomic Equilibrium	167
3. Issues and Controversies in Romanian Politics	168
Chapter V: MUSIC EDUCATION IN ROMANIA, 1864 – 1989	172
1. A Brief History of Music Education in Romania to 1989	172
2. The Public Music Education System, 1864 – 1947	174
3. Historical Background to the Installation of Soviet Influence, 1944 – 1947	181
4. Music Education During Communism, 1947 – 1989	182
The Reforming Process of the Public Sphere and the 1948 Educational Reform	183
Political and Cultural Relaxation, 1958 – 1965	191
The Ceausescu Era, 1965 – 1989	195
A Second Cultural Thaw	195
The Cultivation of Ceausescu’s Cult of Personality, 1971 – 1989	197

Chapter VI: THE GENERAL EDUCATION SYSTEM IN	206
POST-REVOLUTIONARY ROMANIA, 1990 – 2009	
1. The Current Structure of the Romanian Public Education System	207
Legislative and Operational Framework	207
Organization of the Schooling System	213
Conceptualizing Curriculum	218
Configuration of the National Curriculum	222
2. Deconstructing the Public Education System	223
3. Implications of the Bologna Declaration for the	235
Romanian Education System	
Quality Assurance Agencies and their Effects on	240
Romanian Public Education	
4. Teacher Training	245
Chapter VII: IMPLICATIONS OF DEMOCRATIZATION,	250
NEOLIBERALISM AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION	
FOR THE MUSIC EDUCATION SYSTEM IN	
POST-REVOLUTIONARY ROMANIA, 1990 – 2009	
1. The National School Music Education Curriculum (K – XII)	253
Signs of Democratization in the National Music Education System	253
Music Textbooks	265
Neoliberalism and School Music Curriculum and Practice	268
Objectives and Competencies	268
Evaluation and Assessment	272
Shortfalls of the National Music Curriculum	276

	The Need for Critical Awareness as a Curricular Goal	276
	Music Multiculturalism—an Oversight of Romanian Educational Authorities?	278
	Competitive Contests	283
2.	Music University Curriculum and Practice	285
	Implications of the Bologna Declaration for Romanian Higher Music Education	287
	Neoliberal Influences on Higher Music Education	291
	Quality Assurance Agencies and their Effects on the Romanian Higher Music Education System	298
3.	Private Music Education	299
4.	Teacher Training for Music Education	304
	Operational Framework for the Music Teacher Training Program	304
	Teacher Training with a Conservative Bent	307
	The meNet Project and its Possible Influences on the Romanian Music Teacher Training Program	309
5.	Conclusion	311
6.	Recommendations for Future Research	313
	APPENDICES	316
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	338
	VITA	387

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Description	Page
1a.	Romania's Current Political and Governmental Structure	116
1b.	Party Structure	117
2.	The Structure of the National Salvation Front	141
3.	The Structure of the Public Education System Following the 1864 Reform	177
4.	The Structure of the Public Education System	199
5.	The Structure of the Ministry of Education	209
6.	Percentage of GDP spent on Public Education in Romania, 2000 – 2007	213
7.	Structure of the Education System	214
8.	Structure of the National Curriculum	223

LIST OF APPENDICES

	Page
1. Appendix A: Music Education Curriculum for grades I to IV	316
Music Education Curriculum for Grade I: Reference Objectives and Learning Activities	316
Music Education Curriculum for Grade II: Reference Objectives and Learning Activities	317
Music Education Curriculum for Grade III: Reference Objectives and Learning Activities	318
Music Education Curriculum for Grade IV: Reference Objectives and Learning Activities	319
Song Repertoire for Elementary Students (Suggestions)	320
Music Appreciation Repertoire for Elementary Students (Suggestions)	318
2. Appendix B: Music Education Curriculum for grades V to VIII	322
Music Education Curriculum for Grade V: Reference Objectives and Learning Activities	322
Music Education Curriculum for Grade VI: Reference Objectives and Learning Activities	323
Music Education Curriculum for Grade VII: Reference Objectives and Learning Activities	324
Music Education Curriculum for Grade VIII: Reference Objectives and Learning Activities	326
Song Repertoire for Gymnasium Students (Suggestions)	327
Music Appreciation Repertoire for Gymnasium Students (Suggestions)	328

3.	Appendix C: Music Education Curriculum for Grades IX to XII	331
	Music Education Curriculum for Grade IX: Specific Competencies and Contents	331
	Music Education Curriculum for Grade X: Specific Competencies and Contents	332
	Music Education Curriculum for Grade XI: Specific Competencies and Contents	333
	Songs and Themes Sung in Unison	334
	Music Appreciation Repertoire for High School Students (Suggestions)	335
	Choral Repertoire for High School Students (Suggestions)	337

INTRODUCTION

The demise of the communist regime in 1989 has opened for Romania new opportunities for political, economic, cultural, and educational discourses. The process of fundamental transformation of Romania from a communist, centrally-planned society to the current democratic system of governance, however, has had both positive and negative consequences for Romanian society, including music education.¹ Similar to the other former communist countries aspiring to Western and European integration (e.g., Poland, Bulgaria) and caught in the cycle of globalizing processes, Romania, too, has had to pay a price. This study seeks to analyze the impacts of democratization, globalization and European integration on music education in Romanian schools and universities. In addressing this problem of political, economic and cultural transformations of the Romanian public music education system, this study examines the history and development of public music education from the installation of the communist regime in 1947 to the present liberal market economy and democratic system of governance.

Emphasis is placed in this case study on changes to government social, cultural and educational policy affecting music education at all levels and related to various perceived threats to national sovereignty and culture as Romania seeks greater political, economic and cultural integration with the Western democracies. Among other things, this study reveals how and to what extent educational deregulation and privatization as

¹ See Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003). See also Stiglitz' recently published book, *Making Globalization Work* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006); Jeffrey A. Frieden, *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006); and Jagdish Bhagwati, *In Defense of Globalization* (Oxford: University Press, 2004).

effects of globalization have impacted the status of music and music education in public schools and universities. Romania is currently experiencing many of the same problems as Canada and other Western countries that have committed to economic liberalization and Free Trade, albeit at a far more rapid pace. For example, Romania, too, has experienced job losses among people of all walks of life, including musicians and also music educators within the public education system. In Canada and other Western countries, unemployment is often seen in part as a result of corporate outsourcing of manufacturing to third world and other countries with cheaper labour. After 1989, Romania also experienced the closure of many industries that operated during communism or saw them sold for only a fraction of their worth. Following the transition to market capitalism, these companies were either judged inefficient because of obsolete technology or because they produced goods that were not in demand in the West (e.g., television sets, bicycles, weapons).² The resulting high rate of unemployment led many Romanians, and especially workers and university graduates, to emigrate in search of employment. In the past decade, Spain, for example, received thousands of Romanians of various educational backgrounds as seasonal workers in strawberry fields.³ The fear of unemployment has also driven students to either begin their university education or continue on to the graduate level abroad, thereby contributing to a brain drain (more

² Ana Maria Dobre and Ramona Coman, eds., *Romania si Integrarea Europeana*. The English version: *Romania and the European Integration* (Iasi: Institutul European, 2005), 272. Another reason for the closing of a number of industries that operated during communism was the dissolving of the common market for communist states after the fall of communism.

³ According to the Romanian Press Agency, *Media Fax*, and quoting the Spanish newspaper *El Pais*, Romanians are the main work force in Spanish agriculture, particularly in the strawberry fields. Of the total number of foreign workers in 2007 in Spain, more than half are Romanians. http://www.zf.ro/articol_146631/romanii_principala_fora_de_munca_pentru_culesul_capsunilor_in_spania.html (accessed November 3, 2007).

about this aspect later on).⁴

The exodus of professionals and workers has obviously impacted Romania's economy, education and health systems, including its music education program.⁵ The quality of the teaching-learning processes in both general and music public schools has been affected as many vacant teaching positions have had to be filled by individuals lacking appropriate educational backgrounds (i.e., university degrees). The lack of trained professionals has further contributed to a less valued public music education schooling among the population as the arts are now considered to be "frills" and not as serious or important to the education of the citizenry as had been the case during communism.⁶ At the same time, the country has experienced increasing growth in private music schools and universities that are marketed aggressively in the media. The intention of these private institutions is to make inroads into the public and educational space previously reserved for public music schools and universities, thereby potentially undermining public support and funding for the public education system. Ironically, however, while private general schools with music education programs such as the American International School of Bucharest or the British School of Bucharest are committed to achieving sound educational objectives and are held in high regard by parents, there is reason to believe that the status of private music universities among the wider public is

⁴ See Caglar Ozden and Maurice Schiff, eds., *International Migration, Remittances and the Brain Drain* (Washington, DC: World Bank, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006). See also Jonathon W. Moses, *International Migration: Globalization's Last Frontier* (New York: Zed Books, 2006).

⁵ The exodus of Romanian workers to Western countries such as Spain, Germany and Italy has, ironically, led Romanian companies to hire workers from countries poorer than Romania on jobs refused by Romanians and paid with minimum wage (e.g., Turkey, Pakistan, and even China). <http://www.wall-street.ro/articol/Economie/22174/Dupa-exodul-mainii-de-lucru-Romania-cauta-muncitori-straini.html> (accessed January 7, 2008).

⁶ "Desi isi Pune Semnatura pe Programe, Pentru Adomnitei nu Exista Disciplina Educatie Muzicala." The English version: "Although Adomnitei [former Minister of Education] Approves School Curricula, He Does Not Consider Music Education as a Worthy School Subject." <http://stiri.rol.ro/content/view/102539/2/> (accessed May 5, 2009).

lower than that of most public music universities.⁷ In a recent speech, Prime Minister Calin Popescu-Tariceanu has expressed awareness of the low quality of training some private universities are offering to their students as compared to public educational institutions. Tariceanu has also been critical of these universities granting “diplomas” (degrees) “to students whose level of training [upon graduation] is lower than their public universities’ counterparts.”⁸

One good reason why public universities are held in higher regard than many private ones is that public education in Romania, including music education, has a long tradition of excellence, and particularly with respect to performance training.⁹ Another possible reason why those private universities (including music ones) are viewed by the population as being less prestigious than public ones is that many of them are assumed to have been established primarily for financial gain rather than for the pursuit of educational excellence. According to one source, of the huge number of private universities of all specializations launched after 1990 (there were more than one hundred universities in 1996) only a few are committed to achieving sound educational

⁷ www.wes.org (World Education Services website). World Education Services is a non-profit organization, “specializing in foreign credential evaluation.” This organization evaluates academic credentials earned outside Canada and the United States and facilitates integration of individuals with foreign educational backgrounds into the work force of the adopting country. “WES is member of the Alliance of the Credential Evaluation Services of Canada (ACESC) and a charter member of the National Association of Credential Evaluation Services (NACES).” WES is funded, in part, by the Ontario government. See also “Universitatile Private in Vizor.USR Sfatuieste Absolventii de Liceu sa Ocoleasca Facultatile Particulare.” The English version: “Private Universities under Scrutiny: USR Advises High School Graduates to Avoid Enrollment in Private Universities,” *Gardianul* (May 27, 2009). <http://www.gardianul.ro/Universitatile-private,-in-vizor.-USR-sfatuieste-absolventii-de-liceu-sa-ocoleasca-facultatile-particulare--s135835.html> (accessed July 13, 2009).

⁸ “Tariceanu este Nemultumit de Unele Universitati Particulare.” The English version: “Tariceanu is Displeased with Some Private Universities,” *Adevarul* (February 14, 2008). www.adevarul.ro (accessed April 9, 2008).

⁹ Sorin Iordache, “1000 de Euro un An de Studiu la Conservator.” The English version: “1000 Euros per Year of Study at the Bucharest Conservatory [i.e., The National University of Music in Bucharest],” *Adevarul* (July 19, 2007). www.adevarul.ro (accessed April 9, 2008).

objectives.¹⁰ Not only are most private universities assumed to have been established primarily for financial gain but, according to some critics, their founders and faculty often lack the appropriate knowledge, academic credentials or motivation to create and maintain an academic environment conducive to excellence. These institutions have even been accused of deliberately setting low standards so that even weak students can pass and justify tuition costs.¹¹

Regrettably, and owing to lack of government funding, some public universities are also now evidently succumbing to “golden fever” as they seek to maintain their financial viability in the face of government cutbacks.¹² This has reportedly led to a reduction in the quality of education as those public institutions have had to lower their admission standards to attract more students.¹³ Unfortunately, many of these students are apparently ill-prepared for university studies. According to Dan Cezar Buciu, former Dean of the Faculty of Pedagogy within the National University of Music in Bucharest, this lack of student preparedness for academic and musical studies in public universities is attributable to the “low quality of teaching in music high schools and the lack of

¹⁰ Melania Mandas Vergu, “Studentul de la Stat sau Studentul de la Privat, Victime ale Goanei dupa Aur.” The English version: “Public and Private University Students, Victims of the Golden Fever.” www.gandul.info/supliment-scoala (accessed February 13, 2008). *Gandul* is a Romanian newspaper.

¹¹ Vergu, “Doctori cu Arginti” (January 18, 2008). The English version: “Doctors who Take Bribe.” www.gandul.info (accessed February 13, 2008).

¹² Ibid. See also Adrian Hatos, *Sociologia Educatiei*. The English version: *The Sociology of Education*, 2nd ed. (Iasi: Editura Polirom, 2006), 105. In analyzing a report of the European Commission on the state of public education in countries members of, or aspiring to, the European Union, Hatos observes that Romanian public education is under funded, as compared with other European countries. This reduction in state financial support, argues Hatos, is attributable to the slow implementation and development of economic reforms, but also to the allocation of only a small fraction of the national gross domestic product (GDP) for education. For example, in 2001, Romanian education receives only 3, 3 percent of GDP, whereas Sweden and Denmark are allotted 8, 5 percent while the average for the rest of the EU countries is of 6percent.

¹³ Of the total number of both private and public universities, two thirds can be lumped in the low standard and teaching-learning quality category. www.gandul.info/supliment-scoala (accessed February 13, 2008).

parental supervision of their children's schooling requirements."¹⁴ The lack of government funding coupled with students' weak training has also resulted in a reduction in the number of state-subsidized university students, as only high achieving students are eligible for financial support. While during the communist regime most if not all students were supported by the state, most of today's students have to pay tuition fees.

Unfortunately, graduates of both public and private universities are likely to be successful in obtaining employment in the public music education system in which there is often a short supply of teachers. And of course, as these students' training decreases in quality, so too will the quality of the music education workforce and also of public school music programs, while the academically better qualified Romanian musicians and teachers will choose to emigrate for more attractive and better paid employment opportunities. Most graduates of both private and public universities, however, will be consigned to teach in public schools and in the less well-established private schools. And as music education in Romania continues to deteriorate, parents will direct their children's educational interests toward more marketable jobs such as in finance and mass-media.¹⁵

As is also documented and explained in this study, other changes resulting from the impact of globalization and European integration on Romania's public music education system since that country was granted membership in the EU in January 2007

¹⁴ Iordache, "1000 de Euro un An de Studiu la Conservator."

¹⁵ Mihaela Singer and Ligia Sarivan, eds., *Quo Vadis, Academia? Repere Pentru o Reforma de Profunzime in Invatamantul Superior*. The English version: *Quo Vadis Academia? Framework for a Reform of Higher Education* (Bucuresti: Editura Sigma, 2006), 224. See also <http://agenda.liternet.ro/articol/3776/Dan-Scurtulescu/Pentru-o-reforma-nu-doar-cosmetica-a-invatomantului-muzical.html> (accessed January 9, 2008).

include the imposition of universal European educational standards and degree criteria.¹⁶

It is important for Romanians and others to understand what the imposition of pan-European policies and educational standards will mean for music education and the country for the foreseeable future.

Related concerns affecting Romanian music education that are explored in this study include the imposition and impact of various accountability measures on schools and universities by the Romanian Agency for Quality Assurance, changes to immigration policy affecting music in public schools (i.e., multiculturalism) and changes in public musical tastes and sensibilities as various types of popular music, which were frowned upon by the former communist regime, are aggressively marketed to Romanians. These changes in public musical tastes also threaten Romanian music education in schools and universities programs as the music taught there becomes increasingly irrelevant to the masses.¹⁷

My own Master's thesis documenting *A History of the National University of Music in Bucharest, 1864 – 2003*, with an emphasis on the period just before and immediately after the overthrow of the communist regime in 1989, serves as departure and base for this study.¹⁸

¹⁶ Ibid. The common degree criteria and university educational standards are results of the Bologna conference on reforming higher education within the European Union, held in May 2005. Twenty-nine countries, including Romania, signed the Bologna Declaration.
www.ec.europa.eu/education/policies/educ/bologna (accessed January 14, 2008).

¹⁷ This problem is similar in other Western countries, including the United Kingdom and Canada. Such agencies in Ontario, for instance, include the Educational Quality and Assurance Department, the Postsecondary Education Quality Assessment Board, The Ontario Council on Graduate Studies, and Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario. See www.cicic.ca.

¹⁸ Daniela Bute, *A History of the National University of Music in Bucharest, 1864-2003*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, 2004, The University of Western Ontario, Canada. The main purpose of the thesis was to document the evolution of the National University of Music in Bucharest, previously known as the Conservatory of Music, from its foundation in 1864 and up to 2003. Prior to the 1989 Revolution, the Conservatory of Music in Bucharest was the leading music education institution in the country. Since

METHODOLOGY

This dissertation takes a case study methodological approach to analyzing and understanding educational reforms affecting public music education in Romania since the 1989 Revolution, when the former communist regime was overthrown by a new government purportedly aspiring to democratic ideals. Since that year and continuing to the present, successive Romanian governments have been attempting to adapt the national music education system to the realities of globalization, European integration and democratization insomuch as they made efforts to promote, among other things, a greater access to the study of music for all, equality of opportunity by encouraging privatization and student and teacher mobility through diploma recognition programs.

In analyzing the impacts of democratization, globalization and European integration on the Romanian music education system over the course of the last two decades, this study seeks to address questions such as “What do democratization, globalization and Europeanization mean and entail for Romanian education in general and for music education in particular?” “In what ways does the curriculum reflect the changes in society, the economy, politics and culture?” “How are changes to government policy, Ministry of Education and Research regulations and National Music Curriculum affecting the place and value of music education in schools?” “What curricula or instructional models for improving and aligning the music curriculum to Western and European standards have been made as Romanian music academics and educators seek to grapple with the challenges of contemporary market capitalist society?”

1989, it has shared leadership in musical excellence with the “Gheorghe Dima” Conservatory of Music in Cluj.

These and other research questions are to be approached from a methodological approach that blends a case study analysis with historical examination of the political, economic, social, cultural and educational developments that shaped the terrain of music education in Romania since 1989 and until the present day. The case study method has been deemed most suitable for the purpose of this dissertation because it seeks to present the “uniqueness” and the “complexities” of a situation, “its embeddedness and interaction with its contexts.”¹⁹ Therefore, as a case study of the Romanian music education system, this dissertation seeks to shed light on, and to provide explanations for, *particular* economic, political, cultural and educational phenomena that shaped Romania and its public music education system in the period immediately following the Revolution in 1989 and up to the present day.²⁰ The ultimate goal herein is to reach a greater and better understanding of the Romanian public music education since the Revolution in 1989 as the country seeks to re-integrate with Europe.

As a blending of historical and political analyses, this dissertation will also seek to document, analyze and, where appropriate, critique the social, cultural and other educational factors shaping the structure and development of the music education system throughout the last two decades.²¹ From a historical analysis standpoint, this study seeks “to explain change and divergence from existing paths as well as continuity” and thereby to help clarify current developments in the Romanian music education.²² For example, the use of traditional teaching methods in schools based on regurgitation of information and

¹⁹ Robert E. Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research* (London: SAGE Publications, 1995), 16.

²⁰ Meredith D. Gall, Joyce P. Gall and Walter R. Borg, *Educational Research: An Introduction* (New York: Pearson, 2007), 447, 452.

²¹ See Gregory M. Scoot and Stephen M. Garrison, *The Political Science Student Writer's Manual*, 5th ed. (Prentice Hall: NJ, Upper Saddle River, 2006).

²² Rudolf Klein and Theodore R. Marmor, “Reflections on Policy Analysis,” in Michael Moran, Martin Rein and Robert E. Goodin, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 903.

the conservatism of music teacher programs that still emphasize a skill-based education devoid of social and cultural dimensions are explained as reminiscent of the communist period and as resistance on the part of the great majority of teachers and authorities to change. On the other hand, in the past two decades Romanian music education has also undergone several major transformations to its institutional structure in response to political developments. These include accessibility for all to music study, privatization of educational institutions, deregulation of education and decentralization and relegation of decision-making to local school levels. These changes indicate a departure from the existing educational policies as the country seeks greater interdependence with Western democracies.

The political science approach is thought to help explain the origins and implications of various types of policy forces on the development of the music education system. For example, theories of classical liberalism, egalitarianism and neoliberalism that are framing educational policy reforms at government levels in Romania are also examined to put the evolution and development of the national music education system into larger perspective. An account of the country's parliamentary system and the structure of its various political parties is also presented to help readers understand politics under the current government in Romania and to relate it to other political and educational systems in North-America and Europe.

The evolution of the music education system in Romania and changes to its institutional and educational structure are to be examined with reference to comparable developments in British and North-American educational and political systems. Many of the changes to Romania's society and culture were, or continue to be, mirrored in those Western countries, including, for example, the decline of orchestras and music education

contrasted by the rise of popular music. There is much that Romanian music education can learn from these countries and perhaps vice versa. The current study may thus help North-American and British music educators better understand their own dilemmas as they, too, grapple with the consequences of radical change and global developments.

The aim of this methodological approach is to contribute to the sparse research literature in this area of national music education policy. As Samuel Hope states, “policy frameworks and their influences constitute one of the less studied subjects in music education research.”²³ Thus the importance of this case study to the field of music education policy research primarily in Europe but also with potential implications for other education systems the world over.

Among important sources consulted for the study are documents of governmental agencies such as Quality Assurance Agencies and policy documents of the Ministry of Education (e.g., Government Regulation Program for the Period 2000–2004, the Organic Regulation Act of 1995; the 1993 Law regarding the establishment and accreditation of private educational institutions; and the National Music Curriculum for each grade). Other primary sources examined are reports on the evolution of the Romanian education system by Romanian and European officials such as *Country Report: European Conference of the Ministers of Education* (Berlin, 2003), *Report of the National Bank of Romania* on the evolution and prospects of the Romanian economy, *Reports on the State of Education in Romania* for 2005, 2006 and 2007, government reports on the impact and influence of popular music genres on students’ behavior, and *Communication from the*

²³ Samuel Hope, “Policy Frameworks, Research, and K-12 Schooling,” in Richard Colwell and Carol Richardson, eds., *The New Handbook of Research on Music Teaching and Learning: a Project of the Music Educators National Conference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 7.

Commission to the Council and the European Parliament: Improving the Quality of Teacher Education. The 2002–2003 Calendar of the National University of Music in Bucharest and other official documents attesting changes brought to the institutional structure of the National University of Music in Bucharest, for example, are also analyzed. Secondary sources included music textbooks, and economic, political, and historical works listed in the bibliography section. Various journal articles and newspapers and dictionaries were also consulted.

Electronic sites of Romanian official governing bodies such as the Ministry of Education (www.edu.ro) and the official site of the Romanian Government (www.guv.ro) were also used for obtaining information on curriculum content for each grade and for addressing current political and educational regulations affecting the operation of the music education system in state-supported schools. Other electronic sources include journals of the Romanian education system (www.tribunainvatamantului.ro, www.scoala-mea.com/scoli-particulare.html), newspapers (*Adevarul*, *Gardianul*, *Gandul*) websites created for major events that took place in Romania such as presidential and parliamentary elections and referenda (www.elections2008.ro) and European Union websites with respect to the state of education in Romania and other member countries.

CHAPTER I

CONCEPTUALIZING DEMOCRATIZATION

For Romania, communism was *the* key word for almost forty years, since 1947 when the communists assumed control over the country's governance and proclaimed it a Socialist Republic and until 1989 when they were overthrown by a popular revolt. With the outbreak of the 1989 revolution, the introduction of democracy, and concurrent with the popularity of postmodern theory in the 1980s, the downfall of communism contributed to a decline in the "rule" of regional, territorial, and economic self-sufficiency and, according to some critics, in national cultural and educational values.¹ Post-communist societies are now perceived as remapping their boundaries in order to rejoin the Western world. In this process of reintegration within the larger social, economic, political and educational world systems, post-communist societies experience and even reiterate the Western world's financial crises and high levels of unemployment. In Romania and the rest of the former Soviet communist Bloc countries aspiring to a capitalist free market economy, the communist concept has been recently replaced with the notions of economic integration and free trade, more commonly known as globalization.

Many people tend to assume that the key concepts underlining this study (i.e., democratization, globalization and European integration) are closely interrelated, if not virtually synonymous (as with the case of democracy and globalization). For this reason,

¹ For the effects of consumer culture on children and adults, see, for example, Benjamin Barber's recent book, *Consumed: How Markets Corrupt Children, Infantilize Adults, and Swallow Citizens Whole* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007).

and because political pundits in fact disagree whether the latter are “compatible and complementary,” it is important that we begin by examining what each concept means and entails for Romania and other countries.² As shall become clear to the reader, there are important distinctions that should be made between democracy and globalization. China, for example, has been more economically successful than many other countries owing to its centralized government’s recognition of globalizing trends and of the advantages of openness to the world market.³ Yet it is not a democracy. Thus the importance of distinguishing between democracy and globalization and between democracy and capitalism and of applying those understandings to the Romanian context.

Democracy may not be tantamount to globalization, but democratization processes, especially in countries that were formerly members of the Soviet communist Bloc, may nonetheless be prompted by globalization or the opening and unrestricted access to communication channels, information and technology of the Western world. With the overthrow of the communist regime in 1989 and the subsequent conversion to capitalist market principles, Romania too, has made its first attempts toward integration into the wider global world. Effects of globalization and European integration processes include price and trade liberalization, privatization of industry and other manufacturing enterprises, reform of the banking, fiscal and monetary systems, the implementation of a realistic (i.e., as related to the Western market) currency exchange system, restructuring of the education system (including music education), and the introduction of private educational institutions. With the first democratic elections held in May 1990, Romania

² Kavaljit Singh, *Questioning Globalization* (New York: Zed Books, 2005), 17.

³ See Jian Chen and Shuje Yao, eds., *Globalization, Competition and Growth in China* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

has also made its first attempt to pursue democratic ideals and to implement a European democratic model of governance.⁴ In order to approach an understanding of Romanian democratic reforms and the current structure of government in that country, however, it is first necessary to attempt to define what democracy means and to consider several prominent democratic models and their grounding theories. Once that has been accomplished, readers will be better able to understand the Romanian reforms and changes to its government's structure relative to other countries such as Canada, France, and the United States. As the reader will learn, there are certain similarities among these countries but also important differences with respect to governmental structures and conceptions of democracy. These structural and other differences can exacerbate or ameliorate the impacts of globalizing trends on music education in those countries.

Democracy – A Definition

As defined by the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary*, democracy is both “a system of government by the whole population or all the eligible members of a state, typically through elected representatives” and “a classless and tolerant form of society.”⁵ This basic definition implies that citizens of a country are guaranteed “freedom of speech” and thought, “rule of law,” individual rights, “equitable distribution of wealth, income and resources, restraining privileges of elites . . . the right to choose alternatives, and safeguarding the rights of minorities as an abiding faith of pluralism.”⁶ More simply put,

⁴ See Adrian Marino, *Pentru Europa: Integrarea Romaniei: Aspecte Ideologice si Culturale*. The English version: *Ideological and Cultural Aspects Regarding Romania's European Integration* (Iasi: Polirom, 2005).

⁵ Katherine Barber, ed., *Canadian Oxford Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford University Press, 2004), s.v. “Democracy.”

⁶ Singh, *Questioning Globalization*, 99.

democracy means political and party pluralism and representative government based on regular, fair and free elections that offer at specific periods of time changes in leadership and power.⁷ Political analysts consider that, at least in theory, assessment of all of the aforementioned characteristics should provide insight into the quality of the democratic paradigm by confirming whether or to what extent democratization processes are at work.⁸ Thus one of the purposes of this study which attempts to examine and assess some of the direct and indirect impacts of the process of democratization on Romania as they relate to music education in that country.

As is shortly discussed, however, many theoreticians and political analysts question the concept of democracy and its desirability for all nations.⁹ For example, one major argument against democracy relates to the increasing number of situations of unequal treatment of minorities and ethnic factions, in extreme cases resulting in ethnic cleansing that led, in Yugoslavia's case, to the dissolution of the country into several small states.¹⁰ Ethnic and religious conflicts continue to simmer in other parts of the world that aspire to democracy, such as in Afghanistan and Iraq, where, if left unchecked, either ethnic minorities or majorities may attempt to rule tyrannically.¹¹ This is one reason why it is important to clarify what democracy means and entails, lest it might only

⁷ Anthony H. Birch, *The Concepts and Theories of Modern Democracy* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 110. See also Frank Cunningham, *Theories of Democracy: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2002) and Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).

⁸ See Larry Diamond and Leonard Morlino, eds., *Assessing the Quality of Democracy* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

⁹ See Philip Green, "'Democracy' as a Contested Idea," in Philip Green, ed., *Democracy: Key Concepts in Critical Theory* (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1993).

¹⁰ Michael Mann, *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 2. See also Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc. [1835/1840], 2000), for more information on the tyranny of majority; as De Tocqueville coined the term.

contribute to inequality and injustice.

Democratic Principles

In the 1980s, Robert Dahl proposed a list of key “procedural minimal conditions” that a country had to fulfil in order to be called a democracy.¹² These criteria include citizenship, the rule of law, separation of powers (i.e., legislative versus executive), free and fair elections, freedom of expression, associational autonomy, and civilian control of “military and police forces.”¹³ Dahl’s minimal conditions can be reduced to attainment of at least three major principles directly related to the democratic discourse: 1) equality of opportunity; 2) participation in democratic processes; and 3) right of choice. There is a high degree of consensus among political analysts that these conditions are necessary for a solid democracy.¹⁴ The notion of democracy, including the attainment of the three democratic principles is, of course, an ideal. No society is entirely democratic. There are, however, degrees of achievement of democratic principles that can be assessed as a means of gauging the quality of democratic processes in a particular country or political context (e.g., how people participate in national referenda, how elections are held, their fairness and openness, etc.).

With the overthrow of communism in 1989 and the instalment of a democratic system of government following the elections of May 1990, Romania has in principle offered its citizens the democratic prerogatives of freedom of mind and expression,

¹² Robert Dahl, *Dilemmas of Pluralist Democracy: Autonomy vs. Control* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 6, 11.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 10-11. See also Roland Axtmann, ed., *Balancing Democracy* (New York: Continuum, 2001), 21.

¹⁴ Michael Margolis, *Viable Democracy* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1979), Birch, *The Concepts and Theories of Modern Democracy* and David Estlund, ed., *Democracy* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 2002).

equality of opportunity and right of choice. As will be discussed shortly, however, the government does not necessarily act in accordance with these principles. For example, the government's eschewing of public accountability with respect to freedom of information in accessing former communist archives about the political past of its current members, or more recently the possible misuse of public tax money, casts doubt on the status of democratic processes in Romania.¹⁵

Economist and political scientist Joseph Schumpeter argues that it is important for governments to have a relative degree of freedom from public examination in order for democracy to be achieved.¹⁶ In his vision, democracy is a method or an "institutional arrangement" among political elites in the making of political decisions.¹⁷ It is a form of competition among political elites in which public opinion is eschewed or disdained. This school of thought, known as democratic elitism, is based on the ideas of influential economist and political philosopher Friedrich Hayek who, like Schumpeter, expressed distrust in involvement of public opinion in political and other governmental decision-making and who rejected "the ideal of collective self-rule."¹⁸ This, though, may not be democratic at all as it considers only the views of the governing elite as important in decision-making, at the expense of the vast majority of average citizens.¹⁹ From this

¹⁵ Vladimir Tismaneanu, "Este Nevoie de Transparenta Morala in Romania." The English version: "Romania Needs Moral Transparency." www.bloombiz.ro (accessed February 13, 2008). See also Tismaneanu, *Democratie si Memorie*. The English version: *Democracy and Memory* (Bucuresti: Curtea Veche Publishing, 2006).

¹⁶ Joseph A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, 5th ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1976). See also Cunningham, *Theories of Democracy*, 25.

¹⁷ Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, 269. See also John Medearis, *Joseph Schumpeter's Two Theories of Democracy* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001), 1.

¹⁸ April Carter and Geoffrey Stokes, eds., *Liberal Democracy and Its Critics: Perspectives in Contemporary Political Thought* (Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1998), 3. See also Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* and Friederich Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

¹⁹ Carter and Stokes, eds., *Liberal Democracy and Its Critics*, 3.

meritocratic and elitist democratic perspective, decision making leadership should be based on individuals' abilities and achievements rather than on class privilege, wealth or political allegiance. To this meritocratic perspective critics respond that it is almost impossible to separate merit from privilege in the world of politics, as getting elected to government is an expensive undertaking and is often dependent on having the right family and political connections. More likely, merit plays a greater role in government at the level of departmental deputy ministers who are appointed, not elected, but who wield considerable power.²⁰ They arguably run the country.

Hayek's views on democratic elitism, classical liberalism, free-market capitalism and, of course, the reduced role of the state in society's affairs greatly influenced Margaret Thatcher's and Ronald Reagan's neoliberal political and governing agendas during the 1980s.²¹ This concept of democracy, commonly referred to today as neoliberalism, continues to be instrumental in shaping present day politics, including educational policy in most liberal democracies, and especially in the United States. Romania, too, aspires to be a liberal democracy and has been strongly influenced by neoliberal thinking.

Neoliberalism emerged in the 1970s especially in the economic writings of Hayek and Milton Friedman as a revival of nineteenth-century economic liberalism "linked up with a series of techniques . . . such as monetarization, marketization, enhancement of the

²⁰ Stuart White, *Equality* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 53-78. See also John Ralston Saul, *Voltaire's Bastards: The Dictatorship of Reason in the West* (New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1992).

²¹ See Daniel Yergin and Joseph Stanislaw, *The Commending Heights: The Battle Between Government and the Marketplace that is Remaking the Modern World* (New York: Simon & Shuster, 1998), 107. Hayek's book *The Constitution of Liberty* was the most influential text for Thatcher.

power of the consumer, financial accountability and audit.”²² Neoliberalism’s major tenets are built on classical liberal concepts of individual liberty, freedom of expression and laissez-faire market (more about classical liberalism later on), but also include emphasis on the self-interested individual and individual choice, the primacy of economic growth and the importance of unrestricted free trade to stimulate growth, and reduction in government expenditure and interference with market laws.²³

There are, however, critical differences between classical liberalism and neoliberalism reflected in the opposing views both ideologies hold with respect to the role of the state in society and the life of the individual, and the nature of individual freedom. As a more detailed analysis of classical liberalism is offered later on, a few conceptual differences between these two ideologies are offered here for the sake of conceptual clarity and to frame later discussion. According to Mark Olssen,

Whereas classical liberalism represents a negative conception of state power in that the individual was to be taken as an object to be freed from the interventions of the state, neo-liberalism has come to represent a positive conception of the state’s role in creating the appropriate market by providing the conditions, laws and institutions necessary for its operation. In classical liberalism, the individual is characterized as having an autonomous human nature and can practice freedom. In neo-liberalism, the state seeks to create an individual who is an enterprising and

²² Nicolas Rose quoted in John Beck, “Makeover or Takeover? The Strange Death of Educational Autonomy in Neo—Liberal England,” *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 20, 2 (June, 1999), 230. See Manfred B. Steger, *Globalism: The New Market Ideology* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002). See also John Rapley, *Globalization and Inequality: Neoliberalism’s Downward Spiral* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), 75-76.

²³ Steger, *Globalism*, 9. See also Rapley, *Globalization and Inequality*, 75-76.

competitive entrepreneur," in short, a business person.²⁴

Further, neoliberal governments apply this market-based view to virtually all aspects of life, including education. This obviously has important implications for public education insomuch as its purpose is no longer to create free thinking and broadly educated citizens but to train children for future employment. The purpose of education becomes primarily economic, while education becomes virtually synonymous with job training. Educational quality is also assessed in market-related terms and using business methods or formulas.

Awareness of the particular characteristics of neoliberalism is thus crucial to "understanding the politics of education" and their impacts upon education the world over, and including music education in Romania.²⁵ From a neoliberal perspective, the manipulation or control of the individual in educational institutions is usually accomplished through a combination of "marketized individualism and control through public assessment" and the introduction of performance indicators and standardized tests to give evidence of a school's performance.²⁶ Public institutions are also expected to do more with less, meaning that they should be streamlined and made more efficient in significant part through reductions in funding. Indeed, neoliberals often prefer to privatize public institutions and crown corporations as one means of reducing taxes and in the name of efficiency. As a result of implementing neoliberal policies, Thatcher's Britain, for example, suffered severe cuts to its education and health programs, coupled with the privatization of state-owned industries.

²⁴ Mark Olssen, "In Defense of the Welfare State and of Publicly Provided Education," *Journal of Education Policy* 11, 3 (1996), 340. See also Michael W. Apple, "Creating Difference: Neo-Liberalism, Neo-Conservatism and the Politics of Educational Reform," *Educational Policy* 18, 1 (January and March 2004), 20.

²⁵ Apple, "Creating Difference," 20.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.

Following her instalment as Britain's Prime Minister in 1979, Thatcher began to cut government expenditure to the economy and to social programs.²⁷ A follower of Adam Smith's theory on the self-regulating hand of the market, Thatcher believed that less government intervention in the market might help rejuvenate the economy which, at the time, was in dire straits.²⁸ The reforms, however, did not bring the expected economic growth that Britain had enjoyed in the period following World War II.²⁹ After Thatcher came to power, Britain underwent some recovery and economic growth, along with other capitalist states (between 1982 and 1987).³⁰ In Thatcher's case, however, it is not at all clear to what extent her reforms actually revitalized the British economy since that economic recovery was largely financed by the sale of state industries and property (e.g., electricity and telecommunications, British Aerospace, Britoil and The National Freight Company) and less so by growth in the Gross National Product.³¹ This was a move that neither she nor subsequent governments could repeat.³² Toward the end of the 1980s, her government started its downward spiral and Thatcher herself was "ousted from premiership" in 1990.³³

Thatcher's downfall was primarily caused by the radical stance her government adopted with respect to various political, economic and social reforms. Among key policies and events that contributed to her downfall were the downloading of taxes to

²⁷ Yergin and Stanislaw, *The Commending Heights*, 108, 111.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 111.

²⁹ See Andrew Gamble, *The Free Economy and the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism*, 2nd ed. (London: The Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1994).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 120.

³¹ See Mark Garnett, *Principles and Politics in Contemporary Britain*, 2nd ed. (Exeter, UK: Imprint Academic, 2006).

³² Desmond King and Stewart Wood, "The Political Economy of Neoliberalism: Britain and the United States in the 1980s," in Herbert Kitschelt, Peter Lange, Gary Marks and John D. Stephens, eds., *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 380.

³³ Gamble, *The Free Economy and the Strong State: The Politics of Thatcherism*, 130.

municipalities, the imposition of a poll tax or community charge (based on the number of individuals living in a house) that shifted the burden of paying taxes from the rich to the poor, and disagreements and eventually a split among the leading Conservative Party members with respect to European Community policies. Thatcher and her followers feared a loss of national independence if the United Kingdom joined the Economic European Community (Thatcher also resisted membership in the European Monetary Union). Other factors that contributed to her downfall included the collapse of the economic boom of the mid-1980s and a huge rise in unemployment rates (e.g., from 1.2 million in 1979 to over 3 million in 1982).³⁴

The Thatcher Government also designed policies to reform education and the national health system that were consistent with her political ideology. Educational reforms, for example, aimed to decentralize funding and to place the burden of budget adjustments and spending on school boards. With respect to changes to the national health system, private health insurance was proposed and strongly encouraged, although it was obvious even for reform proponents that unemployed and low-paid people were unable to afford them. As was the case in education, hospitals also had to struggle with budgets and to compete for patients.³⁵ In both the education and health systems, these reforms diverted teachers and doctors from their real work by assigning them various administrative tasks. As expected, this led not just to bureaucratization but also to increasing dissatisfaction among these professions and among the populace.³⁶ Ultimately, government's attempt to establish a private health care system was unsuccessful because of high costs for both

³⁴ Ibid, 132-133. See also Garnett, *Principles and Politics in Contemporary Britain*, 115.

³⁵ Paul Pierson, *Dismantling the Welfare State? Reagan, Thatcher, and the Politics of Retrenchment* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 132-133.

³⁶ Garnett, *Principles and Politics in Contemporary Britain*, 125.

potential patients and for government, both of which would have made the Conservatives highly unpopular.³⁷ The political debates that these reforms provoked eventually divided the cabinet, contributed to the disorganization of the party and were shown to be undemocratic as the governing elite acted to protect their own political and financial interests.

When government by an elite acts in self-interest and it results in a departure of policy development and implementation from the initial values and aims that were to serve the whole population, bureaucracy is often the result. This is because the elite, in attempting to avoid accountability, may pass governmental functions on to various semi-autonomous governmental agencies. This is ironic considering that neoliberals claim to be against large and inefficient government.

Neoliberals' support of small government draws upon Edmund Burke's (1729 – 1797) view of the state as the potential enemy of freedom and self-reliance when given too much power.³⁸ The concept of the minimal state is also linked with a distinctive view of civil society “as a self-generating mechanism of social solidarity.”³⁹ The qualities of civil society, if left to regulate itself, include “good character, honesty, duty, self-sacrifice . . . patriotism.”⁴⁰ Markets too, if left to their own devices, are considered to deliver continuous growth, while intervention in social, economic and civic matters is deemed harmful to civil order and the cause of all evil in society and in the economy. From a neoliberal perspective, the welfare state

³⁷ Pierson, *Dismantling the Welfare State*, 134.

³⁸ See also Frank O’Gorman, *British Conservatism: Conservative Thought from Burke to Thatcher* (New York: Longman, 1986).

³⁹ Anthony Giddens, *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2000), 11.

⁴⁰ John Gray, *Enlightenment’s Wake* (London: Routledge, 1997), 103 quoted in Giddens, *The Third Way*, 12.

wreaks enormously destructive harm on its supposed beneficiaries: the vulnerable, the disadvantaged and the unfortunate . . . cripples the enterprising, self-reliant spirit of individual men and women, and lays a depth charge of explosive resentment under the foundations of our free society.⁴¹

This confidence in the power of market forces to deliver the greatest good to society is also shared by neoconservatives who are allied with neoliberals. Other prominent values shared by both neoliberals and neoconservatives are respect for discipline and authority of tradition, which includes protection of the family, the nation and religion, opposition to big government and the welfare state and indifference to economic inequalities.⁴² Indeed, some critics charge that neoliberals and their neoconservative allies do not really believe in egalitarianism for the reason that a commitment to unfettered capitalism and free market will result in a Darwinian survival of the fittest society in which the rich get richer and the poor poorer. To the extent that neoliberal ideology contributes to social, economic and educational inequalities, neoliberalism can be said to be not really democratic at all.

⁴¹ Quotation from David Marsland, *Welfare or Warfare State?* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 197, in Giddens, *The Third Way*, 13.

⁴² Michael J. Thompson, "America's Conservative Landscape: The New Conservatism and the Reorientation of American Democracy," in Michael J. Thompson, ed., *Confronting the New Conservatism: The Rise of the Right in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 9. See also Stanley Aronowitz, "Considerations on the Origins of Neoconservatism: Looking Backward," in Thompson, ed. *Confronting the New Conservatism*, 58. The emphasis on the preservation of family and the institution of marriage is particularly important to neoconservatives who consider it best achieved if left to develop alone, without outside interference. This interest in maintaining traditional family values emerged as a response to the rise of feminism and its call for a radical transformation in relations between the sexes. This traditional view, of course, does not include single-member families or homosexual ones, which are considered a threat to society and to the nation. Paradoxically, however, and although neoconservative and neoliberal ideologies overlap significantly (e.g., commitment to the market and indifference to economic inequalities), they are in several respects contradictory. For example, neoconservatives tend to be more interested in national defense and foreign policy (particularly with respect to the preservation of the nation) and in promoting religious values, especially Christian ones, than are neoliberals. Paradoxically, and despite these inherent contradictions, some individuals such as President George W. Bush hold both neoliberal and neoconservative values.

Democracy, of course, should ideally contribute to equality in rights and economic and political outcomes. It should also entail more than elite political competition and the pursuit of self or class interest. Nonetheless, most current political programming on television, radio and the internet, and also articles in print media primarily represent the views of the political elite for discussion. Ordinary citizens are seldom invited, consulted or meaningfully represented in political debates, including, for example, discussions about Global Free Trade.⁴³ In Romania, for example, it is usually only the political elite (e.g., President Traian Basescu, Prime Minister Calin-Popescu Tariceanu, Minister of Transportation Ludovic Orban, and individuals such as former Prime Minister Adrian Nastase) who are asked to debate the country's political and other issues on public television, while employment is often based on family relationships and influence rather than on merit.⁴⁴ That, coupled with the wide gaps between the poor and the rich, and the lack of involvement of the populace in political, educational and other decision making processes, causes some critics to argue that Romania is still not a democracy, except perhaps in the shallowest sense of voting rights.⁴⁵

But, if people do not have access to equal prospects for developing abilities and realizing their potentialities for competing for jobs or for expressing their unrestricted views on rules and regulations impacting the courses of their lives and of society, then individuals cannot be appropriately rewarded for their abilities and efforts. Nor can a democracy based on true merit be achieved. Given the centrality of the principle of

⁴³ Medearis, *Joseph Schumpeter's Two Theories of Democracy*, 2.

⁴⁴ Razvan Scorteia, "Romanian Leaders Clash on Live TV" (February 21, 2007). www.news.co.uk (accessed March 17, 2008).

⁴⁵ Mircea Geoana, *America, Europa si Modernizarea Romaniei: Fundamente pentru un Proiect Romanesc de Societate*. The English version: *America, Europe and the Modernization of Romania: Fundamentals for a Romanian Project of Society* (Bucuresti: Editura Economica, 2006).

equality of opportunity in this and other democratic schemes, it is only appropriate that we explore what this means or entails for any society claiming to be democratic.

Equality of Opportunity

This democratic prerequisite generally refers to equal rights before the law, equal access to decision-making processes, equal rights to vote and to run for office and other administrative, political and social positions, and equal participation in democratic processes. Thus, when assessing the state of democracy in any given country, it is appropriate to consider in what ways and to what degrees its citizens enjoy equality of opportunity.

The demand for equality has long been a concern for democratically minded politicians and philosophers. Philosopher John Dewey, for one, considered equality of access to shared decision-making with respect to collective values as a sign of democracy at work.⁴⁶ Individuals might not be equally intelligent or knowledgeable but were nevertheless entitled to equal treatment before the law and to have some say in the shaping of government and other policies and practices affecting them.⁴⁷ Dewey considered autocratic or authoritative social structures to be hostile to the very principles of democracy because they stifle independent thinking, suppress public enterprise, and are based on assumptions of superiority of race, wealth, religion, or political allegiances. He placed great emphasis on informed public opinion (without excluding other sources)

⁴⁶ John Dewey, "Democracy and Educational Administration," published in *School and Society* (April 3, 1937) and collected with other works in *Intelligence in the Modern World: John Dewey's Philosophy*, Joseph Ratner, ed. (New York: Modern Library, 1939), 404.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 403.

in judging whether political elites foster and promote common public interests.⁴⁸ If democracy was the end then equality was an important means to that end.

However, when carried to extremes, the principle of equality of opportunity may have harmful consequences for society if it contributes to a delegitimization of authority and cynically undermines respect for leadership.⁴⁹ When the population understands democratic prerogatives such as equality and liberty in expressing thoughts and ideas as libertarian actions (or the right to do and act as they consider right according to their own frames of reference and without regard for others with their similar rights), democracy is again suppressed.

There is also the question of equality of result, as equality of opportunity alone may only favour the privileged who have an unfair advantage over the poor and the marginalized. That is why equality of opportunity is sometimes coupled with affirmative action plans whose purpose is to remedy acts regarded as discriminatory and unfair to certain groups or individuals. More will also be said about this shortly in relation to liberal egalitarianism, which is a political ideology that is in several key respects at odds with neoliberalism.

Participation in Political Decision-Making

As just suggested, Dewey also believed that public participation was important to the democratic project. The principle of participatory democracy is based on the idea that individuals and their institutions cannot be regarded as separate from one another, and that the participation of the former in decision-making processes, be those political,

⁴⁸ Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems* (Chicago: Swallow Press, [1927] 1954).

⁴⁹ Cunningham, *Theories of Democracy*, 17.

social, or educational, is fundamental for democracy to be achieved.⁵⁰ Procedural aspects of this principle, however, have given much grist to the mill of political debates. Two views—the collectivist French versus the individualistic American—have generated various discussions on the nature of participatory democracy. The French perspective is particularly relevant to the present discussion because France has traditionally exerted considerable influence over Romania, at least in the nineteenth century and before the advent of communism in 1947.⁵¹

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712 – 1778) the theorist *par excellence* of participatory democracy, and particularly his work *The Social Contract*, are the main sources upon which the French view is structured.⁵² Rousseau's core political thinking is centered on the participation of every citizen in political decisions and on the sovereignty of the general will of the commune.⁵³ As he explained, each citizen is powerless without the cooperation of the community, which can defend and promote the well-being of its members.⁵⁴ The state is thus “an institution in which each citizen submits himself to the same conditions which he imposes on others.”⁵⁵ Rousseau, however, advocated a type of utopian society characterized by economic equality and constituted of peasants and small property owners, where no major differences existed and therefore no severe political inequalities. In this ideal society, independent participation as well as individuals'

⁵⁰ Carole Pateman, “Participation and Democratic Theory,” in Robert Dahl, Ian Shapiro and Jose Antonio Cherub, eds., *The Democracy Sourcebook* (London: The MIT Press, 2003), 41.

⁵¹ Pompiliu Eliade, *Influenta Franceza Asupra Spiritului Public in Romania*. The English translation: *The French Influence on the Public Spirit in Romania*, 3rd ed. (Bucuresti: Institutul Cultural Roman [Paris, 1898], 2006).

⁵² Pateman, “A Participatory Theory of Democracy,” in John Arthur, *Democracy: Theory and Practice* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1992), 106.

⁵³ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (London: Dent [1762] 1913). See also Michael Rosen and Jonathan Wolff with the assistance of Catriona McKinnon, eds., *Political Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 96.

⁵⁴ Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, book 2, chapter 4, 76.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

dependence on one another would be the mechanism whereby collective sovereignty was achieved. Because of this interdependence, no law or political act can be discriminatory, so individual rights and interests are protected. As Rousseau explained, the collective is fair as it affects all equally.⁵⁶

Rousseau's belief in the fair share of all members in the commune's affairs is, of course, idealistic and not to mention possibly hypocritical. Women, for example, did not receive suffrage until the end of the nineteenth-century in Australia and the beginning of the twentieth-century in Europe; nor was the black population in the United States allowed to vote until after the Civil War.⁵⁷ As Schumpeter observes, there is "no such thing as a uniquely determined common good that all people could agree on or be made to agree on by the force of rational argument."⁵⁸ Different individuals or groups are "bound" to confer different meanings to "the common good."⁵⁹ Rousseau, too, was aware that citizens might lack the required experience in creating laws and regulating their social and political arrangements. He proposed that a small, elite body be created to formulate laws, to present them for ratification by the people, and to enforce them when people "refuse[d] to obey the general will."⁶⁰ This regulation, however, contradicts Rousseau's most famous affirmation that "man is born free," which entails that no sovereign rule would constrain people from expressing their thoughts and pursuing their activities freely. The matter of power division in the state, too, is vaguely addressed. According to Rousseau, the Sovereign is the repository of the legislative power, whereas the

⁵⁶ Ibid., book 2, chapter 4, 75.

⁵⁷ See www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com (accessed March 6, 2008).

⁵⁸ Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, 251.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, book 2, chapter 7, 9; book 1, 181, 291. See Christopher Bertram, *Rousseau and The Social Contract* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

government is “[a]n intermediate body set up between the subjects and the Sovereign to secure their mutual correspondence, charged with the execution of laws and maintenance of liberty, both civil and political.”⁶¹ He admits, however, that in reality such a distinction does not exist. This ambiguity reflects Rousseau’s concern not with the actual working of laws in society, but with their rational and moral legitimization and justification.⁶² This contradiction in Rousseau’s political thinking reveals the tensions that plague all political life in so-called democratic societies. Paramount among these tensions are the conflicts between democratic implementation of political power and the inevitable abuse of this power, and between the need for equality in a society fraught with various types of inequities.

Despite some inconsistencies in his political system, Rousseau’s call for equality and fraternity among the people provided the groundwork upon which members of the French Revolution in 1789 based the sovereignty of the National Assembly. Given that the National Assembly was the embodiment of the national will, it was therefore the most suitable body to support and promote the interests of the average citizen (the slogan of the Revolution was *liberté, égalité, fraternité*).⁶³

Rousseau’s ideas on the collective will of the community to advance the common will are, however, criticised, as some analysts contend that his emphasis on collectivism ultimately contributed to the development of communist totalitarianism.⁶⁴ Under the

⁶¹ Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, book 3, chapter 1, 230.

⁶² Nicholas Dent, *Rousseau* (London: Routledge, 2005), 126.

⁶³ Birch, *The Concepts and Theories of Modern Democracy*, 117–119. The French Revolution marked a significant change in Western European history in that it broke with the social and political hegemony of traditional monarchical authority and abolished the privileges of the clergy and the nobility. See Robert J. Jackson and Doreen Jackson, eds., *An Introduction to Political Science: Comparative and World Politics*, 5th ed. (Toronto: Prentice Hall, 2008), 166.

⁶⁴ Majid Behrouzi, *Democracy as the Political Empowerment of the People: The Betrayal of an Ideal* (Oxford: Lexington Books, 2005), 32. See also Bertram, *Rousseau and The Social Contract*.

Romanian communist regime, for example, collectivism was the key word for all activities, while the Communist Party was deemed the embodiment of the national will and the promoter of the well-being of the people. And in fact, during the first years of communist rule Romania prospered, with various economic, social and educational reforms aimed at the betterment of society. As the years went by, however, power was consolidated in the hands of President Nicolae Ceausescu, who became a ruthless dictator. Toward 1989 and the Revolution, and following a period of severe economic cutbacks, the well-being of the population amounted to little more than subsistence living (e.g., rationed food and electricity and overcrowded living conditions). The Ceausescu regime ended in bloodshed.

The American perspective is also embedded in the principle of popular sovereignty, as expressed in Abraham Lincoln's slogan of "government of the people, by the people, for the people."⁶⁵ Dewey's conception of participatory democracy, which calls for a high level of citizen participation in public discussion and decision making through "responsible share according to capacity in forming and directing the activities [and shaping the aims and policies] of the groups to which one belongs" also resembles the French perspective in that it implies that the interest of one is the interest of all.⁶⁶ Americans, however, veered away from collectivism and developed a theory framed on the individualistic involvement of citizens in political and other decision-making processes. As Alexis De Tocqueville argued in his *Democracy in America* (1835/1840), individualism is an expression of American democracy.⁶⁷ Unlike the collectivist French

⁶⁵ Birch, *The Concepts and Theories of Modern Democracy*, 113.

⁶⁶ Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems*, 147.

⁶⁷ De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 98-99.

perspective, the American view disregards the idea that the group will, under normal circumstances, act to serve the interests of its members. Indeed, many, perhaps a majority of Americans, are distrustful of collectivism. Hence the lack of national healthcare and strong federal social support programs.⁶⁸ For Americans, collective action may occur only if “the number of individuals in a group is quite small, or unless there is coercion or some other special device to make individuals act in their common interest” (e.g., war, economic or other disasters, etc.).⁶⁹ If these conditions do not apply, however, “*rational, self-interested individuals will not act to achieve their common or group interests*” (italics in text) simply because individuals may approach the common good from different angles, in conformity with their own personal frames of reference.⁷⁰ Individualism, however, as De Tocqueville observed, may also separate the individual from the mass of people and isolate him from family and friends, divorce him from society’s affairs and confine him to isolation and solitude.⁷¹ The belief in, and endorsement of, representative government to promote and defend individuals’ interests is important to American conceptualizing of participatory democracy and perhaps helps to account for the huge disparities in American society between the rich and the poor. It may also help to explain American policies of isolationism and exceptionalism in world affairs and politics.⁷²

Also important to the American understanding of democracy is the emphasis placed on legal power divided constitutionally at the federal level and between central

⁶⁸ Jay R. Mandle, *America, and the Age of Globalization* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 31.

⁶⁹ Samuel Kernell and Steven S. Smith, eds., *Principles and Practice of American Politics: Classic and Contemporary Readings*, 3rd ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2007), 2.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), 272. See also De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 127-130.

⁷² Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*. See also Michael Ignatieff, *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 2005).

and regional governments, neither of which is subjected to the authority of the other level of government, and the belief in frequent elections which can offer everyone, at least in theory, the opportunity to participate and have access to political positions. This emphasis placed on the importance of power division in the state sets the American view apart from the French and from Rousseau's political philosophy.⁷³

The concept of democracy as the rule and will of the people, made manifest through "a series of moments of popular insurgency and direct action, of unmediated politics" may also have negative connotations.⁷⁴ As was quickly realized in the aftermath of the French Revolution, the rule by the people did not necessarily bring democratic outcomes. For example, and despite the clamoured revolutionary slogan of liberty, equality and fraternity, not all citizens were politically equal in that only those who paid a certain tax had the right to vote.⁷⁵ Nor did the Revolution bring about the economic stability that the poor needed. The so-called Reign of Terror of 1793 followed instead, in which thousands of people, most of them members of the nobility and the clergy, were executed.⁷⁶ In the years following the Revolution, France was also plagued by political instability that was exacerbated by a series of regimes, including the Bonapartist dictatorship and followed by royalist and republican governments. France only achieved political stability with the establishment of the Fifth Republic in 1958.⁷⁷ None of those

⁷³ Birch, *The Concepts and Theories of Modern Democracies*, 113. See Jackson and Jackson, eds., *An Introduction to Political Science*, 214.

⁷⁴ Green quoted in Laura B. Perry, "Education for Democracy: Some Basic Definitions, Concepts, and Clarification," in Joseph Zajda, ed., *International Handbook on Globalization, Education and Policy Research: Global Pedagogies and Policies* (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer, 2005), 687. See Green, "Democracy as a Contested Idea," in Green, *Democracy: Key Concepts in Critical Theory*, 2-18.

⁷⁵ W. Scott Haine, *The History of France* (London: Greenwood Press, 2000), 80.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁷⁷ Peter Morris, *French Politics Today* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 2, 6. In January 1793, following the proclamation of France as Republic and the trial and execution of King Louis XVI, the ruling faction declared ruthless war against all enemies and sent them to the guillotine in Paris during the period known as the Reign of Terror or the Red Terror.

regimes could maintain the social and political support to remain in governance.⁷⁸

Americans were more fortunate with their Revolution (1775–1783) and immediately thereafter in having strong public leaders who were dedicated to protecting the rights of “all men” [*sic*] and not just their own class interests (although as already suggested, the American Constitution was far from perfect).⁷⁹

Two centuries later, in the United Kingdom and in the United States, the political agendas of Thatcher and Reagan breathed new life into the individualistic view through the global spread of neoliberalism.⁸⁰ Neoliberal policies also contributed to the expansion of an egotistical culture of rapid increase in personal wealth which, according to some critics, led to increased poverty and accentuated social inequalities.⁸¹ Although neoliberalism and globalization have in fact enriched many, a great number of countries are far from being financially secure (in the United States, for example, low-paying part-time jobs abound while the private health care system has left almost forty million Americans without health coverage).⁸²

This neoliberal culture of individualism, with its implicit exclusionary nature whereby affairs that extend beyond individual spheres of activity are ignored, has further affected the nature and scope of democratic public participation in political and other decision making affairs. As Canadian political scientist Janice Gross Stein observes, some of the problems with participatory democracy are caused by the changing “nature and

⁷⁸ David S. Bell, *French Politics Today* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2002), 4.

⁷⁹ See Colin Bonwick, *The American Revolution* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991).

⁸⁰ Paul Ginsborg, *The Politics of Everyday Life: Making Choices, Changing Lives* (London: Yale University Press, 2005), 52.

⁸¹ King and Wood, “The Political Economy of Neoliberalism,” 385.

⁸² Saul, *Voltaire's Bastards*, 131. See also Pierson, *Dismantling the Welfare State* and Leiyu Shi and Douglas A. Singh, *Delivering Health Care in America: A Systems Approach* (Boston: Jones and Bartlett Publishers, 2008).

purpose of public participation.”⁸³ Currently, fewer individuals (and especially younger adults) are participating in conventional politics or voting, while more people have become engaged in unconventional political actions such as boycotts and demonstrations that challenge established social and political norms and authority.⁸⁴ This has the potential to undermine democracy if popular participation in political and other decision-making processes is made without the proper procedural knowledge and “training” for political negotiations, or if the masses are ill-informed or merely manipulated by political and populist leaders. Self-determination alone cannot contribute to the consolidation of democratic structures if people are not informed, which just underscores the importance of universal public education, and when the privileged monopolize political power. Whereas the latter may lead to rule by an elite, the former can result in a tyranny of the majority. That is likely to occur when the citizenry misunderstands its democratic prerogatives and loses faith in their leaders. The result can be a tyranny of the majority.

In his *Democracy in America*, De Tocqueville explains that “the absolute sovereignty of the will of the majority” appears when the “moral authority of the majority is partly based on the notion that there is more enlightenment and wisdom in a numerous assembly than in a single man, and the number of legislators is more important than how they are chosen.”⁸⁵ A tyranny of a majority can have harmful effects on democratic structures in a variety of ways. For example, arbitrary power or authority enforced outside the law can be used to carry out personal interests. The population’s right to freedom of

⁸³ Janice Gross Stein, *The Cult of Efficiency* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press, 2001), 63.

⁸⁴ Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol, eds., *The Transformation of American Politics: Activist Government and the Rise of Conservatism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 86, 87. See also Tasha Kheiriddin and Adam Daifallah, *Rescuing Canada’s Right: Blueprint for a Conservative Revolution* (John Willey and Sons Canada, Ltd., 2005), 121.

⁸⁵ De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, J. P. Mayer ed., trans. George Lawrence (Garden City, New York: Anchor, 1969), 246-247.

expression and thought can also be affected since “while the majority is in doubt, one talks; but when it has irrevocably pronounced, everyone is silent, and friends and enemies alike seem to make for its bandwagon.”⁸⁶ When that happens, freedom of speech and other democratic rights, such as the right of choice, are jeopardized. One of the worst examples of the abuse of freedom of speech was seen in the American media following the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon when any criticism of the government’s political and military agenda was regarded as treasonous.⁸⁷

The Right of Choice

Choice, too, is a fundamental right that is purportedly respected and protected in most of the developed and developing democracies. Generally speaking, in liberal democratic societies consequences of individual choice should not disadvantage or impede others from pursuing their own interests.⁸⁸ One of the most contentious debates on the right of individuals to pursue personal choices revolves around the question of abortion. In the United States, where battles over legalizing abortion have been fiercely fought in the political arena in the name of religious beliefs, this women’s right is now protected legally with some variation by states as a result of the federal-state law division. In the past, however, deaths from self-inflicted or unprofessional surgeries were “a tragic routine.”⁸⁹ In the Romanian communist regime of President Ceausescu, too, prohibition

⁸⁶ Ibid., 254–256.

⁸⁷ Danny Goldberg, Victor Goldberg, and Robert Greenwald, eds., *It’s a Free Country: Personal Freedom in America after September 11* (New York: RDV Books, 2002). See also Howard Zinn, *Terrorism and War* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002).

⁸⁸ John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971).

⁸⁹ Gloria Feldt, *The War on Choice: The Right-Wing Attack on Women’s Rights and How to Fight Back* (Bantam Books, 2004), 121.

of the right to abortion led to increases in infant and maternal mortality.⁹⁰

Debates over the nature and justification of the notion of choice also frequently address consumer capitalism, which impacts everyday life. Consumer choices are constructed, reshaped and steered by corporate organizations and/or political groups via ubiquitous communication technology and mass media to serve their own private interests, often at consumers' expense.⁹¹ Shopping malls, "the great halls of modern consumption," for example, offer and lure consumers with an increasingly diverse and large range of products, attractively priced or discounted (e.g., buy three for two).⁹² Mass media channels also entice consumers with a large variety and range of choices, either in the form of consumer goods or in terms of the latest news and music hits. But when awash in a huge wave of choices, people become "addicted to quantity and the panacea of more" and wrongly associate the augmented number of choices with individual liberty and quality of life.⁹³

As Benjamin Barber explains, "[w]e are seduced into thinking that the right to choose from a menu is the essence of liberty, but with respect to relevant outcomes the real power, and hence the real freedom, is in the determination of what is on the menu."⁹⁴ More often than not, there is only the illusion of choice for consumers. To paraphrase Barber, people can choose the brand they desire from the number offered, but it is the

⁹⁰ Ibid., 115. See also "Delegalization of Abortion in Romania Led to Increased Rates of Infant, Maternal Mortality," *International Family Planning Digest* 1, no. 2 (Jun., 1975), 12-13. In 1966, Ceausescu declared abortion and family planning illegal as the declining rate of births might have impeded the government's plans for national socioeconomic development. See Cristian Pop-Eleches, "The Impact of an Abortion Ban on Socioeconomic Outcomes of Children: Evidence from Romania," *The Journal of Political Economy* 114, 4 (August, 2006).

⁹¹ See Herbert I. Schiller, *Culture Inc.: The Corporate Takeover of Public Expression* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

⁹² Ginsborg, *The Politics of Everyday Life*, 65.

⁹³ Barber, *Consumed*, 139.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

companies that usually decide which brands are imported and introduced to the market, and they aggressively market them to the public.⁹⁵ And as Stein exclaims, “if we are coerced and manipulated, we do not have the capacity to make meaningful choices.”⁹⁶ As already suggested, this is a theme that is explored in this study with respect to the possible effects of Balkan and Western popular music on Romanian youth following the demise of the communist regime, and also with respect to the proliferation of private music schools and universities.

Some Implications for Education

The foregoing democratic principles have perhaps obvious implications for education and including music education. The right of choice for better education, for example, can have both political and social ramifications. As will be explained later in more detail, one of the rationales behind the deregulation of education and the establishment of private educational institutions that occurred after the overthrow of communism in Romania and in other parts of the former Soviet communist Bloc was to offer people more educational choices.⁹⁷ This, however, may only be illusory since people may have not the means to send their children to better schools or they may be manipulated through institutional or corporate branding and other forms of advertising into wrongly believing that certain schools are better than others. Further, it is often difficult to know if claims of educational excellence by various schools are accurate, in part because educational excellence is often narrowly equated with standardized test

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Stein, *The Cult of Efficiency*, 204.

⁹⁷ See Roxana Tudorica, *Dimensiunea Europeana a Invatamantului Romanesc*. The English version: *The European Dimension of Romanian Education* (Iasi: Institutul European, 2004).

scores, but also because private schools are not usually required to participate in government-sponsored standardized tests or to share their results with the wider public. There is also the fact that private schools are by definition exclusive. Thus, and even if those schools perform better on average than public ones, it may be attributable more to privilege and exclusivity than to good teaching, curricula or facilities.⁹⁸

Further, even when people have the means to benefit from their democratic prerogatives, “the right to choose can easily exacerbate social inequities and unrest while favouring incumbent elites,” such as happens when the rich have better access to education and health care.⁹⁹ Business, of course, is not generally interested in the ethics of marketing, but rather the reverse in that its main goal is to create “mind-numbing” consumers who accept passively what is offered them.¹⁰⁰ This, as Barber insists, may be avoided if “choosers” are educated “and programming proffer[s] real variety rather than just shopping alternatives.”¹⁰¹

As Dewey proposed, the major aim of educational processes in democratic societies should be nurturing freedom of mind in students so as to empower them to exert some modicum of control over their lives and experience.¹⁰² In his view, education should be “a form of embryonic democracy” whose purpose is to train the citizen and not the “man” [*sic*].¹⁰³ Instruction should be authoritative but not authoritarian in that children need to be guided toward achievement of “skills, knowledge and attitudes necessary to

⁹⁸ See Hatos, *Sociologia Educatiei*.

⁹⁹ Paul Woodford, *Democracy and Music Education: Liberalism, Ethics, and the Politics of Practice* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2005), 69.

¹⁰⁰ For more about markets' harmful influence on children adults see Barber's recent book, *Consumed*.

¹⁰¹ Barber, *Jihad vs. McWorld: How Globalism and Tribalism are Reshaping the World* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1996), 116.

¹⁰² Dewey, *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* (London: The Free Press, 1913/1966). See also Woodford, *Democracy and Music Education*, 1.

¹⁰³ Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, 93.

participate as members of a democratic community of cooperative inquirers.”¹⁰⁴ An important and arguably central role of schools in democratic societies is to prepare students to participate in political and other public decision-making actions, while also teaching them how to resist mindless consumerism. Hence the need for universal education and for equality of education opportunities in schools and universities, although well-to-do students are probably still more likely to take advantage of such opportunities. In Ireland, for example, middle and upper class students are reportedly more likely to avail of tuition-free undergraduate university education as compared to lower class students.¹⁰⁵ This is an issue that democratic governments must address if they are to remedy racial, class and gender inequities. Romania, too, offers tuition-free public schooling and, for students with the highest grades, free-tuition undergraduate university education. The rest of the students who fall below the university grade standard for admission have to pay tuition fees.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, in Canada and the United State, high achieving students are much more likely to receive financial support than are average students.¹⁰⁷

If schools do not perform well their democratic role of educating for citizenship, they can become sites for various manifestations of undemocratic actions involving racial, religious and other forms of discrimination and oppression. As Dewey realized, despite a move in democratic countries toward tolerance of, and respect for, religious, cultural and other differences, even where schools teach for those values (i.e., tolerance, respect) they

¹⁰⁴ Dewey cited in Woodford, *Democracy and Music Education*, 5.

¹⁰⁵ See Richard B. Finnegan and Edward T. McCarron, *Ireland: Historical Echoes, Contemporary Politics* (Westview Press, 2000).

¹⁰⁶ Perry, “Education for Democracy,” 686.

¹⁰⁷ Apple, *Educating the “Right” Way: Markets, Standards, God, and Inequality* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

might contribute to the opposite by replicating social problems.¹⁰⁸ Racial and religious prejudice in schools and in the society at large can potentially be ameliorated if educational programs geared toward appreciation of, and respect for, multiculturalism in the classroom and the community are implemented. This is a common argument advanced in the United State in favour of multicultural music education.¹⁰⁹ As will be discussed, the Romanian government, too, is concerned about multiculturalism in schools and other public institutions, although it remains to be seen to what extent that policy has been effective. The Romanian government's policies with respect to multiculturalism as they relate to music education are addressed in chapter 7.

As theoreticians and political thinkers such as Dewey understood long ago, education is the key to helping people make informed choices, to understanding their political landscape and to becoming aware of their democratic rights and responsibilities. Given that Romanians have only recently been introduced to democratic processes, the coupling of education with democracy should prompt a better understanding of their own country's democratic model and governing structures as they relate to all forms and levels of education including music education.

A Brief History and Definitions of Two Prominent Theories of Liberalism

As the reader has already realized, democracy is an extremely complex and often contested term. It will therefore be helpful for present purposes to present a brief history of liberalism as means of putting current neoliberal Romanian reforms into that larger context while also further distinguishing between two prominent liberal democratic

¹⁰⁸ See Dewey, *The School and Society* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1915/1963).

models that are relevant to the Romanian condition. These models are classical liberalism (to which neoliberalism is heavily indebted) and liberal egalitarianism, otherwise known as social democracy. The former is especially relevant to Romania given that neoliberal policies are currently informing and shaping that country's politics, society, economy and education. An understanding of liberal egalitarianism is also necessary in order to grasp the implementation and effects of neoliberal reforms in the Western democracies throughout the past quarter century. Indeed, as already suggested but not fully explained, many neoliberal reforms were advanced during the 1970s and 1980s and continuing to the present with the expressed purpose of subverting or replacing liberal egalitarianism with its commitment to the idea of the welfare state.

Classical Liberalism

Neoliberalism is a variant of classical liberalism, which was concerned with the nature of individual liberty and the role of political and social mechanisms in securing it. In his major political work, *Leviathan* (published in 1651), the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588 – 1679) announced that individuals have natural rights to personal liberty.¹¹⁰ The right to self-preservation was particularly stressed, as Hobbes believed that man was not Aristotle's social animal, but a "naked" individual in front of forces of nature or God.¹¹¹ Because of this vulnerable status, the purpose of political society and its institutions was to contribute to the safety and contentment of its members: "The office of

¹⁰⁹ See Joseph A. Labuta and Deborah A. Smith, *Music Education: Historical Contexts and Perspectives* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1997), 143-144.

¹¹⁰ See Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. C. B. Macpherson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968).

¹¹¹ Robert P. Kraynak, "Thomas Hobbes," in Lipset, ed., *Political Philosophies: Theories, Thinkers, Concepts* (Washington, D.C.: A Division of Congressional Quarterly Inc., 2001), 236, 238.

the sovereign (be it a monarch, or an assembly) consisteth in the end for which he was trusted with the sovereign power, namely the procuration of *the safety of the people*.”¹¹²

Despite his consideration of government as a secular institution concerned with preserving civil peace and protecting individuals' natural right to self-preservation, Hobbes' contribution to democratic theory is, however, contested.¹¹³ Many scholars see Hobbes' political views as undemocratic because of his strong defence of monarchy, his belief in the absolute sovereignty and arbitrary power as necessary to circumvent civil war (*Leviathan* was written during the English Civil War) and his distrust of division of powers. Moreover, the comparison of the strong and unified state with the Leviathan, a monster in the Old Testament, makes Hobbes a precursor of totalitarianism and of the “new Leviathan” states of the twentieth-century.¹¹⁴

Like Hobbes, John Locke (1632-1704) states in his *Second Treatise of Government* that humans are free and equal by nature (what he calls the *state of nature*), constrained in their actions only by their reason (also called the *law of nature*) and not by dictates of sovereign or divine laws.¹¹⁵ Released from the bondage of monarchic and divine regulations and benevolence, individuals are then allowed, for example, to acquire properties through their own efforts and to marry based on voluntary conjugal agreements. Deriving from this natural condition, the role and power of government is accordingly limited to preservation and protection of the life, liberty and property of its members and not to annihilation, slavery or impoverishment of its subjects as most

¹¹² Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 376.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 241.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 240.

¹¹⁵ John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government*, edited with introduction by Thomas P. Peardon (1690/1987). Locke's *Treatises* (the *First Treatise* in particular) were published as a protest against the divine rights of Kings to rule.

monarchs did throughout history.¹¹⁶ Echoing Hobbes and his idea on the role of government as leading to the happiness of the populace, Locke similarly stated that the “power of every commonwealth in all forms of government . . . [is] to govern by promulgated established laws . . . [which] ought to be designed for no other end but the good of the people.”¹¹⁷

Two centuries later, John Stuart Mill (1806 – 1873), in his classic book *On Liberty*, similarly considered that individual liberty was of such great importance to all spheres of human endeavour and an important indicator of the “free development of individuality” that it should not be limited or restricted.¹¹⁸ If some constraints are to be applied, argues Mill, their purpose is only “to prevent harm to others.”¹¹⁹ Mill is vague, however, in establishing the type of harm and the circumstances with respect to how actions can be considered harmful to others. There is, still, another ambiguity with respect to his theory of liberalism, which rests in his distrust of the masses and his confidence in the capacity of the elites in political and other decision-making processes, despite his strong defence for the liberty of the individual and the free development of individuality.¹²⁰ Despite these inconsistencies, however, Mill’s ideas are seminal in setting the course for modern liberal democratic thought and developing the theory of democratic elitism later advocated by the aforementioned Schumpeter and Hayek.

Classical liberalism, as a political ideology concerned with defending the liberty of the individual and emphasizing strong rights to private property and support for limited

¹¹⁶ Ibid. See also Nathan Tarcov, “John Locke,” in Lipset, *Political Philosophies*, 249.

¹¹⁷ Quotation in Tarcov, “John Locke.” See also Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. P. Laslett, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 90.

¹¹⁸ David Held, *Models of Democracy* 3rd ed. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2006), 79. See John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (New York: Norton, 1975).

¹¹⁹ Mill, *On Liberty*, 68.

¹²⁰ Robert Hollinger, *The Dark Side of Liberalism: Elitism vs. Democracy* (London: Prager, 1996), 4.

government, is rooted in Smith's concept of "the self – regulating market as the normative basis for a future global order."¹²¹ State intervention was acknowledged as necessary only in providing public goods that the market cannot supply (i.e., protection of property rights).¹²² The purpose of the liberal state was thus not to solve conflicts, but to provide the framework to allow all people to pursue their individual conceptions of the "good life."¹²³ Liberalism, indeed, allowed for free expression and thought, provided the framework for women's emancipation and accommodated pluralist religious beliefs and political allegiances, although some feminists and other scholars remain extremely critical of liberalism as a political ideology for the reason that many inequities continue to exist.¹²⁴

However, during the first part of the twentieth-century when the invisible hand of the market failed to provide comfortable living and economic prosperity, among other promised goods, liberalism began to lose credibility among the population. The downward spiral occurred along with the rise of Keynesian economics following the Great Depression in 1929.¹²⁵ Keynesian economics, based on the work of John Maynard

¹²¹ Steger, *Globalism*, 47. See also Ellen Frankel Paul, Fred D. Miller, Jr., and Jeffrey Paul, eds., *Liberalism: Old and New* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), vii. See also Munroe Eagles, Christopher Holoman and Larry Johnson, eds., *Politics: An Introduction to Democratic Government*, 2nd ed. (Broadview Press, Ltd., 2004).

¹²² Steger, *Globalism*, 47.

¹²³ Ted Honderich, *Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) s.v. "Liberalism."

¹²⁴ See Elizabeth Gould, "Devouring the Other: Democracy in Music Education," *Action, Criticism and Theory for Music Education* 7, 1 (January, 2008). <http://act.maydaygroup.org> (accessed May 7, 2008). Other critics of liberalism include C. B. Macpherson, a Canadian political theorist and a Marxist, who criticizes the aggressive individualist and market fundamentalist society which has replaced moral values with market-based ones; Herbert Marcuse, a critical theorist who argues against the technocratic tendency of current society at the expense of political and other values; and British political theorist Michael Oakeshott, who criticizes the manipulation of the average people by elites who may lack political education and experience. See for accounts of these aforementioned critics of liberalism Kirk F. Koerner, *Liberalism and Its Critics* (Croom Helm, 1985).

¹²⁵ Terence Ball and Richard Bellamy, eds., *Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Political Thought* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Keynes (1883 – 1946), sought to provide solutions to the failures of laissez-faire liberalism through state investment in economic affairs and infrastructure and through a mixed economy whereby both public and private individuals and institutions contributed to create and to maintain economic growth. Other aspects of Keynesian economics included debt-management (i.e., “the supply of the financial assets that are the borrowing instruments of government”), aggregate demand (i.e., the level of production and employment), and control of interest rates.¹²⁶ Keynes presented his economic theories in a trilogy including the *Tract on Monetary Reform* (1923), the *Treatise on Money* (1930) and the *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (1936).¹²⁷

Although Keynes sought to improve the economy through state intervention and monetary reforms, he was also a liberal who believed in the power of the market to regulate economic affairs if only monetary policies were better managed. He, however, was aware that the individualist tendency of society at the time “does not work well or even tolerably” toward economic growth.¹²⁸

Like Keynes, critics of liberalism similarly argued that the concern for fostering individual freedom and a lack of government regulation and oversight had contributed significantly to the collapse of world markets. They also agreed that the decline of liberalism was attributable to the overemphasis on rugged individualism that had replaced a society bound by religious, ethnic and other types of relationships with a community

¹²⁶ Geoff Tily, “Keynes’ Theory of Liquidity Preference and His Debt Management and Monetary Policies,” *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 30, 5 (September, 2006), 663-667.

¹²⁷ See Walter Allen, ed., *A Critique of Keynesian Economics* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1993) and Tily, *Keynes’s General Theory, the Rate of Interest and ‘Keynesian’ Economics: Keynes Betrayed* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

¹²⁸ Tily, *Keynes’s General Theory*, 31.

grounded in promoting competition and individualism.¹²⁹ It was even contended by Marxist and other critics that liberalism provided the ideological explanation for the emergence of capitalism insomuch as the promotion of the self-sufficient individual was considered virtually synonymous with the pursuit of self-interest in the market.¹³⁰

Egalitarian Liberalism

Egalitarian liberalism emerged during the 1930s as a response to the above failures and shortcomings of classical liberalism and also as a political means of addressing Marxist criticism of inequities found within Western democracies.¹³¹ Egalitarian liberals particularly address the notions of equality and liberty as compatible political values, albeit with equality as the core principle in social democratic structures. They do not insist that everything should be equal, but only the accessibility to opportunity, which may, on occasion, require affirmative action to provide a more level playing field. Egalitarian liberals are primarily concerned with the notion of distributive justice, or the idea of how benefits and burdens of social enterprise are to be equally shared.¹³² Egalitarian liberals believe that to impart justice is more important than to respect the liberty of all. It is, then, the egalitarian component of the egalitarian liberalism concept that is most important to, and that has received most attention from, a large number of philosophers.

John Rawls, for instance, one of the most influential egalitarian liberals, addresses

¹²⁹ Ibid. See also Nancy L. Rosenblum, "Liberalism," in Lipset, *Political Philosophy*, 117 for the transformation of the ideals of the French Revolution of 1789 into a tyranny of a majority.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ See Colin Farrelly, ed., *Contemporary Political Theory: A Reader* (London: Sage Publications, 2004).

¹³² Ibid., 3.

the concept of equality and liberty in his *Theory of Justice* from the perspective of justice as fairness. As described in his work, the principle of justice is reflected in the way “similarities and differences among persons are relevant in determining rights and duties and [in specifying] which division of advantages is appropriate.”¹³³ In his view, a society is just and liberal if each person has the right to basic liberties such as the right to run for office and the right to vote. Access to “fair equality of opportunity,” understood as righteous equality of opportunity according to individual skills, knowledge and merit in approaching social and economic inequalities, is also a sign that democratic processes are at work.¹³⁴ From this perspective, economic distribution, for example, is justified by the democratic principle of equality of opportunity, or the idea that inequalities in income or status are legitimized if people obtain political or economic benefits through fair competition.¹³⁵ Rawls’ liberal egalitarian theory is based on fulfilment of three major aims: “respecting the moral equality of persons, mitigating the effects of morally arbitrary disadvantages, and accepting responsibility for [personal] choices.”¹³⁶ These aims are, ideally, a synthesis of the meaning and purpose of egalitarian liberal democratic structures.

¹³³ Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, 5-6. Rawls’s political thought is encapsulated in two books: *A Theory of Justice*, published in 1971 and *Political Liberalism* published in 1993, with the latter work a disclaimer of the former. As Rawls realized in *Political Liberalism*, when he wrote his first work, he assumed that his theory addressed citizens already aware of ideas of fairness and justice and already participating in a political association viewed as “a system of fair terms of cooperation among free and equal persons” (66). In addition to representing his ideas on egalitarian liberalism, *A Theory of Justice* is also a justification of the liberal principles of constitutional government. See Christopher Wolfe, ed., *Liberalism at the Crossroads: An Introduction to Contemporary Liberal and Political Theory and its Critics*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003). See also Will Kymlicka, *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 302. See also Kymlicka, *Contemporary Political Philosophy*, 53, 54.

¹³⁵ Kymlicka, *Contemporary Political Philosophy*, 55-56. As Rawls insists, people can to some extent determine their fate through their choices. This principle, however, as Will Kymlicka observes, may be unfair for disadvantaged individuals who may be different in their natural endowment and thus, unable to benefit from the prerogative of equality of opportunity.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 77.

The political ideology of social democracy also advocates the importance of the state in society's affairs, places great emphasis on "welfare provision and just distribution of wealth" and considers "the social welfare state [a]s the indispensable instrument for guaranteeing social security against risks imbedded in the social structure."¹³⁷ For this reason and because social democracy has as its central purpose the consolidation of the welfare state, it has been associated with socialism.¹³⁸ Although in most countries the establishment and centrality of the welfare state has been supported by both the left and the right, socialists clamoured that it was their invention. Social democracy differs, however, from socialism primarily through the emphasis on, and respect for, individual human rights and liberties. In fact, social democracy emerged as an alternative to communism and as a response to the Great Depression of the 1930s with its high rate of unemployment and poverty.

Social democracy as a political system emerged in Western Europe beginning with the middle of the twentieth-century as a result of political manoeuvres that aspired to create and extend "welfare-state capitalism, in the name of equality and social justice."¹³⁹ It soon inspired some communist parties' political programmes (e.g., France, Italy, Romania, Sweden) and it also became the political model of governance for several countries in Europe (e.g., United Kingdom, West Germany, Sweden).¹⁴⁰ Romania, too, while a socialist republic, aspired to social democracy until the 1980s when Ceausescu's government became increasingly totalitarian.

¹³⁷ Thomas Meyer and Lewis P. Hinchman, *The Theory of Social Democracy* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 2007), 43, 67.

¹³⁸ Giddens, *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 4.

¹³⁹ John Callaghan, *The Retreat of Social Democracy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 1.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 12–21.

The main characteristics of social democracy include support for state interference in social, economic, civil and family life, protection of citizens, an emphasis on, and endorsement of, collectivism, full employment, social programs such as unemployment insurance and welfare for those in need of assistance, Keynesian demand management and egalitarianism.¹⁴¹ These major themes were consequences of the old style social democrats' understanding that market fundamentalism produces an economically inefficient and socially conflict-ridden laissez-faire capitalism. These effects were, however, long observed by Karl Marx in his critique of the capitalist system. Although the so-called old style social democrats believed that state intervention in the economy would counteract capitalism's damaging effects, they were also aware that an economic system fully supported by the state was not viable. Accordingly, they proposed a mixed economy, involving both private and public industries and institutions, which functioned successfully in some parts of the globe (particularly in the Scandinavian countries) until the 1970s.

By the end of the 1970s, social democracy was in decline in Europe. This was owing to inflationary tendencies in global economies but particularly in social democratic nations such as Sweden, coupled with "insatiable demands for social benefits, uncontrollable inflation, [bureaucracy] . . . rising crime and social conflict."¹⁴² In effect, powerful forces from within and outside the social democratic system converged to cast down social democracy and socialism. On the one hand, Eastern European leaders were

¹⁴¹ Giddens, *The Third Way*, 7. See also Simon Cox, ed., *Economics: Making Sense of the Modern Economy*, 2nd ed. (London: Profile Books, Ltd., 2006). In Keynesian theory of economy, demand management is an economic policy that refers to an adjustment of the level of demand in economy in order to curb unemployment rates. For example, if there is an excess of demand, the government will have to reduce prices. In times of recession, the government has to increase the amount of money and credit.

¹⁴² Callaghan, *The Retreat of Social Democracy*, 204.

reluctant to democratize the system that, ironically, fostered the main principles of the concept of democracy: “welfare, egalitarianism, job security and planning.”¹⁴³ On the other hand, political forces of the Left and the Right developed their own cases against bureaucracy, corruption, and centralization.¹⁴⁴ This is ironic given the tendency of some of today’s governments on the extreme Far Right to encourage centralization. The revolutions of 1989 and 1990 in Soviet communist Bloc countries, coupled with the aforementioned globalization processes and the rise in the political fortunes of political parties on the Far Right (e.g., George W. Bush, Tony Blair) have all reinforced the tendency of late toward dismissing social democracy as a political system.¹⁴⁵

Social democratic structures still exist, however, particularly in Scandinavian countries such as Denmark, Norway and Sweden, which have traditionally been social democracies and have long represented a middle ground between classical liberalism and Soviet style communism.¹⁴⁶ Sweden, for example, is among the few countries that have succeeded in bringing forth and maintaining for decades a political system that has successfully combined social democratic ideology with a parliamentary monarchy.¹⁴⁷ Canada and the United Kingdom, too, until relatively recently have pursued social democratic aims.¹⁴⁸ Further, and while influenced by neoliberalism, all of the above countries have thus far continued to maintain social programs in the face of frequent

¹⁴³ Ibid., 224.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ See Marjorie Griffin Cohen and Stephen McBride, eds., *Global Turbulence: Social Activists' and State Responses to Globalization* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2003). Ironically, while Blair represented the Labour Party, his policies were consistent with neoliberal principles.

¹⁴⁶ Robert Geyer, Christine Ingebritsen and Jonathon W. Moses, eds., *Globalization, Europeanization and the End of Scandinavian Social Democracy?* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000), 2. See also Jonas Pontusson, *The Limits of Social Democracy: Investment Politics in Sweden* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 1.

¹⁴⁷ www.sweden.gov.se (accessed May 7, 2008).

¹⁴⁸ See Giddens, *The Third Wave*.

neoliberal attacks.¹⁴⁹ Since the 1970s, however, neoliberalism has continued to make political gains at the expense of liberal egalitarianism, in important part as a consequence of a massive publicity campaign by those on the Right to undermine it. There are also signs that neoliberalism may itself be on the wane as populations tire of the neoliberals' obsession with competition and globalization and the concomitant outsourcing of jobs in the developed countries.¹⁵⁰

Structural Systems of Governance

As a final consideration before addressing the impacts of globalization and Europeanization on music education in Romania, it is important to consider the structure of government, as different governmental structures may distinctly affect the implementation of educational policies that are expressions of political ideologies. For example, a republican President has more power to affect changes than a prime minister in a parliamentary system, whose government can be dissolved if it loses the confidence of Parliament. Understanding how government is organized is also important to understanding the roles and activities of government departments and officials therein who initiate and implement policies and decisions for the state, including ones affecting public education.¹⁵¹

There are two models of governmental structure that are considered to be particularly relevant to the Romanian condition: these are parliamentary democracy and republicanism. Romania was a monarchy in the period before and after World Wars with

¹⁴⁹ See Geyer et al., *Globalization, Europeanization and the End of Scandinavian Social Democracy?*

¹⁵⁰ See Saul, *The Collapse of Globalization*.

¹⁵¹ Jackson and Jackson, eds., *An Introduction to Political Science*, 212.

brief and unsuccessful attempts to reinstate it in the 1990s. Following the communist takeover of the country's governance in 1947, however, and continuing to the present day, Romania is by constitutional regulations a republic modelled after the French political system and Constitution.¹⁵² Of course, given the totalitarian character of Ceausescu's rule, Romania was a republic only in name and not in practice, as the President was not elected. Nor can his rule be described as liberal.

Parliamentary systems of government such as are found in Canada and the United Kingdom differ from presidential ones in their legislative-executive relationship, the structure and operation of Parliament and the role of the head of state. In parliamentary systems, the head of state is distinct from the head of government, holds only a nominal function (i.e., reigns but not rules), occasionally crafts agreements with political leaders, is commander-in-chief of national armed forces and appoints the executive.¹⁵³ Despite the confines of the ceremonial function, the head of state can, at times, hold some executive power (e.g., Finland), although this is usually the prerogative of the head of government.¹⁵⁴ The latter is formally referred to as prime minister, premier or chancellor and is the leader of the major political party, which is "dependent on the confidence of the legislature and can be dismissed from office by a legislative vote of no confidence or censure."¹⁵⁵ Government operations, too, are dependent upon Parliament for approval and support in political and other state affairs.¹⁵⁶ As already suggested, this structure poses more difficulties to a minority government, such as Prime Minister Steven Harper's

¹⁵² Dobre and Coman, *Romania si Integrarea Europeana*, 199.

¹⁵³ Jackson and Jackson, eds., *An Introduction to Political Science*, 212.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Arendt Lijphart, *Parliamentary Versus Presidential Government* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 2.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

Conservative Party wishing to impose its own political ideology on the electorate, as legislation must be approved by a majority of the legislature if it is to be enacted.

Parliament is the legislative authority charged with examining the work of government and with assessing and approving laws within the constraints of constitutional provisions (with the exception of the British Parliament).¹⁵⁷ Parliament also scrutinizes government policy and administration and, as is the case in the United Kingdom, for example, supervises “defence, foreign affairs, economic and monetary policy, social security, and employment.”¹⁵⁸

A republic, on the other hand, is a form of government whereby a President is elected to rule for a fixed period of time as head of both state and government.¹⁵⁹ This double role gives the President the power to approve or refute laws (the veto prerogative) and facilitates active participation in political and other state affairs. The President also appoints the executive and, in some republics, a prime minister and cannot normally be forced to resign from office.¹⁶⁰ Presidential systems also differ from parliamentary structures in the division of powers. The executive and the legislative powers perform separate functions so that the executive is neither accountable to, nor dependent on, the legislature. This is because the legislature issues laws whereas the executive rules the country and is responsible for implementing and enforcing them.

The United States Congress, for example, consists of a House of Representatives to indirectly represent the people, a Senate to represent each state, and an electoral college

¹⁵⁷ www.direct.gov.uk (accessed March 12, 2008). There is no written Constitution in Britain, which gives British Parliament leeway in assessing and approving laws and in supervising governmental operations.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Presidentialism is not exclusively synonymous with republicanism. A dictator, for example, such as Ceausescu can be a President, but the political form of government that he is presiding may not be a republic.

¹⁶⁰ Jackson and Jackson, eds., *An Introduction to Political Science*, 211.

to elect the President.¹⁶¹ The President, who is both head of state and government, is elected from a list of nominees presented to the Electoral College by the people. Among other political and state affairs that the presidential position entails, the President governs the country and “submits much of the major legislation” to Congress.¹⁶² Because American politics places great emphasis on the separation of powers as a means of weakening presidential power and protecting individual freedom from any forms of exploitation, members of Congress, which is the legislative authority, are, at least in theory, prohibited from holding any executive office.¹⁶³

The French structure of governance, too, involves separation of powers, although France has a hybrid political system that borrows elements from both the presidential and parliamentary systems of governance.¹⁶⁴ As a republic, it is ruled by a President elected through a list of nominees sent to the Electoral College which in turn elects the President (as is the case in the United States). The French President holds the executive function for seven years (usually the mandate’s length is for just four years), governs the country together with the government and has the power to dissolve the National Assembly (the French Parliament).¹⁶⁵ The President also appoints the prime minister from the majority party or coalition in the National Assembly. As a parliamentary democracy, the government is accountable to a Parliament constituted of the popularly elected Assembly and the indirectly (i.e., through an electoral college) elected Senate.¹⁶⁶ The Parliament is

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 61–62.

¹⁶² Jackson and Jackson, eds., *An Introduction to Political Science*, 275.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 213. This prerogative is denied, however, when Congress committees need to act as investigators and the executive and the legislature merge such that the Congress acts, too, as an executive branch of state power.

¹⁶⁴ See Bell, *French Politics Today*.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 25.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 208.

the highest authority in issuing laws and in deciding and implementing policies.¹⁶⁷

Similar to the French governing structure and following the 1991 constitutional provisions, the Romanian Parliament is the highest legislative authority in the state. It is constituted of the popularly elected Chamber of Deputies and Senate.¹⁶⁸ Parliament's main role is to implement three categories of laws: constitutional (e.g., constitutional revisions), organic (e.g., organization of the electoral system and of political parties, etc.) and ordinary (e.g., organization of social relations).¹⁶⁹ Parliament also appoints the Government through a vote of confidence.

Given the increased power of Parliament in the country's affairs, the Romanian form of government is something of a political hybrid and of a parliamentary republic. Accordingly, Romania is run by a popularly elected President (since 2004, Traian Basescu), but maintains the principles of parliamentary systems. Unlike parliamentary systems, however, Romania's President has the power to oversee and head Parliament's operations.¹⁷⁰ Among other attributes, the President represents the people, holds the executive power for five years (the usual mandate period was for four years until 2003) and consults with political leaders with respect to crafting and submitting laws to Parliament.¹⁷¹ The President also nominates a candidate for the prime minister's role but cannot revoke him/her, and has the power to dissolve Parliament. During the five-year mandate, the President cannot be a party member or hold public or private functions.¹⁷²

The current political system of governance reflects Romania's conversion to

¹⁶⁷ Morris, *French Politics Today*, 1, 25.

¹⁶⁸ www.cdep.ro (accessed June 2, 2008).

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

democracy and market economy as framed by the Constitution.¹⁷³ A more detailed description and explanation of the structure of the Romanian political system is provided in chapter 4. This exploration of the Romanian political system of governance begins with the period between the World Wars when the Romanian political life was dominated by two prominent parties—the Liberal Party and the National Peasant Party—whose progressive ideas resurfaced after 1989.¹⁷⁴ A brief analysis of the political system during communism is also presented to put into a larger perspective the extent of the political and social transformations that followed the fall of communism. The larger part of this examination of the Romanian political system of governance is dedicated, however, to the period just after the revolution in 1989 to the present day.

Before exploring the ramifications of the Romanian political system of government, it is important, however, to analyze two prominent phenomena that are currently re-shaping the world. These are globalization and European integration. The following chapter documents the phenomenon of globalization and its multifarious dimensions (e.g., economic, cultural, educational) as they relate to the Romanian context. The third chapter addresses the dynamics of European integration and the European

¹⁷³ Ibid. By Constitutional provisions, Romania has a market economy based on competition and private initiative. Since 2007 and the granted membership in the European Union, Romania has also the right to participate in the election of members of the European Parliament (EP) and to be represented in the EP.

¹⁷⁴ Alexandru Radu, *Partidele Politice Romanesti dupa 1999*. The English version: *Romanian Political Parties after 1999* (Bucuresti: Editura Paideia, 2003). The National Peasant Party was established in 1926 by fusion between the Romanian National Party in Transilvania and the Peasant Party in Tara Romaneasca and Moldova (Transilvania, Tara Romaneasca and Moldova were independent Romanian principalities until their union into what is known today as Romania in 1918). In the period between World Wars, on the background of increasing influences of Fascist and totalitarian forces, the National Peasant Party actively supported the democratic-constitutional regime that was in power in Romania. In the period following World War II, the National Peasant Party was the major political force to strongly oppose the installment of communism and it maintained this position during communism. Consequently, it was banned. After the 1989 Revolution, the Party was reborn as the National Christian and Democratic Peasant Party (NCDPP). In the period 1992 – 1994, it was the main Party in opposition. Since 1996 and until 2000, the NCDPP was at governance. Currently, however, the party did not obtain majority in the 2000 Parliamentary election.

Union's legitimation crisis with respect to promoting and maintaining democracy in the union and its member countries. These analyses are important for the present study in that they help to explain the current structure of the Romanian system of government and the various social and cultural factors determining its educational and cultural policies.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTUALIZING GLOBALIZATION

Although globalization differs in many important aspects from democracy, as will be shortly explained, they share the same contested nature. Soaring poverty rates and widening social and educational inequities, for example, are among prominent arguments against globalization and its desirability in African and Latin American countries and in the former Soviet communist satellites.¹ On the other hand, increased nationalism and a strengthening of the political sovereignty of the nation-states that were formerly parts of Yugoslavia suggest that globalization may be beneficial to some of the previously marginalized groups (e.g., Macedonians, Bosnians).² And with the recent enlargement of the European Union (EU) to include much of Eastern Europe, the pros and cons of globalization continue to be hotly debated. No consensus has been reached, however, with respect to its definition, mostly because globalization has an inherent changing nature and is unremittingly fuelled by global and local developments in the areas of economics, politics, culture and education, among many others.³ For these reasons, this study does not seek to produce a comprehensive definition of globalization but to make sense of its various conceptualizations by exploring its facets and by analyzing the resulting interconnections as they relate to Romania, and particularly to its education system. Also of interest is the globalization - democracy relationship, as academics and

¹ See Stiglitz, *Making Globalization Work*, 11. See also www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/050210/d050210c.htm (accessed June 19, 2008) for more information on the income gulf between the rich and the poor through a comparison among Canada, the United States and the European Union.

² Vladimir Gligorov, *Why Do Countries Break Up: The Case of Yugoslavia* (Sweden: Uppsala University, 1994).

³ Nick Bisley, *Rethinking Globalization* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 10.

politicians disagree as to whether these two concepts are compatible and complementary. Given that globalization's impacts on society, politics, economics and culture have changed and re-shaped previously held conceptions of the world and spatial dimensions of social relations, it is important to consider its effects on education.⁴ That information will make it possible for the reader to better understand recent changes in Romania affecting its public music education system.

Globalization – A Brief Definition

Former World Bank official Joseph Stiglitz defines globalization as “the closer integration of the countries and peoples of the world” created by the significant fall in transportation and communication expenses and the removal of “artificial barriers to the flows of goods, services, capital, knowledge and . . . people across borders.”⁵

Globalization has helped countries open up to international trade; it has allowed for an inflow of technology into underdeveloped countries that consequently improved labour conditions and increased work efficiency; it has provided access to knowledge and information; and it has enhanced opportunities for economic growth. Reports by various European Commissions and Committees charged with analyzing and interpreting globalization and its implications for the EU and the world at large similarly describe globalization as a “process by which markets and production in different countries are becoming increasingly interdependent due to the dynamics of trade in goods and services

⁴ John Ralston Saul, *The Collapse of Globalism and the Reinvention of the World* (Toronto: The Penguin Group, 2005).

⁵ Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents*, 9.

and flows of capital and technology.”⁶ From these perspectives, globalization is primarily perceived as “the extension of internationalization” of economic affairs.⁷

John Ralston Saul, however, argues that globalization is about much more than just economic processes, as its impacts go far beyond economic factors to include virtually everything connected with the economy. He believes that to consider the globalization phenomenon as affecting only the economic side of human endeavour limits both its size and scope. It also disregards the ethical and moral values of the community (e.g., respect, responsibility, caring for others) “in favour of the certainty that humans are primarily driven by self-interest.”⁸ To understand its implications, argues Saul, globalization has to be defined in social, political, administrative, cultural and educational terms, as well as in economic ones.

The Dialectic of Globalization

Postmodernists agree “that a new convergence is occurring . . . between western capitalism and post-communism” with consequences not only at economic but also at political, cultural and educational levels.⁹ Especially in the former communist Soviet Bloc countries, which only recently opened to the Western world and democratization, globalization processes are bound to result in bureaucratic decentralization, economic restructuring through the foundation and growth of multinational corporations and consolidation of the financial market to become a part of the global sphere. Other effects of this postmodern convergence with the former Soviet Bloc include the establishing of

⁶ Graham Thompson, “Economic Globalization?” in Held, ed., *A Globalizing World? Culture, Economics, Politics* (London: Routledge in association with the Open University, 2000), 92.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁸ Saul, *The Collapse of Globalism*, 97.

⁹ Larry Ray, “Post-Communism: Postmodernity or Modernity Revisited?” *The British Journal of Sociology* 48, 4 (December, 1997), 551.

state policies of price and trade liberalization and the creation of a global community through the spread of mass media and international migrations in accordance with international free trade agreements and the requirements of the financial market.¹⁰ In Romania, however, bureaucracy remains a major concern for government and foreign economic officials who believe that it hinders economic and trade processes.¹¹ As is revealed and explained later on, the planned downsizing of Romanian bureaucracy may have serious consequences for public music education at all levels as it may lead to chaos in school administration, including curricular planning, and to a decline in the quality of educational programs if more administrative tasks are added to teachers' workloads. Many critics, politicians and members of the public are already arguing that the repeated attempts to reform the education system in the last 17 years have caused confusion among both teachers and students with respect to following changing curricular provisions, choosing class textbooks from an overwhelming offer and implementing a new system of student evaluation, such as rates of student graduation or performance on standardizing tests.¹²

These transformations of Romanian public education may also partly be outcomes of a postmodernist trend that is making inroads into Romanian society, culture and education along with globalization processes.¹³ This postmodern trend, as will be discussed in more detail later on, includes celebration of diversity and difference through recognition of an emergent pluralist society (i.e., in addition to the already existing

¹⁰ See George Ritzer, ed., *The Blackwell Companion to Globalization* (Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2007).

¹¹ See Dobre and Coman, eds., *Romania si Integrarea Europeana*.

¹² Catalin Croitoru, "Editorial," *Scoala Romaneasca: Revista Nationala pentru Promovarea Reformei in Invatamant*. The English version: "Editorial," *The Romanian School: The National Journal for the Promotion of Educational Reform*. www.scoalaromaneasca.ro (accessed May 22, 2008).

¹³ See Maria Barbu, *Postmodernismul, Liderii si Crizele*. The English version: *Postmodernism, Leaders and Crises* (Bucuresti: Editura Militara, 2007).

individuals of German or Hungarian origin, Romania's population has recently been enriched by an increasing number of Asians and Arabs), promotion and defence of an ever atomizing society and a dissolving of national traditions and customs.¹⁴

Both postmodernism and globalization, through their emphasis on the dissolution of borders and ethnic identities through migration, have sparked intense debates among critics and scholars in academia. Philosophers such as Fredric Jameson argue that globalization is rooted in the expansion of communication technology (i.e., global satellite and cable broadcasting systems) that "has changed the shape of national, ethnic, and cultural identities."¹⁵ Jameson in effect celebrates the emergence of a diversity of races, genders and ethnicities into the public sphere as indicative of the dissolution of political and cultural structures that previously marginalized and condemned entire segments of the population to silence.¹⁶ This obviously has implications for Romanian culture and public music education as increasing numbers of previously marginalized and excluded people (i.e., especially those who were punished by the communist regime for their liberal thoughts and beliefs) clamour to be heard within the public musical sphere.¹⁷ An increasing number of scholars, however, view globalization from a more critical and negative perspective.

¹⁴ Ovidiu Zara, "Comunitatea Araba din Romania Condamna Razboiul din Liban." The English version: "The Arab Community from Romania Condemns the War in Lebanon," *Curentul* (July 27, 2006). www.9am.ro/stiri (accessed June 1, 2008). The awareness among the population and the government of Romania's cultural differences is evidenced in the proclamation of Sibiu, a city in the hearth of Transylvania, as the European Cultural Capital of 2007 and the ensuing series of musical, artistic and cultural performances that celebrate the ethnic, religious and cultural diversity in that province. Likewise, under the auspices of the "2008, European Year of Intercultural Dialogue," a series of similar events, including a jazz, blues and classical music festival, are designed by central and regional government agencies to promote intercultural dialogues between Romania and other countries and ethnic groups.

¹⁵ Glenn Ward, *Postmodernism* (London, UK: Hodder Headline Ltd., 2003), 191. See Frederic Jameson, *Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ See Valentina Sandu-Dediu, *Muzica Romaneasca intre 1944-2000*. The English version: *Romanian Music between 1944 and 2000* (Bucuresti: Editura Muzicala, 2002).

The dark image of globalization is fuelled by the economics of a globalized world that entails the rapid assimilation of previously autonomous national markets into a single sphere, the disappearance to a certain extent of national subsistence (e.g., food) and the forced integration and loss of sovereignty of countries all over the globe as they merge into a wider world community governed by international financiers. According to social theorist Douglas Kellner, "today's world is organized by accelerating globalization, which is strengthening the dominance of a world capitalistic system, supplanting the primacy of the nation-state with trans-national corporations and organizations, and eroding local cultures and traditions through a global culture."¹⁸ In this process, the migration of people and information makes defining the limits of a community or a nation difficult. This, too, has obvious implications for Romanian music education, which are explained in chapter 7. As is presently the case within the European Economic Union (EEU), boundaries are removed and replaced by "spaces of transmission" (of culture, information, etc.) that create their own virtual borders.¹⁹ Categories of nation, race and cultural identity are thus replaced by the larger territories delimited by language and culture, as provided by the mass media and global markets, and via ubiquitous computer technology.²⁰ According to its critics, globalization and its products (e.g., technology, capitalist economy, fragmentation of society) have enslaved people, rather than liberating them, and have increased poverty rather than eradicating it.²¹

As these critics continue, when used as a "simplistic justification for the endless

¹⁸ Douglas Kellner, "Theorizing Globalization," *Sociological Theory* 20, 3 (November, 2002), 285.

¹⁹ Ward, *Postmodernism*, 191.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Jürgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997). See also www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/050210/d050210c.htm (accessed June 19, 2008). According to Statistics Canada, the rift between the rich and the poor in Canada has expanded in the last decade as more part-time positions are offered at the expense of full-time jobs. Canadians' income inequality is, however, still smaller than that of the United States.

expansion of unregulated capitalist relations into every part of life in every corner of the globe," globalization becomes increasingly dangerous because it consolidates power in the hands of a few major organizations and individuals.²² As it becomes almost synonymous with the concept of power as domination and control, globalization helps to "emphasize the role of particular agents [and corporations] in wielding power over others."²³ Indeed, today's corporations enjoy many of the rights of individuals, including the right to exercise power to protect their financial interests. As Joel Bakan explains in *The Corporation: The Pathological Pursuit of Profit and Power*, corporations are institutions based on shareholders' financial investments, whose financial interests have to be protected and increased *by law*.²⁴ This provision states that corporations are endowed with personal rights and liberties and helps corporate managers to accumulate immense wealth even if that involves overrunning basic human rights. One such example of the abuse of power by corporate leadership involves the disregard, if not violation, of workers' rights (e.g., salaries below minimum wage, inadequate sanitary facilities), such as may be found in Chinese or Latin American sweatshops, or even at the outskirts of Los Angeles and other American cities, where illegal immigrants are employed.²⁵

The Political Economy of Globalization

Even devoted advocates of globalization admit that "adjustment policies [i.e., regulations designed to help a country reach an agreement, receive financial aid or gain entrance to a major political organization such as the World Trade Organization] cause

²² John Wiseman, "Australia and the Politics of Globalization," in Held, ed., *A Globalizing World*, 1.

²³ Allan Cochrane and Kathy Pain, "A Globalizing Society?" in Held, ed., *A Globalizing World*, 10.

²⁴ Joel Bakan, *The Corporation: The Pathological Pursuit of Profit and Power* (London: Free Press, 2004).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 139. As Bakan explains, corporate leaders take advantage of these immigrant workers who, because of their illegal residence status, cannot report the abuses and ill-treatment they have to endure.

large-scale unemployment, greater income inequalities and economic hardship.”²⁶ According to its critics, then, globalization should be denounced as another form of capitalist and cultural imposition on developing countries that can hardly resist.²⁷ As Stiglitz stresses, globalization and the introduction of a market economy, although following an American model, has not produced the promised results in Russia and in most of its former satellite countries also in transition from the centrally-planned, communist economy to the market-based economic system.²⁸ Nor has the International Monetary Fund (IMF), one of the three pillars of globalization (along with the World Bank and the World Trade Organization) lived up to its promises of economic growth and betterment of large segments of the world’s population.²⁹ As Stiglitz explains, poverty has increased in the last two decades, particularly in African countries “where the percentage of the population living in extreme poverty has increased from 41.6 percent in 1981 to 46.9 percent in 2001.”³⁰ Stiglitz, in effect, charges these institutions with pursuing rigorous private financial interests, as opposed to serving the public, whose taxes support their functioning.

Initially, both the IMF and the World Bank (the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) were established at the end of World War II as part of a combined effort of first-world countries to finance the rebuilding of Europe and to prevent further economic crises such as the Great Depression in 1929.³¹ In 1995, a third international institution, the World Trade Organization, was established to govern

²⁶ Singh, *Questioning Globalization*, 126-127.

²⁷ Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents*, 247.

²⁸ Stiglitz, *Making Globalization Work*, 11.

²⁹ Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents*, 6.

³⁰ Stiglitz, *Making Globalization Work*, 11.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 11. Both the IMF and the World Bank were established at the 1944 United Nations’ Conference at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire.

international trade relationships.³² Its responsibility was to provide a forum for trade negotiations and to ensure that trade agreements are not abrogated.³³

The IMF, which is widely acknowledged to be mainly controlled by American interests, was initially charged with supervising macroeconomic matters such as inflation and unemployment rates and their stabilization, government deficits, monetary policy (i.e., interest rates) and trade deficits in countries needing economic assistance. The World Bank was primarily responsible for supervising structural issues such as government expenditures, the country's financial institutions, labour markets, and trade policies.³⁴ However, as Stiglitz complains, the IMF began to approach its responsibilities with an imperialistic view, imposing severe preconditions on borrowing countries. States in deep financial difficulties and in great need of foreign financial aid, such as Romania, had to comply with the IMF's conditions. For example, imposition of market discipline on many aspects of the country's economy led to reductions in state-support to cultural institutions such as orchestras, theatres, and arts education institutions as particular initiatives were encouraged at the expense of others. Other countries also suffered from the IMF's economic policies that increased poverty and resulted in lower standards in education and living in general.³⁵ Argentina, for example, experienced a debt crisis upon implementing the IMF's economic policies based on privatization and heavy loans. Initially, the imposed policies brought economic growth and price stability. When the privatization process ended and loans had to be repaid, however, the economic growth proved unsustainable and subsequently led to economic collapse. As a result, Stiglitz

³² Ibid., 15.

³³ Ibid., 16.

³⁴ Ibid., 14.

³⁵ Ibid.

concludes, "there is wide disillusionment in Latin America" with the IMF's economic policies.³⁶

Two more pillars of the international liberal economic order, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) established in 1947 and the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) founded in 1995 were created to operate together with the IMF and the World Bank to purportedly alleviate world hunger and to reduce inequities.³⁷ Similar to the WTO, GATT was designed to allow for free trade among member countries by normalizing and decreasing tariffs and by providing a common forum to resolve trade differences.³⁸ As will be explained in more detail later on, Romania signed the GATT agreement in 1971 as a means toward economic integration into the larger global economy.³⁹ One year later Romania was the first country of the former Soviet communist satellites to receive financial assistance from the World Bank for modernization and improvements.⁴⁰

Like GATT and the World Bank, GATS was created as part of the World Trade Organization to facilitate trade in all service components, including health and education for member countries.⁴¹ With respect to the latter, membership in GATS (Romania, Canada, the United State are signatories to this agreement) is intended to ensure that foreign institutions have equal opportunities with domestic organizations with respect to

³⁶ Ibid., 36.

³⁷ Mark Ginsburg, Oscar Spinoza, Simona Popa, and Mayumi Terano, "Globalisation and Higher Education in Chile and Romania: The Roles of the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and World Trade Organization," in Zajda, ed., *International Handbook on Globalization, Education, and Policy Research: Global Pedagogies and Policies*, 221.

³⁸ www.gatt.org (accessed January 30, 2008).

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Eric Toussaint, *The World Bank: A Critical Primer* (London: Pluto Press, 2008), 70.

⁴¹ www.wto.org (accessed May 22, 2008)

providing certain services, including possibly education.⁴² Until the present day, however, this agreement has not been approved by the WTO and many countries including Canada are wary of opening some of its public services such as education, health, culture and social services to foreign intervention and investment.⁴³ If eventually ratified by WTO, this stipulation will likely harm public services because “governments will lose the capacity to protect the[ir] domestic providers . . . [and] to guarantee universal access to [public] services . . . at least theoretically possible under a public monopoly arrangement.”⁴⁴ Even if ratified by WTO, however, a provision of the GATS agreement stipulates that a country can pre-empt some GATS conditions if a particular service is provided by the government, is publicly funded and is not part of a commercial trade or “in competition with other [private] service suppliers.”⁴⁵ Romania and Canada, for example, have thus far been successful in forestalling GATS policies affecting their state health and public education systems.⁴⁶ Moreover, Romanian authorities and presidents of the European University Association, the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, and the American Council on Education and Council for Higher Education Accreditation all signed a 2001 “declaration opposing the inclusion of higher education services in the GATS process.”⁴⁷

Exemption from the GATS processes has not, however, prevented Romanian

⁴² Ginsburg et al., “Globalization and Higher Education in Chile and Romania,” 221. See also *The GATS and Higher Education in Canada: An Update on Canada’s Position and Implications for Canadian Universities*. www.aucc.ca (accessed May 22, 2008).

⁴³ www.international.gc.ca/trade-agreements-accords-commerciaux/services/gats_agcs/gats-commitment.aspx?lang=ang (accessed June 20, 2008).

⁴⁴ Ginsburg et al., “Globalization and Higher Education in Chile and Romania,” 222.

⁴⁵ Ibid. Information from P. Sauve, *Trade, Education and the GATS: What’s In, What’s Out, What’s All the Fuss About?* Paper Presented at the OECD/US Forum on Trade in Education Services, Washington, D.C., 23-24 May, 2002, 3.

⁴⁶ “Trade in Services: Canada’s Commitments to the GATS,” *Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada*. www.international.gc.ca (accessed May 14, 2008).

⁴⁷ Ginsburg et al., “Globalization and Higher Education in Chile and Romania,” 225.

higher education from experiencing major changes as democratization, globalization and European integration processes entailed that the public education system be subjected to privatization, commercialization and marketization. These are all neoliberal policies that have been imposed on all levels of Romanian society by government. In Romania and in other countries where neoliberal policies now predominate, educational services are now seen by many politicians and business leaders as just commodities to be “traded in international ‘markets,’ [produced] for private profit; and consumed by individuals for their private benefit.”⁴⁸ This should come as no surprise, since neoliberalism is the intellectual ideology driving globalization.⁴⁹ This can have grave consequences not just for Romania’s education system but also for its society as a whole as government loses its ability to defend public services.

Global Neoliberalism

The conceptualizing of globalization in neoliberal terms has gathered pace with the rise of neoliberalism as the economic orthodoxy of the late twentieth-century and the removal of national trade barriers that made possible and “legitimated” international forms of economic activity.⁵⁰ Global neoliberalism, therefore, entails the establishment of a global policy regimen whereby trade, goods, resources and people, as was previously explained, are manipulated through market mechanisms and business formulas. This business approach that aims to treat and solve issues in social life, including education, through the applicants’ technical expertise in planning, organizing, budgeting and

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Apple, Jane Kenway, Michael Singh, eds., *Globalizing Education: Policies, Pedagogies, and Politics* (New York: Peter Lang, 2005), 3.

⁵⁰ Steven Slaughter, *Liberty Beyond Neo-liberalism: A Republican Critique of Liberal Governance in a Globalizing Age* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 34, 38.

reporting is also referred to as managerialism.⁵¹ The notion of applying technical expertise to education in particular, as will be explained shortly, is evidenced in the use of standards and performance indicators in school efficiency.

The use of business-derived methods applies to both local and foreign investors in the provision of social services, the economy or education. Capital account liberalization, for example, a major tenet of the neoliberal agenda, addresses removal of “controls, taxes, subsidies and quantitative restrictions that affect capital account transactions” to better maximize profits and efficiency of trade operations.⁵² Global Free Trade allows for both local and foreign companies and individuals to freely and unrestrictedly transfer and transport financial resources and properties internationally.⁵³ This policy permits transnational corporations, for example, to produce industrial components in countries with cheap labour and to sell them for great financial gains on affluent markets.⁵⁴ This procedure, however, is said to stifle national promotion and support of local developments, including educational reforms, in that it forces individuals of all walks of life to emigrate in search of better employment opportunities, thus contributing to a brain drain.⁵⁵ The application of business formulas in public education also minimizes the desirability of music education studies for the majority of the population in favour of more marketable skills such as those acquired in business or computer science studies.

Neoliberals, however, claim that the intent of this extension of market-based economics to encompass local affairs is to “provide humankind with the optimal means to

⁵¹ Jonathan Murphy, *The World Bank and Global Managerialism* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 154.

⁵² Ibid. See also Jan Aart Scholte, *Globalization: A Critical Introduction* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Slaughter, *Liberty Beyond Neo-liberalism*, 31.

⁵⁵ <http://www.wall-street.ro/articol/Economie/22174/Dupa-exodul-mainii-de-lucru-Romania-cauta-muncitori-straini.html> (accessed August 1, 2008).

achieve prosperity” and to pursue individual choices on a long term.⁵⁶ Of course, as already suggested, the so-called unrestricted choice offer is only illusory since people are manipulated to follow prescribed choice paths (the private education offer in Romania includes mostly American and European based schools, with only a few Romanian ones). Neoliberals claim, however, that their promises are real and possible because neoliberalism liberates “individual entrepreneurial freedom and skills [from the bounds of state supported programs to develop] within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade.”⁵⁷

The above-mentioned policy may, however, only support the elite which can already afford to play on the global arena of neoliberal economics, at the expense of the poor and lower middle class (this has already been suggested with respect to the growing gap between rich and poor in Canada). Nonetheless, through the aforementioned assertions, neoliberals attempt to legitimize their policies, particularly those that do not favour the poor, by claiming that global neoliberalism is a natural development of economic processes. The active initiation and support of neoliberal policies by corporate and financial elites, policy experts, technocrats and the mass media, however, suggests that global neoliberalism is far from natural. Rather, it is a political and social construct. In fact, the power of political and corporate elites in persuading governments to implement neoliberal policies has greatly contributed to the success of globalism. Governments which are part of the global economy are inevitably “enmeshed within the public networks of influence and discipline of global markets, formal international

⁵⁶ George F. DeMartino, *Global Economy, Global Justice: Theoretical Objections and Policy Alternatives to Neoliberalism* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 1.

⁵⁷ See David Harvey’s analysis of neoliberalism and its theoretical underpinnings in David Hursh, “Assessing No Child Left Behind and the Rise of Neoliberal Education Policies,” *American Educational Research Journal* 44, 3 (September, 2007), 497.

financial institutions . . . as well as the private networks of credit rating agencies.”⁵⁸

Government officials are also “neo-liberals because they are obliged to operate within a set of structures in the global economy which reflect . . . neo-liberal principles.”⁵⁹

As critics and economists agree, when globalization is merely an imposition of capitalistic and neoliberal principles, without proper consultation and consideration of the hardships they may entail for subject populations, there may be resistance and struggle.⁶⁰ In Romania, for example, government’s attempts at restructuring the economy through closing unprofitable business or privatizing industries which, during communism, provided job opportunities for the population resulted in strikes and revolts.⁶¹ Other effects of neoliberal imposition readily observed at all levels of Romanian society include high inflation rates, high unemployment rates, disappearance of local commerce, and loss of national, cultural and educational values in favour of a burgeoning global culture of consumerism.⁶²

Cultural Globalization

As already suggested, with cultural goods flowing freely across countries, globalization is reconfiguring the world into a larger global cultural space.⁶³ The amplified global connectivity does not necessarily imply, however, that the world is becoming culturally unified. There are obvious trends toward concentration and density

⁵⁸ Slaughter, *Liberty Beyond Neoliberalism*, 49.

⁵⁹ Gamble, “Two Faces of Liberalism,” in Richard Robison, ed., *The Neo-Liberal Revolution: Forging the Market State* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 34.

⁶⁰ Kellner, “Theorizing Globalization,” 299.

⁶¹ Vladimir Pasti, *Noul Capitalism Romanesc*. The English version: *The New Romanian Capitalism* (Iasi: Editura Polirom, 2006).

⁶² Bisley, *Rethinking Globalization*, 27.

⁶³ Hugh Mackay, “The Globalization of Culture?” in Held, ed., *A Globalizing World*, 48.

of cultural flow in certain areas, but there are also other spaces of cultural inconsistency.⁶⁴

Within the larger globalizing process of culture, Western values may confer new meanings to peripheral cultures by enriching, completely transforming, or enforcing them. Globalization can also encourage and facilitate increased diversity among and within cultures. In the Balkans, for example, globalization processes did not produce homogenized or polarized cultures; instead, it created hybrid genres, particularly in music.⁶⁵ For these reasons, and because culture is not uniform throughout the world, it is important that the concept of cultural globalization be broken down into several components if we are to understand the whole. These are homogenization, polarisation and hybridization.

Cultural Homogenization

The notion of a homogenized culture refers to a global trend toward cultural uniformity and to a reduction in the diversity of cultures.⁶⁶ The ubiquitous American owned products, for example, such as Nike shoes, Chicago Bulls t-shirts, McDonald's burgers and Starbucks coffee in countries with otherwise strong perceptions of cultural and national identities (e.g., Amazonian Indians, Palestine) point toward standardisation and homogenization of tastes and desires.⁶⁷ As cultural theorists also observe, globalization has facilitated the rapid dissemination of Western culture worldwide owing to the global reach of American economic interests and also of industries from other

⁶⁴ See Douglas J. Goodman, "Globalization and Consumer Culture," in Ritzer, ed., *The Blackwell Companion to Globalization*.

⁶⁵ Donna Buchanan, ed., *Balkan Popular Culture and the Ottoman Ecumene: Music, Image, and Regional Political Discourse* (Toronto: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2007).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 336.

⁶⁷ Steger, *Globalism: The New Market Ideology*, 36. See also John Tomlinson, "Cultural Globalization," in Ritzer, ed., *The Blackwell Companion to Globalization*, 355.

countries (e.g., China) that attempt to replicate or capitalize on American style and popular culture.⁶⁸ Large and influential organizations such as Time Warner and Disney corporations are increasingly controlling distribution and content of cultural products “in a situation of rapid flux and [political, economic and social] uncertainty.”⁶⁹ American media critic and sociologist Herbert Schiller observes that the free flow of information resulting from the removal of geographical, economic and political boundaries has become a mechanism by which the life style and values of American culture are imposed upon politically and economically weaker and vulnerable communities.⁷⁰ The aim is obviously to produce a standardized global culture that cultivates uniform tastes and desires along Western and American standards. The cultural hegemony of American and Western European cultural, musical and educational values may accordingly be “seen as a part of a strategy to generate demand for Western goods and to compound subordination and inequality between producer and recipient cultures.”⁷¹ The growth of American-style school concert bands in Thailand and other countries (including Canada) may be one example of this cultural hegemony in that those school projects are dependent on works of American and European composers for their repertoire.⁷²

This cultural homogeneity may also be prompted by the integration of elites around the world in the educational, economic, political and cultural life of both Western and developing societies. From this perspective, the growth and expansion of the global culture is driven not only by mass-marketing strategies intended to inculcate Western values and life styles in recipient countries, but also through the free circulation of “a

⁶⁸ Mackay, “The Globalization of Culture?”, 56.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 57.

⁷⁰ Schiller, *Mass Communication and American Empire* (New York: August M. Kelley, Publishers, 1969).

⁷¹ Mackay, “The Globalization of Culture?”, 64.

⁷² See Timothy J. Craig and Richard King, *Global Goes Local: Popular Culture in Asia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002).

cross-national global elite," its life style and culture.⁷³ For example, corporate managers and experts who cooperate with national governments to improve domestic economies are also introducing to those countries some of their professional values, lifestyle patterns and individual cultural and educational perspectives through privately supported music programs and schools.⁷⁴ The companies that produce Hollywood movies are another source that contributes to the spreading abroad of the so-called American dream.⁷⁵ These companies' productions portray an aspect of American life that focuses primarily on the rich, the powerful and successful individuals, professionally personified by an elite of actors and actresses. These movies attract the young and the disadvantaged who are looking up to the American dream and its values and are trying to emulate and appropriate them.⁷⁶ The danger in this cultural appropriation of foreign values, whether in music, fashion, or food, however, is that it involves a "system of meaning" that is divorced from local and national values.⁷⁷ In Romania, for example, the average family now takes pride in celebrating their children's birthdays at local McDonald's.⁷⁸ The former traditional birthday party with home-made cake is no longer fashionable among teenagers. Indeed, these cultural flows have essentially transformed "spatiality and sense

⁷³ Robert Holton, "Globalization's Cultural Consequences," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 570, Dimensions of Globalization (July, 2000), 143.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Thomas L. Friedman, *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux), 469. "America was, and for now, still is, the world's greatest dream machine."

⁷⁶ Douglas J. Goodman, "Globalization and Consumer Culture," in Ritzer, ed., *The Blackwell Companion to Globalization*, 337.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 338.

⁷⁸ "Romania Castiga Palme d'Or Pentru Scurtmetraj." The English version: "Romania Wins 'Palme d'Or' For Short Movie Category." This trophy has been won at the 2008 Film Festival in Cannes. www.gardianul.ro/2008/05/26/media_cultura-c20/romania_castiga_palme_d_or_pentru_scurtmetraj-sl14547.html (accessed June 23, 2008). The movie, called *Megatron* after a toy included into a Happy Meal product by McDonald's, tells the story of a little boy from a village near Bucharest, whose mother takes him to McDonald's to celebrate his birthday.

of space and place.”⁷⁹ From this perspective, cultural homogeneity is dangerous because it does not involve simple eating habits or economics, but the spread of the process of “efficiency, calculability, predictability and control which McDonald’s [for example] successfully introduced to consumption.”⁸⁰ Especially with the rapid spread of American culture, “the authentic culture of recipient nations—many of them in the developing world—is being eroded by inauthentic, ersatz, imposed culture.”⁸¹ For Romania, the cultural flow is one way as that country has little impact on most of the rest of the world, including the United States. Romanian folkloric musical genres, for example, are now infused with Western-based rhythms and are performed in a Western-derived fashion (e.g., short skirts). This is obviously divorced from both traditional interpretation, which is usually unaccompanied and reflecting specific regional linguistic dialects, and costume.⁸²

Since the process of globalization of culture along American patterns, especially with respect to American cultural exports to Europe, implies the loss of national, non-Western cultural and other values, global culture is also harmful to local European cultural and musical values. Zealous anti-globalization advocates argue that “cultural [domination of Western values] is seen as overstating external structural forces and undervaluing internal, local dynamics and human agency; and as overstating change and relegating continuities.”⁸³ The danger in this cultural hegemony is that developing countries that want to prosper have to submit to the cultural, political and economic hegemony of the American Empire if they wish to receive financial aid from the World

⁷⁹ Schiller, *Mass Communication and American Empire*, 38.

⁸⁰ Goodman, “Globalization and Consumer Culture,” 337.

⁸¹ Mackay, “The Globalization of Culture?,” 74.

⁸² See Speranta Radulescu, *Peisaje Muzicale in Romania Secolului XX*. The English version: *Musical Landscapes of Twentieth-Century Romania* (Bucuresti: Editura Muzicala, 2002), 85.

⁸³ Mackay, “The Globalization of Culture?,” 65.

Bank, this despite the implied loss of national cultural identity.⁸⁴

Cultural Polarization

While acknowledging that globalization is frequently equated with Americanization or Westernization, Anthony Giddens claims that such an equation is overstated and that globalization and the influence of big corporations on undermining national cultural, musical values and state democracy are exaggerated.⁸⁵ With the world recently “divided into a number of ‘geolinguistic’ regions, each with its own internal dynamics as well as global links,” the view that considers American or Western cultural imperialism as an independent cultural flow is considered erroneous.⁸⁶ As Giddens explains, companies such as *The United Colours of Benetton*, for example, are non-US producers of consumer products and fashion culture.⁸⁷ In Europe, for example, Paris is the cultural magnet and not New York or other North-American states. As Leslie Sklair expresses it,

Capitalist consumerism is mystified by reference to Americanization, while Americanization, the method of the most successfully productive society in human history, gives its imprimatur to capitalist consumerism . . . [T]o identify cultural and media imperialism with the United States, or even with US capitalism, is a profound and a profoundly mystifying error. It implies that if American influence could be excluded then cultural and media imperialism would

⁸⁴ Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents*, 5. See also Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Price of America's Empire* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2004).

⁸⁵ Giddens, *Runaway World: How Globalization is Reshaping our Lives* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

⁸⁶ Mackay, “The Globalization of Culture?”, 72.

⁸⁷ The United Colours of Benetton is an Italian company, specialized in casual wear for women, men and children. www.benetton.com (accessed January 30, 2008). See also Holton, “Globalization’s Cultural Consequences.”

end.⁸⁸

Making much of the same caveat, Arjun Appadurai similarly argues that people in other parts of the world may perceive cultural threats in other terms than Americanization. For example, "for the people of Irian Java, Indonesianization may be more worrisome than Americanization, as Japanization may be for Koreans, Indianization for Sri Lankans, Vietnamization for Cambodians."⁸⁹ From this perspective, cultural globalization may be multicentered rather than organized around a unitary cultural value system, such as Western or American. The notion of cultural globalization thus should be posited differently.

Edward Said and Benjamin Barber have long been influential with respect to conceiving the global culture in a dichotomous manner. Said's work on *Orientalism* addresses the cultural polarization of the world as a relationship of power and domination between the Occident and the Orient, in which the latter is perceived as inferior and as a Western construct of the fundamentally different "Other."⁹⁰ The Orient is stagnant and erotic, whereas the West is "dynamic and innovatory, rational and tolerant."⁹¹ The intent, as Said explains, is to marginalize if not annihilate the experience of the "Other."⁹² Barber, too, depicts cultural globalism as a polarization of conflict between "Us" and the "Other," as represented by his book's title *Jihad versus McWorld*.⁹³ One important conflict presently dominating American and European media is that between global consumer capitalism (e.g., fast-food, popular music, computers) and the Islamic

⁸⁸ Leslie Sklair, *Sociology of the Global System* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991) quoted in Goodman, "Globalization and Consumer Culture," 337.

⁸⁹ Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," in Michael Featherstone, ed., *Global Culture* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1990), 295.

⁹⁰ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 1-2, 5.

⁹¹ Holton, "Globalization's Cultural Consequences," 145.

⁹² Said, *Orientalism*, 2.

⁹³ Barber, *Jihad Versus McWorld*.

fundamentalist struggle for justice and its preservation of traditional cultural and religious values.⁹⁴ If McWorld seeks to bind the West with “ties of soulless consumption of commodified cultural production,” Jihad “promises moral liberation from mammon through communitarian political mobilization in pursuit of justice.”⁹⁵ Paradoxically, however, and despite the overtly clamoured differentiation between these two concepts, the tendencies of both McWorld and Jihad coexist in what seem apparently incongruent terms: “Iranian zealots keep one ear tuned to the mullahs urging holy war and the other cocked to Rupert Murdoch’s Star television beaming in *Dynasty*, *Donahue*, and *The Simpsons* from hovering satellites.”⁹⁶ Ultimately, however, this cultural polarization is transforming and dividing the globe into cultural wars, while claiming that cultural resistance is placing constraints on the spread of Western globalization.⁹⁷

Cultural Hybridization

Since cultural boundaries are evidently porous, globalization is increasing cultural heterogeneity rather than creating polarized or homogenized styles and genres, as global and local cultures are sometimes mutually reinforcing rather than always drawing either toward the center or the periphery.⁹⁸ A good example of this cultural heterogeneity is that found in the cross-cultural character of what may be referred to as the musical pan-Balkan genre.⁹⁹ In Romania, cultural globalization has led to a blending of Balkan related styles and cultures (Greek, Turkish oriental and Gypsy), Western-derived musical patterns and

⁹⁴ Ibid., 4.

⁹⁵ Barber cited in Holton, “Globalization’s Cultural Consequences,” 146-147.

⁹⁶ Barber, *Jihad Versus McWorld*, 5.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Goodman, “Globalization and Consumer Culture.”

⁹⁹ See Buchanan, *Balkan Popular Culture and the Ottoman Ecumene*.

Romanian lyrics.¹⁰⁰ Because of its novelty, as compared with the patriotic songs of the communist era, the pan-Balkan music enjoys increased popularity among people of all ages and educational backgrounds and is disseminated through mass media to all levels of society.¹⁰¹ However, the urban elite and music university scholars revile this music as stylistically undefined, a “musical stew” or “oriental music” that is threatening to Romanian musical autonomy and cultural identity.¹⁰² Indeed, none of the pan-Balkan’s musical and cultural components are clear renderings of their originating cultures. For example, the Turkish appropriation bears some similarities with Turkish music but only to a certain extent (e.g., only fragments of original modes and rhythms are evident), while the Western-derived rhythms are only synthesizer-generated patterns.¹⁰³ As Jameson says, this hybridization of space may have created an “existential bewilderment,” a culture in which individuals cannot position themselves.¹⁰⁴ In this sense, balkanization refers to the blending of residual cultures and people into one genre or community without any particular cultural characteristics.¹⁰⁵

Indeed, globalization has contributed to a growth of overlapping communities with the removal of national legislative restrictions on transactions between countries and the dissolution of geographical barriers. As some geographical territories become less significant while others rise to increased importance, theorists and political pundits argue that the current global world order should accordingly be referred to as

¹⁰⁰ Margaret H. Beissinger, “Muzica Orientală: Identity and Popular Culture in Postcommunist Romania,” in Buchanan, *Balkan Popular Culture and the Ottoman Ecumene*, 132.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 130.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 133.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Ward, *Postmodernism*, 22. Barber, *Jihad Versus McWorld*, 4.

¹⁰⁵ Buchanan, *Balkan Popular Culture and the Ottoman Ecumene*, xviii.

deterritorialization, supraterritorialization or even reterritorialization.¹⁰⁶ David Morley and Kevin Robins, for instance, advance the idea of deterritorialization, or the belief that “recent technologies of communication and transport have created new geographies based less on the physical boundaries of land and more on the flow of information.”¹⁰⁷ From this perspective, globalization refers to important “change[s] in the nature of social space” and cultural identities.¹⁰⁸ The broad propagation of supraterritorial connections brings an end to territorialism first in geographic terms and then in terms of cultural perspective.¹⁰⁹ As Morley and Robins argue, “we must think in terms of . . . the symbolic boundaries of language and culture,” since geographical and even political boundaries, as is the case in the European Union, for example, have disappeared.¹¹⁰

Obviously, this re-conceptualization of the world has implications at all levels of society, particularly with respect to education as teaching and learning patterns. Educational policies have to be reconfigured so as to respond to the new challenges that globalization and its neoliberal agenda are posing to developing countries.

Some Implications for Education

As expected, given the neoliberal agenda driving globalization, governments throughout the Western world are experiencing political pressure to privatize public schools, thereby purportedly achieving greater educational efficiency in preparing children for a life of work. Indeed, neoliberals claim that through reduction in

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 60.

¹⁰⁷ Ward, *Postmodernism*, 151, 152. See Scholte, *Globalization*, 46. See also David Morley and Kevin Robins, *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes, and Cultural Boundaries* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

¹⁰⁸ Scholte, *Globalization*, 46.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Morley and Robins, *Spaces of Identity*, 1.

government responsibility with respect to social and educational regulation, markets become free of government intervention, therefore depoliticized and less bureaucratic than government structures.¹¹¹ Consequently, schooling becomes better and more efficient because markets are ruled by effort and merit, in short by competition. Competitiveness is deemed to not only enhance efficiency of schools with respect to graduation percentage rates but also to increase the number of educational and schooling choices. Competition can, however, also be a race for branding and advertising schools for greater financial gains.¹¹² Nonetheless, neoliberals believe that

Increased efficiency can only be attained . . . if individuals are able to make choices within a market system in which schools compete rather than the current system in which individuals are captive to educational decisions made by educators and government officials.¹¹³

In this context, measurement of school efficiency against results of standardized achievement tests is deemed to improve educational results.¹¹⁴ This policy, however, potentially reinforces powerfully competitive structures of mobility both inside and outside the school, decreases people's hopes for economic stability and widely disseminates a form of social-Darwinist thinking through competition.¹¹⁵ Schools' survival, including their financial viability, depends upon their competitive capabilities, this despite the often huge disparities in wealth and access to education.

¹¹¹ See Slaughter, *Liberty Beyond Neo-Liberalism*.

¹¹² See Tad Lathrop; contributions by Jim Pettigrew, Jr., *This Business of Music Marketing and Promotion* (New York: Billboard Books, 2003), 26-27.

¹¹³ Hursh, "Assessing No Child Left Behind and the Rise of Neoliberal Policies," 498.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Apple, "Competition, Knowledge, and the Loss of Educational Vision," *Philosophy of Music Education Review* 11, 1 (Spring 2003), 4. See also Woodford, "Can Democracy in Music Education Work," unpublished paper presented at the Research in Music Education Symposium, University of Exeter, the United Kingdom, May 14-18, 2009, 25.

As Michael Apple and David Hursh argue, this procedure may be deceptive for both students and the public in that, as happened with the “No Child Left Behind” (NCLB) neoliberal policy in the United States, schools may use various strategies to show unreal teaching-learning efficiency results. Some of these strategies include disguising school drop-outs as instances of student mobility, devising tests so that even children with the lowest marks pass and encouraging teachers to work only with those children that are close to the passing threshold at the expense of leaving behind students who are in legitimate need of training.¹¹⁶ Initially, the NCLB program was launched to help improve the quality of education in the United States, to reduce the achievement gap between whites and blacks and to help that country maintain its educational standards relative to the rest of the world. As Hursh discovered, however, this educational policy did not have its intended effect. On the contrary, the quality of education decreased as curriculum was tailored to meet test requirements.¹¹⁷ Music and the arts also suffered as money was re-directed to reading, math and sciences and as educational efforts were concentrated on preparing students for passing standardized tests.¹¹⁸ As Alex Ross writes, by 2004, 71 percent of American school districts have had to “narrow their elementary school curricula in order to make up the difference, and the arts have repeatedly been deemed expandable.”¹¹⁹ Many American music educators agree that the NCLB “is part of a larger political process in which concerns about increasing global economic competition have been a pretext for neoliberal reforms that focus on increasing efficiency through

¹¹⁶ Hursh, “Assessing No Child Left Behind and the Rise of Neoliberal Policies.”

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 512.

¹¹⁸ Alex Ross, “Learning the Score: A Critic at Large,” *The New Yorker*, 4 September 2006, 83.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

privatization, markets, and competition.”¹²⁰

In Canada, the neoliberal agenda has also used educational efficiency to legitimize the transformation of public schooling into a mass-market public good. Students, however, are still failing standardized tests, this despite the neoliberals’ stress on competition and efficiency.¹²¹ This is simply because these tests assume that someone must fail. Advocates of “choice and competition” argue nonetheless that “efficiency and equity in education [are important and] can only be addressed through choice and where family or individuals are [considered] . . . customers of educational services.”¹²²

Other consequences of globalization and the neoliberal agenda on education and music education in Romania have been the reduction in, or lack of, financial support for the public education system (equipment and instruments, technology, infrastructure such as schools and facilities) as the government, in complying with the IMF and the World Bank conditionality regimen, has had to cut funds to the public sector while encouraging privatization.¹²³ As in the 1980s, when the Romanian public education system suffered from severe funding cuts under former communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, Romania is once again experiencing deep cuts to school and university funding. Further, and although public education for elementary and secondary levels remains compulsory and state-mandated, the Romanian government is now encouraging the establishment of private educational institutions, including private music schools, and more diversified

¹²⁰ Hursh, *Assessing No Child Left Behind and the Rise of Neoliberal Policies*, 514. See also <http://www.musiceducationmadness.com/nclb.shtml> (accessed September 1, 2009) and Jodi Burak and Rob Walker, “Music Education May Be ‘Left Behind’ Under New Federal Requirements.” *American Music Conference* (August 2003). <http://www.amc-music.com/news/pressreleases/NCLB.htm> (accessed September 1, 2009).

¹²¹ Stein, *The Cult of Efficiency*, 95. See also Ranu Basu, “The Rationalization of Neoliberalism in Ontario’s Public Education System, 1995-2000.” www.sciencedirect.com (accessed June 3, 2008).

¹²² Hursh, “Assessing No Child Left Behind and the Rise of Neoliberal Policies,” 503.

¹²³ See Singer and Sarivan, eds., *Quo Vadis, Academia*.

curricula to prepare students for the global market.¹²⁴ Privatization, however, does not free the individual from authority, as neoliberals claim; it only transfers power from government to private institutions or individuals who are then free to use this power as it suits their own interests. This policy is potentially undemocratic if, by taking power away from government, citizens lose their primary instrument in defence of the public interest and national educational objectives (i.e., educational aims that are designed to respond to native students' needs and to reflect national values). As will be discussed in chapter 7, critics and scholars express concern about students' (from both private and public schools) exposure to an ideology of consumer culture. Decentralization of administrative and educational responsibilities to lower level school boards may also contribute to a loss of national values if school principals, who are to some extent empowered to individualize school curriculum according to local educational needs, decide to remove music education from school curriculum and to concentrate on other school subjects that are thought to make students more marketable upon graduation, such as happened in the United States with the NCLB act.¹²⁵

In Romania, and as will be discussed in chapter 6, decentralization was introduced gradually along with every educational reform attempted by government officials since 1989 on. Currently, regional school boards have decision making responsibilities in that they have to provide quality assurance of the teaching-learning process and to ensure compliance with national standards and guidelines; schools have some autonomy in planning and implementing budgets; and school directors and administrative councils can

¹²⁴ www.edu.ro. *Program de Guvernare pe Perioada 2000 – 2004*. The English version: *Government Regulation Program for the Period 2000 – 2004*. www.gov.ro.

¹²⁵ Ariel Fiszbein, ed., "Decentralizing Education in Transition Societies," *WBI Learning Resources Series*, (World Bank, Washington, D.C, 2001), 1.

design school personnel policy and determine curriculum. However, and despite attempted educational reforms, World Bank officials claim that Romanian education is resistant to change and that little has been done since the 1989 Revolution to reform public education so as to make it consistent with European educational standards. Whether reforms of the Romanian public education system are consistent with democratic principles or simply effects of the imposition of the conditionality regimen of global financial corporations and reflections of globalizing processes is considered in chapters 6 and 7.

Are Globalization and Democracy Compatible and Complementary?

Inevitably, the rhetoric of the globalization – democracy relationship revolves around several key aspects: enhancement or destabilization of democratic popular participation and opinion in political decision-making, including implementation and assessment of various policies; broadening or limiting of democratic debates in public affairs; and improvement or obstruction of democratic principles of transparency and public accountability of governance institutions.¹²⁶ Although no consensus has been reached with respect to clarifying these dichotomies, a growing number of political pundits agree that there is little compatibility between globalization and democracy, especially when globalization is identified with a neoliberal political agenda.

One argument in support of the globalization – democracy dichotomy addresses the much wider scope that democracy encompasses, beyond the point of “being a mere

¹²⁶ See Scholte, *Globalization*, 31. See also Ronaldo Munck, “Globalization and Democracy: A New ‘Great transformation,’” in Ronaldo Munck and Barry K. Gillis, eds., *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (London: Sage Publication, May 2002).

instrument for facilitating the expansion of market economy at the global level.”¹²⁷ As was already discussed, democracy implies equality of opportunity, public participation in decision making processes and right of choice. This encompasses far more than just economic concerns or attempts at privatizing and liberalizing the economy.¹²⁸ If that were the case, such as when government concentrates on the economy while human rights are neglected, inequalities are bound to result. In such cases, globalization can work to destabilize democracy.¹²⁹ Nor can democracy be achieved as a result of the worldwide spread of North-American consumerism (e.g., jeans, fast-food and pop music) primarily because “globalization thrives on passive consumers while democracy is [at least in theory] sustained by active participation of citizens.”¹³⁰ Further, the free and generally unrestricted flow of technology and information may facilitate unlimited opportunities for various international fund organizations through their local branches to engage in speculative activities in financial markets and thus stall democratic processes if social security programs funds, for example, are diverted to private personal financial interests. In other situations, when strategies of international corporations act to reduce activities in smaller or more isolated communities, the stability of democratic systems is also challenged since these systems “cannot function if large parts of their nation-states are abandoned economically.”¹³¹

In fact, the “traditional form of territorial sovereignty” is wholly threatened by globalizing processes.¹³² As Anthony McGrew and Ronaldo Munck argue, “accelerating

¹²⁷ Singh, *Questioning Globalization*, 17.

¹²⁸ See Giddens, *Runaway World*.

¹²⁹ Singh, *Questioning Globalization*, 105.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 100.

¹³¹ Saul, *The Collapse of Globalization*, 146.

¹³² Munck, “Globalization and Democracy,” in Munck and Gillis, eds., *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 13.

global and regional interconnectedness poses distinct challenges to liberal democratic forms of governance.”¹³³ Weakening of national autonomy can lead to a decline in workers’ rights, which is one of the major prerogatives democratic states offer to their populations. As Charles Tily warned, when such democratic rights are abrogated, the state’s “capacity to pursue effective social policies” is diminished.¹³⁴ The major and obvious failures of globalization are mostly observed in the state’s inability to maintain employment in the face of corporate outsourcing.¹³⁵ Globalization, thus, cannot be tantamount to democracy because “[d]emocratic values like human dignity, freedom [of thought, expression, press, etc.], equity [equal opportunities to jobs, political decision-making processes, etc.] and justice cannot take root in a polity obsessed with neoliberal orthodoxy” and cannot freely develop on the background of increased socio-political and economic inequities.¹³⁶

Barber, too, observes that the present global disequilibrium in economic growth between developed and developing countries coupled with lack of social, political and educational opportunities for the poor is attributable to an “asymmetry in power between an organized global economy and an anarchic global political climate” created by the greedy tendency of major organizations toward assuming power and building wealth.¹³⁷ The economic inequities in post-communist Russia, for example, are a result of establishing free market institutions in the context of little real democratic regulation and

¹³³ Anthony McGrew, “Globalization and Territorial Democracy: An Introduction,” in Anthony McGrew, ed., *The Transformation of Democracy? Globalization and Territorial Democracy* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press in association with the Open University, 1997), 12.

¹³⁴ Charles Tily, “Globalization Threatens Labor’s Rights,” *International Labor and Working Class History* 47 (Spring, 1995), 1.

¹³⁵ Saul, *The Collapse of Globalization*, 146, 148.

¹³⁶ Singh, *Questioning Globalization*, 128.

¹³⁷ Barber, “Challenges in an Age of Globalization,” in Axtman, *Balancing Democracy*, 301.

control and without public institutions able “to secure citizenship and democracy.”¹³⁸ Russia’ economy, education and living standards in general have also decreased significantly since that country’s integration into the global economy.¹³⁹ Indeed, in addition to widening the gap between the rich and the poor, “the globalization of markets in the absence of globalization of democratic institutions is increasingly undermining” not just democracy but the sovereignty of nation states.¹⁴⁰

There are, however, critics who think that globalization has the potential to create new prospects for democracy through the expansion of choice and the larger exposure to democratic principles.¹⁴¹ As Jan Aart Scholte notes, if “the new geography has to date made governance less democratic,” it has also “encouraged some innovations in democratic practices” through the openness to information, the internet, and various mass media channels.¹⁴² In McGrew’s opinion, nation states are not eliminated in the new global world, but reconfigured and reinforced.¹⁴³ Other social theorists and politicians similarly argue that the newly born or reconfigured nation states have increased their sovereign power.¹⁴⁴ Nation states are in fact crucial to the promotion of economic globalization because democratic states foster and control free trade. As Barber put it, “[d]emocracy has been a precondition for free markets [and] not, as economists try to argue today, the other way around.”¹⁴⁵ In his opinion, the lack of globalizing democracy

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Stiglitz, *Making Globalization Work*, 11, 30.

¹⁴⁰ Barber, “Challenges in an Age of Globalization,” 303.

¹⁴¹ See Bhagwati, *In Defense of Globalization*.

¹⁴² Scholte, “Global Civil Society,” in N. Woods, ed., *The Political Economy of Globalization* (London: Macmillan, 2000), 263.

¹⁴³ McGrew and Paul G. Lewis, *Global Politics: Globalization and the Nation-State* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992).

¹⁴⁴ Gligorov, *Why Do Countries Break Up*, 46. Gligorov argues that Yugoslavia’s political and ethnic fragmentation has been caused by politicians’ incapacity to find “the right balance between the power of the center and that of the federalized nations” as the country attempted to mix federalism with socialism.

¹⁴⁵ Barber, “Challenges in an Age of Globalization,” 300.

at the same time with the economy is what greatly challenges democratic stability.¹⁴⁶

Nevertheless, attempts toward democratizing globalization have been made. For example, the recently expanded European Union is a case in point of a transnational democratic terrain. As will be shortly explained, the democratic governing of EU institutions is facing a legitimacy crisis as member nations are questioning whether European integration enhances democracy or attempts to destabilize it. The case of European integration faces political pundits in EU member states and the world at large in the face of political, democratic, economic, educational and cultural dilemmas. The following chapter addresses these and other implications of European integration as they affect Romanian public music education and institutional policies.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

CHAPTER III

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

The enlargement of the European Union (EU) to include former Soviet satellites such as Romania and Bulgaria has led to national political, cultural and educational identity crises. Recently, Europe has for many people come to be associated with “remote bureaucratic directives from Brussels” which were bound to stifle national initiatives.¹ At the same time, many citizens experienced a renewed sense of national consciousness and identity. Yet another unexpected outcome of the Europeanization of the former Soviet satellites has been the emergence of a “constellation” of cultural identities, as evidenced in the rich tapestry of languages, dialects, cultures and traditions now flowing freely across the Union. As cultural theorists contend, Europeanization can give rise to national or regional cultural forms created as a reaction to the “imposition of global cultures” and to the bureaucratic authority of transnational organizations.² In David Morley’s and Kevin Robbins’ opinion, to be a European now entails belonging to one or all of three dynamic perspectives: continental, national or regional. This is bound to create identity crises and confusion since people have lost long-established reference points (e.g., national traditions and customs) while gaining other relationships, some of which may be considered as impositions. Obviously, in the case of Romania, these political and cultural relationships will be reflected in changes to educational policy as the country becomes more integrated into the EU.

Before analyzing the impact of European integration forces on Romania’s

¹ Steve Wood and Wolfgang Quaisser, *The New European Union: Confronting the Challenges of Integration* (Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2008), 1.

² Scholte, *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, 208.

education system, however, it is first necessary to briefly document the emergence and evolution of the European Union so that readers can understand the transformations in governance and public policy in European society. This brief historical account is also intended to help explain the recent paradigmatic shifts of political, economic, cultural and educational policies in post-1989 Romania.

Historical Background to the Current Structure of the European Union

The historical roots of the EU are in post World War II reconstruction, when political leaders sought a venue for reconciliation among “hostile nationalisms” wherein countries could address various economic and political problems and thus assure “stability and prosperity in Europe.”³ The basic thrust was political, aiming initially to transform Europe into a federation of states (i.e., “the creation of a constitutional rule-making authority that divides power [among] federal, national and local authorities”) as designed by French foreign minister Robert Schuman and politician Jean Monnet.⁴ Six European countries—Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany—signed in 1952 the European Defence Community Treaty aimed at establishing a supranational organization with political and administrative institutions, armed forces and a budget. This organization was to be based on the principles of parliamentary democracy and division of powers. The French National Assembly, however, rejected the

³ Annabelle Mooney and Betsy Evans, *Globalization: The Key Concepts* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 83-84.

⁴ Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, ed., *Debates on European Integration: A Reader* (Palgrave: Macmillan, 2006), 20.

federalist project in 1954 and the plans for federalizing Europe were abandoned.⁵

Modernization and economic growth were instead intensely pursued and efforts were channelled toward the establishment of an economic community.⁶

To serve these purposes, three regional organizations were formed in the 1950s. The first of these organizations, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), was established in 1951 by the Treaty of Paris as a coal and steel common market created initially for the aforementioned six European countries (e.g., Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany).⁷ Although the purpose of this market was to facilitate reasonable trade prices among its member countries, its major aim was to prevent Germany from taking control over France's coal and steel markets.⁸ To ensure fairness of trade and other economic operations, several institutions were further established as part of the ECSC so as to secure its success. These were 1) an executive body of six appointees from the member states to implement Treaty provisions; 2) an Assembly, comprised of the six national parliaments' representatives to supervise the executive body operations; 3) a Council, consisting of one representative of each of the national governments to offer advice and consulting to national governments and to coordinate their economic operations; and 4) a Court of Justice comprised of nine judges to ensure that justice prevailed in economic matters.⁹ The ECSC, however, disappeared as

⁵ Giandomenico Majone, *Dilemmas of European Integration: The Ambiguities and Pitfalls of Integration by Stealth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 5. See also Duncan Watts, *The European Union* (Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 16. French politicians on the Assembly who voted against the federalization of Europe believed that the plan was too ambitious and felt that Europe was not yet prepared to become a federation.

⁶ David M. Wood and Birol A. Yeşilada, *The Emerging European Union*, 4th ed. (New York: Pearson Longman, 2007), 13-14.

⁷ Leon N. Lindberg, "The Political Dynamics of European Economic Integration," in Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, ed., *Debates on European Integration*, 117.

⁸ www.europa.eu (accessed February 6, 2008).

⁹ Majone, *Dilemmas of European Integration*, 2.

an entity in 1969. This was owing to administrative squabbling and insurmountable economic and other problems. The ECSC and its governing institutions were subsequently incorporated into the European Economic Community (EEC) that same year.

The second regional organization, the EEC, had been established in 1957, following the provisions of one of the two Treaties of Rome signed that same year. This organization was intended to promote the free circulation of goods, persons, services and capital through removal of trade barriers and tariffs and to provide a common commercial policy for the community's member states. With the incorporation of the ECSC, the EEC had increased its power, particularly as the Treaty of Rome associated with its establishment sought to make Europe more independent economically, if not politically, from the United States and the Soviet Union.¹⁰ In the decades following the establishment of the EEC and its institutions, the political and economic expansion of Europe was evidenced in the gradual development of member states toward a common market through integrating or replacing individual member states' policies, correlating national legislation with European laws, and establishing new institutions to accommodate matters regarding integration processes in Europe.¹¹

In 1957, the third regional organization, the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom), was created following the provisions of the second Treaty of Rome. This was a forum for researching and developing nuclear energy and also for creating a market for atomic energy.¹² Although its scope was limited, Euratom concentrated on peaceful uses

¹⁰ Ibid., 29.

¹¹ Ibid., 52.

¹² Wood and Yeşilada, *The Emerging European Union*, 1.

of nuclear energy.¹³ As was intended by the Rome treaties, the main purpose of all these three organizations was to create a common market governed by the aforementioned Assembly (since 1962, the European Parliament), Commission and Council of Ministers, and Court of Justice. In 1967, the European Economic Community changed its name to the European Community until 1993, when it formally became the European Union.¹⁴

Current Structure of the European Union

The European Union as is presently known came into being following the establishment of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and the political union of 12 member countries, according to the terms of the Maastricht Treaty signed in 1993.¹⁵ The Treaty states that citizens of member countries have political rights, including the right to live and work in any of the 12 nation signatories of the Treaty with no restrictions applied other than those imposed by national laws and regulations. Following Treaty ratification, the EU continued to expand toward Eastern Europe, including Romania in January 2007.

Of the 27 countries currently members of the EU, twelve countries (Romania not included) are also members of the EMU and share a single currency.¹⁶ A network of institutional pillars, the origins of which can be traced back to the aforementioned ECSC, regulates the political, economic, and administrative operations of the EU. These organizations are the European Commission, the Council of Ministers, the European

¹³ Watts, *The European Union*, 18.

¹⁴ David Phillips and Hubert Ertl, *Implementing European Union Education and Training Policy: A Comparative Study of Issues in Four Member States*. (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003), 13.

¹⁵ Wood and Yeşilada, *The Emerging European Union*, 53. Watts, *The European Union*, 55. The 12 countries include the initial six plus Britain, Denmark and Ireland which joined the Union in 1973, Greece in 1981, and Portugal and Spain in 1986.

¹⁶ Watts, *The European Union*, 55. The rest of the member countries of the Union include Austria, Finland and Sweden, which joined in 1995, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, in 2004, and Bulgaria and Romania in 2007.

Parliament, the European Court of Justice, and the European Council and Specialized Agencies.¹⁷

The European Commission (based in Brussels) is the Executive Branch of the EU and the body that sets the legislative agenda for the Council of Ministers, manages the EU budget and represents and promotes the EU and its interests in international negotiations.¹⁸ Among its various responsibilities, the Commission also implements decisions, supports and endorses the Union's treaties and generally supervises its daily operations.¹⁹ The structure of the Commission follows that of a government cabinet in that it has a President, appointed by the European Council with the approval of the European Parliament, and one commissioner from each member state.²⁰

The intergovernmental Council of Ministers is comprised of the heads of states and governments (sometimes accompanied by their foreign ministers) of the 27 member countries, including the Commission's President. The Council normally meets three or four times a year to discuss and propose solutions to political and economic matters of common interest to all member countries. It is also primarily charged with establishing legislative matters, regulations and decisions.²¹

The European Parliament (formerly known as the Common Assembly of the ECSC), as it is known today, came into being in 1979 when constituent countries elected its members (the Assembly had been symbolically renamed the European Parliament in 1962, but its members were originally only appointed by national legislatures and not

¹⁷ See Jeremy Richardson, *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006).

¹⁸ John McCormick, *The European Union: Politics and Policies*, 4th ed. (Westview Press, 2008), 109.

¹⁹ www.eu.europa.eu (accessed February 6, 2008).

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Wood and Yeşilada, *The Emerging European Union*, 88.

elected).²² Currently, the European Parliament consists of individuals elected every five years by voters in each of the 27 member countries (it is the only directly elected EU institution).²³ Members of Parliament are grouped into specialized committees (organized by political affiliation and not by nationality) whose primary mandate is to investigate laws and to “report their recommendations regarding legislation.”²⁴ Unlike other parliamentary organizations, the European Parliament cannot “directly introduce proposals for new laws, it cannot enact laws alone, and it cannot raise revenues.”²⁵ The European Parliament, however, can take part in, or cancel, the powers of other EU organizations. Together with the European Council, the Parliament forms the highest legislative body in the Union and is one of the most powerful legislatures in the world.²⁶ These two bodies (i.e., the Parliament and the Council) also have a major role in approving or rejecting further expansion of the Union into new areas and in advancing mandatory requirements for admission to the EU.

The European Court of Justice holds supremacy over national laws and consists of 27 state judges each appointed for a six-year renewable mandate. Other constitutive offices include the Court’s President, the Court of First Instance, and the EU Civil Service Tribunal.²⁷

The European Council is the Board of Directors for the EU and is considered by some politicians as part of the Council of Ministers, while others see this organization as a separate entity. Regardless of its affiliation, the European Council consists of heads of

²² McCormick, *The European Union*, 157.

²³ *Ibid.*, 159. The European Parliament is the only elected international organization in the world.

²⁴ Wood and Yeşilada, *The Emerging European Union*, 96.

²⁵ McCormick, *The European Union*, 155. See also Wood and Quaisser, *The New European Union*, 9.

²⁶ www.europarl.europa.eu (accessed February 6, 2008).

²⁷ Wood and Yeşilada, *The Emerging European Union*, 94. See also McCormick, *The European Union*, 182.

government or state and their foreign ministers, the President of the European Commission and administrative staff and advisers.²⁸ One of the European Council's most important aims is to create a common cultural space and to facilitate professional exchanges for member countries.²⁹ It is also responsible for the promotion of educational policies through agreements among states. These agreements are designed to facilitate educational equivalency (diplomas, exams and students' status) for member states and to assist the mobility of students, faculty and workers within the EU based on a common curriculum. As will become evident soon, the work of this organization has important implications for public education in Romania as that country becomes more integrated with the EU. Another major purpose of the European Council is to provide "strategic policy direction for the EU" and to decide together with other EU organisms directions of political integration for the remaining European countries.³⁰

For Romania, preparations for membership in the EU brought significant transformations to the economy, politics, government administration and education, all under the directions of European officials.³¹ Changes were deemed necessary because creating a political and economic union required streamlining and harmonizing national regulatory controls and customs along European policies and norms. This entailed, among other things, reform of public administration (e.g., better public services, training of public administration personnel with respect to public relationships, decentralization of administration, education and health systems), new legislative frameworks and institutional policies to conform to EU structures (e.g., the Ministry of European

²⁸ McCormick, *The European Union*, 203.

²⁹ Singer and Sarivan, eds., *Quo Vadis, Academia*, 15. The common cultural space was an objective of the European Cultural Convention held in Paris in 1954.

³⁰ McCormick, *The European Union*, 199, 206. The exact role of this Council is, however, deliberately made ambiguous by its members.

³¹ Geoana, *America, Europa si Modernizarea Romaniei*, 218.

Integration), economic reforms (e.g., privatization, price and trade liberalization), and external EU control (e.g., continuous EU supervision of economic, democratic, and educational developments). With respect to the latter reforms, Romanian educational developments and institutional policy implementation are supervised by Jan Figel who is the European Union Education, Training, Culture and Youth Commissionaire for that country.³²

Some Implications for Education

Ever since the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957 and the emergence of the EEC, the establishment of a single labour market has been the main purpose of the EU. However, and despite the free mobility of people to work or reside within the EU, there were limitations with respect to education and language in the sense that equivalency of educational qualifications was almost impossible owing to differences in language training, educational aims, methods, and degree criteria.³³ With the recent changing demographics and needs of the economy and society at large, educational policies had to be re-conceived and extended to meet market demands for better educated workers with an ability to adapt to changes in informational technologies. To date, however, only higher education has been subject to EU reforms in Romania. Public school reforms are yet not considered.

In the earlier stages of the consolidation of the European Community, education programs were designed for higher education institutions and graduates with the purpose

³² Marius Profiroiu, Tudorel Andrei, Dragos Dinca, and Radu Carp, "Reforma Administratiei Publice in Contextul Integrarii Europene." The English version: "Public Administration Reform in the Context of European Integration." *Institutul European din Romania, Studii de Impact, Studiul 3*. The English version: *European Institute in Romania, Impact Studies, Study no. 3*. www.ier.ro (accessed September 3, 2008).

³³ McCormick, *The European Union*, 331.

of preparing national education systems for training and working parameters required in the EC. Continuing improvement and updating of graduates' qualification throughout their lives were also of increased concern.³⁴ The conception of education as job training is no surprise given that the impetus for the establishment of the EU was primarily economic. None of the Treaties that led to the establishment of the three regional European organizations made substantial provision for the study of the humanities in universities. Only vocational education (i.e., technological education) was considered so as to contribute to the economic growth of the European Community and to encourage free mobility of workers.³⁵ Accordingly, a common policy for vocational education and training was established in 1963 to offer all citizens in member countries equal opportunities for training and choice in work placement.³⁶ However, most member countries did not consider this policy as legally binding and educational initiatives were organized independently rather than co-operatively. Only in the 1970s, when the economic collapse caused by the oil crisis of 1973 brought high rates of unemployment among the youth, was vocational education seen as the main means toward economic stability.

Concern for including general education on the European Community's agenda emerged in the mid 1970s when political and educational leaders became aware that the emphasis on vocational training at the expense of the humanities was an obstacle to the economic development of the Community. To prosper, Europe needed both skilled and knowledgeable workers. Consequently, the European Education Committee was

³⁴ Linda Hantrais, *Social Policy in the European Union*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000), 62.

³⁵ Phillips and Ertl, eds., *Implementing European Union Education and Training Policy*, 15.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 16, 17. Information provided by Decision 63/226 of 2 April 1963 of the European Economic Community Treaty. Unfortunately, this Decision did not legally bind most of the member countries as its area of operation was mostly at intergovernmental level than supranational.

established in 1974 to initiate general “programmes of permanent action and co-operation in the field of general education.”³⁷ Further, in 1976, the Euratom organization made provisions for the establishment of the European University Institute to train skilled workers, albeit only in social sciences and the humanities and to promote common citizenship among citizens of member countries.³⁸ That same year, a newly established Education Action Programme joined forces with the Education Committee to create the foundation for a realistic collaboration in general education among the Community’s member countries. The fall of communism in Eastern and Central Europe had also contributed to catalyze the extension of European Community activities in the area of general education. Accordingly, in 1990, EC officials launched a new programme named Tempus (Trans-European Mobility Scheme for University Studies) designed to enhance co-operation between member states and the newly born democracies.³⁹ Since its introduction, the programme has been renewed twice (e.g., Tempus II from 1994 to 2000 and Tempus III from 2000 to 2006).

The concept of the “European Dimension” in Education was also widely discussed beginning in the 1990s, particularly with the recent enlargements of Europe to include former East and Central European communist states. It would rapidly come to permeate all EU discussions with respect to educational integration of member countries as EU officials sought common job standards (this will be explained shortly) or a framework against which national educational systems aspiring to EU integration could be assessed. Its main purpose was to

enhance young people’s awareness of their European identity and to prepare

³⁷ Ibid., 17.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid., 22.

them to take part in the economic and social development of the Community, to create awareness of the advantages of and challenges to the Community, to improve knowledge of the Community as well as of the individual Member States, and emphasize to them the importance of co-operation with the wider international community.⁴⁰

These ideas were further developed in the 1993 Treaty of Maastricht and in the Green Paper of the European Dimension of Education created that same year, although the manner in which they were to be implemented within member states' national educational systems was not precisely defined. Nor was it made clear what the idea of "European Dimension" referred to, except as "a practical economic necessity apart from its desirability on cultural and political grounds."⁴¹ This, of course, widened the rift between vocational and humanities education.

Despite the increased emphasis on the economic side of education, the 1993 Treaty of Maastricht stated clearly for the first time that "[t]he Community shall contribute to the development of quality education [i.e., general education and not only training] by encouraging co-operation between member States and, if necessary, by supporting and supplementing their action."⁴² Implementation of vocational education was, however, mandated by this Treaty. Thus far, critics rightly argue that the Treaty's provisions with respect to education continue to differentiate and even reinforce the boundaries between vocational and the humanities as the two are treated separately.⁴³ Nonetheless, and despite this differentiation and the fact that education continues to be

⁴⁰ Ibid., 21. See also Tudorica, *Dimensiunea Europeana a Invatamantului Romanesc*.

⁴¹ Phillips and Ertl, eds., *Implementing European Union Education and Training Policy*, 21.

⁴² Ibid., 24.

⁴³ The two types of education (vocational and the humanities) are addressed in two separate articles of the Treaty of Maastricht.

considered by the Maastricht Treaty as a means toward attaining economic prosperity in the Union, various agreements to include both general and vocational education have been designed.

Prominent among these agreements and geared toward educational programmes were the Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications Concerning Higher Education in the European Region held in Lisbon in 1997, the Sorbonne Joint Declaration on Harmonization of the Architecture of the European Higher Education System signed by Ministers of Education in Germany, France, Italy and Great Britain in 1998 and the 1999 Bologna Declaration.⁴⁴ The first two agreements prepared the stage for the development of a common higher education European area primarily through setting a common university terminology with respect to entrance examination procedures, student evaluation, periods and programs of study, qualifications and degree requirements.

However, the equivalency of qualifications has only become a priority with the signing of the 1999 Bologna Declaration whose main goal was a "European higher education area [to be finalized in 2010] within which university education is compatible, comparable, and transferable, and to make European higher education more attractive and internationally competitive."⁴⁵ Other goals of the Bologna Declaration include a clear differentiation between university and university college programs of study (long-term versus short-term education), flexibility of study programs "by offering elective path[s] and by gradually increasing the individual time of study," institutional accreditation in accordance with the rest of the European Union countries, and internal and external

⁴⁴ Phillips and Ertl, eds., *Implementing European Union Education and Training Policy*, 16. This system parallels that of the United States where students can transfer credits across the US states.

⁴⁵ McCormick, *The European Union*, 332.

evaluation of study programs.⁴⁶ As results of this Declaration and reflecting the initial major goal of creating a common European higher educational sphere, the duration of undergraduate studies has been reduced from five to four and three years so as to be consistent with EU common degree criteria policies, while a tertiary level of education to include master's and doctoral programs has been added (more about this in chapters 6 and 7).

All of these requirements are to fulfill the five primary European standards established at the second Lisbon Convention in March 2000. These standards are also extended to include general schools (primary and secondary), although the latter's potential in contributing to the development of the EU has only been recently acknowledged (European integration educational programmes for these schools will be discussed shortly). Standards set include a reduction by 10 percent in school drop-outs, reduction by 20 percent of students with learning problems, an increase by 85 percent of high school graduates, an increase by 15 percent of university graduates in Math, Science and Technology (MST), and equal access for men and women to education.⁴⁷ Of these five standards, most member states have reportedly only attained the required percent with respect to MST graduates.⁴⁸

Other objectives for creating a common curricular framework for EU university students relate to the teaching and learning of foreign languages, computer science, common terminology, student evaluation, and transferability of the credit system. The

⁴⁶ *Country Report: European Conference of the Ministers of Education*, Berlin, 2003, 3. www.bologna-bergen2005.no/Docs/Romania/ROMANIA_NEU.PDF (accessed August 6, 2008). These purposes are continuously refined and improved since the initial Bologna Declaration in 1999.

⁴⁷ De Svetla Dimitrova, "Raport CE: Statele Membre UE Progreseaza Lent in Domeniul Educatiei." The English version: "European Community Report: EU Member States Progress Slowly in Education." Article published on January 1, 2008. A Website of the *Southeast Education Times* www.setimes.com (accessed September 4, 2008). No clear procedural approach toward attaining these standards has been provided.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

latter, otherwise known as the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS), has been created to allow students to study in universities across the Union.⁴⁹ It is based on the workload required to achieve program objectives specified in terms of learning outcomes and competencies.⁵⁰ It is both a transfer and an accumulation system because credits are measured in terms of number of hours students must complete in order to fulfill degree requirements. For example, the workload of a full-time student for one academic year is 60 credits. One credit is the equivalent of 25 to 30 working hours.⁵¹

Other effects of the Bologna Declaration are reflected in the establishment of Quality Assurance Agencies charged with supervising and evaluating the teaching-learning process, including evaluation of students and faculty, and with the implementation of curriculum provisions in accordance with the aforementioned European standards. As will be discussed in chapters 6 and 7, Romania, too, had to comply with this policy and to establish several Quality Assurance Agencies to supervise and assess the quality of the teaching-learning processes in universities and to evaluate its professors.⁵² The impacts of these agencies on public music education in Romania are also considered in chapter 7.

The Bologna Declaration has also generated various meetings (Prague in 2001, Berlin in 2003 and Bergen in 2005) to further refine EU educational goals and to initiate a series of pilot projects to experiment with educational reforms. For example, the

⁴⁹ Singer and Sarivan, eds., *Quo Vadis. Academia*, 17.

⁵⁰ Gabriela Munteanu, *Didactica Educatiei Muzicale*. The English version: *Didactic of Music Education* (Bucuresti: Editura Fundatiei Romania Mare, 2005), 89. Among the competencies that a music teacher, for example, has to acquire are professional (e.g., general culture and strong knowledge of music education notions), moral, psycho-physical and pedagogical. Regulations with respect to competencies for teachers in Romania address communication, curriculum, professional development, evaluation of students, and relationship with students, their families and the society.

⁵¹ ECTS – European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System. www.ec.europa.eu (accessed September 4, 2008). See also McCormick, *The European Union*, 332.

⁵² See www.gov.edu.ro (accessed September 5, 2008).

Association of European Universities established as a result of the 2001 Salamanca conference initiated the *TRENDS in European Higher Education* project for the purpose of re-configuring national university curricula so as to make them consistent with the aforementioned European standards and of supervising the implementation of these educational reforms in various European universities. Prominent among these reforms are increased rates of graduates employed in the EU labour market, university quality assurance and diploma and qualification recognition.⁵³

In 2007, the Lifelong Learning Program (LLP) was also initiated by the European Commission to continually encourage educational exchanges among EU universities and to facilitate the “portability of educational qualification.”⁵⁴ The LLP is set to run until 2013 along with four subprograms which had been established since the European Community’s early efforts toward development of a common education policy. These are *Comenius*, *Erasmus*, *Leonardo da Vinci* and *Grundtvig*. The *Comenius* project is devoted to school partnerships through intercultural educational programs seeking to combat violence, racism and xenophobia, to examine “the meaning of European citizenship” and to promote environmental education.⁵⁵ *Erasmus*, which is a subcomponent of *Socrates*, another educational program initiated in 1995 by EU institutions, fosters educational exchanges among higher education students and faculty and greater cooperation among universities. The *Leonardo da Vinci* project aims to reform vocational education while the *Grundtvig* program seeks to reform adult education.⁵⁶

⁵³ Singer and Sarivan, eds., *Quo Vadis, Academia*, 18.

⁵⁴ McCormick, *The European Union*, 332.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

Romanian education, including music education benefited from these treaties although at the time of their signing and implementation, the country had not yet been granted EU membership. Beginning in 2002, the National University of Music in Bucharest, for example, became a member of the *Association Europeenne des Conservatoires, Academie de Musique et Musikhochschulen (AEC)*. Subsequently, the International Cooperation Program *Socrates-Erasmus* was initiated and supported by the Ministry of Education to offer all Romanian university students equal opportunities with their European counterparts. At the same time, Romanian universities, including music higher education institutions, implemented the ECTS program in 2002 to achieve international recognition of university degrees and programs among other European and Western universities and to eventually offer Romanian students opportunities to perform, teach or work within the EU.⁵⁷ The *Leonardo da Vinci* program has been open to Romanian education institutions since 1996 and has since grown into a second stage, *Leonardo da Vinci II*, to foster cooperation between Romania and the EU with respect to initial and continuing vocational training and education. This revision of the *Leonardo da Vinci II* was launched in 1999. Thus far, the *Comenius* and *Grundtvig* programs have not been implemented in Romanian public education and its music education system. Nor is information currently available with respect to Romania's possible future membership in the latter two agreements.

One outcome of some of the aforementioned programs in Romania was the realization of the need for a strong student command of English, given its development "as a global lingua franca" in Romania and elsewhere in the EU.⁵⁸ English has become

⁵⁷ *Calendar of the National University of Music in Bucharest*, 4.

⁵⁸ McCormick, *The European Union*, 199.

the main medium of verbal communication in trans-border relations, including professional conferences and other educational circumstances such as in British or North-American schools and institutions established in non-speaking English countries. In post-1989 Romania, for instance, as has already been mentioned and will be discussed in chapter 7, several British and North-American schools have been established as private educational institutions to educate (in English) Romanian and foreign students according to British or American curricula and philosophies. Further, all public schools (elementary and secondary) make the study of English compulsory. In universities, the study of one foreign language is also mandatory, although students are allowed to choose from English, French or German.⁵⁹ While on the one hand, the introduction of English words into the Romanian vocabulary and even in daily conversations (e.g., fast food, cool, okay, computer, windows, etc.) may lead to a dissolving of cultural values and traditions, it may facilitate the country's integration with the European Union in the sense that Romanians are recognized and accepted by their EU counterparts as members of the same social sphere. On the other hand, French people, too, are wary of the "perfidious spread of 'franglais' – the common use of English words in French, such as *le jumbo jet* (officially *le gros porteur*) and *le fast food* (officially *prêt-a-manger*)" that is altering the purity of their language.⁶⁰ However, and despite EU officials' efforts to translate all EU documents into all of the twenty-three official languages of the Union (not including dialects such as Catalan, Basque, Corsican or Welsh) and France's endeavors to resist the encroachment of English and North-American culture into French language, "it is inevitable that English-powered by its growing use as the global language of commerce and

⁵⁹ See Singer and Sarivan, eds., *Quo Vadis, Academia*.

⁶⁰ McCormick, *The European Union*, 334.

entertainment—will continue its trend toward becoming the common language of Europe.”⁶¹

As was already suggested, with respect to national identity and culture, the imposition of the English language at all levels of Romania’s political, economic, cultural and educational affairs can create problems. The country has experienced previous impositions and losses of cultural and national values such as happened, for example, during the century-long Ottoman domination when official documents were written in Greek, throughout the Habsburgs’ occupation and for the period of the brief alliance with Germany in War World II. Music, culture and education were also addressed by those cultural impositions. But Romania had never before been a democratic country with the exception of a short period between 1866 and 1938. It remains to be seen whether post-1989 democracy in Romania can benefit from European integration and democratic reforms without sacrificing its own national identity and cultural and educational values. The next chapter examines the model of democracy in Romania, discusses the structure of its government and addresses current issues in Romania’s politics. Chapter 4 will also be the last step before analyzing the effects of globalization, democratization and European integration on the Romanian public education system, its educational policies and their implementation.

⁶¹ Ibid.

CHAPTER IV
DEMOCRACY AND THE CHALLENGES OF MARKET CAPITALISM IN
ROMANIA

Eighteen years after the 1989 Revolution and the overthrow of the communist regime, Romania is still in transition from a centrally-planned to a liberal market economy and a democratic system of governance. The several governments that ruled the country since 1989 and up to 2008 have attempted a series of radical political, economic, cultural and educational reforms (e.g., price and trade liberalization, privatization of industry, health and education, including music and music education institutions), all of which were intended to align Romania with Western democracies and to bring the country into the geo-political sphere of influence of the European Union (EU).¹ Establishment of a stable democracy and system of governance were pre-requisites to Romania's integration into the EU in 2007 and into the European Economic Community (EEC) in 2010.² The immediate introduction of a new Constitution in 1991 was the first determined attempt at setting the country's course onto democracy and free market capitalism.³

¹ Pasti, *Noul Capitalism Romanesc*, 10.

² Robert Weiner, *Romania, the IMF, and Economic Reform: 1996-2002*. Paper presented at the 43rd Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, New Orleans, LA., 23 March, 2002, 10. Price and trade liberalization refer to lower tariffs for international economic trade and removal of other protectionist measures such as government interference in financial markets and trade. Privatization of industry and other manufacturing enterprises, including educational and health institutions, refers to a transfer of property from the state to individuals. See also Daniel Daianu and Radu Vranceanu, "Subduing High Inflation in Romania: How to Better Monetary and Exchange Rate Mechanisms?" Paper published as part of a larger project sponsored by the World Bank and the International World Organization, August 2001, 1.

³ Tony Verheijen, *Constitutional Pillars for New Democracies: The Cases of Bulgaria and Romania* (Leiden University, The Netherlands: DSWO Press, 1995), 156-158. Allegedly, the Italian Constitution, and particularly the bicameral structure of Parliament, has served as a model for the 1991 Romanian Constitution.

The early adoption of the new Constitution, however, has had both positive and negative impacts on the development of the political-administrative structure and system of governance in Romania. On the one hand, the Constitution has made a clean break with the previous regime by establishing the division of powers in state, by declaring political pluralism and by granting liberal democratic rights to Romania's citizens. It has also provided the opposition with the tool to hold ruling politicians accountable to liberal democratic principles (see chapter 1).⁴ On the other hand, the nature of political decision making and the administrative operation of the constitutional framework have led to ambiguities and have created room for political manipulations of constitutional regulations.⁵ This ambiguity, coupled with a complicated and complex institutional and legal system, has hindered Romania's political and economic progress to a functional liberal-democratic state.⁶ These and other ambiguities in Romanian governance are addressed shortly. Most constitutional rules and regulations are, however, clearly stated.

As declared in its 1991 Constitution, Romania is a republic governed by a popularly elected President.⁷ The President appoints the Prime Minister, has the power to dissolve Parliament if the latter does not sanction the government, can return legislation to Parliament for revisions (but cannot veto legislation) and has the right to call a referendum on matters of national interest. The nature of these matters, however, is not specified in the Constitution. Another important presidential prerogative is to lead government sessions on national interests in areas of foreign policy, security and public

⁴ Ibid., 10.

⁵ Some of these ambiguities refer to the public authority empowered to appoint government (the President or the Prime Minister) and to the nature of emergency operations that call for the intervention of the President, the government or the Parliament.

⁶ Ibid., 170.

⁷ www.cdep.ro (accessed October 16, 2008). Since 1991 and until 2003, the President's term of office was four years. The President can hold his office for only two mandates which can be successive. Following the 2003 revision of the 1991 Constitution, presidential elections are held every five years.

order.⁸ The President also plays a role in the configuration of government inasmuch as he can suggest which politicians should become government members.⁹ Indeed, chapter 2, article 85 of the 1991 Constitution states that the President appoints the government, although it must be sanctioned by a parliamentary vote of confidence. However, chapter 3, article 102 declares that the newly designated Prime Minister selects government members among heads of ministries and other politicians and submits his choices and government's program to Parliament for approval.¹⁰ Despite this apparent contradiction in the country's Constitution, it is largely acknowledged that the Prime Minister selects and constitutes his government.¹¹ The Prime Minister also runs the government and constantly reports to Parliament on government's political activities in areas such as internal and external political affairs and public administration.¹²

Although the Constitution is somewhat vague about conditions for government appointment, it is very detailed with respect to public administration. For example, the role of the Prefect is clearly laid out. This official is the "guardian of the national law . . . directs all centralised services of the central ministries" and is the representative of the central government to local and regional levels.¹³ The Prefect's role and position are similar to those of the French administration prior to the 1980s.¹⁴ This similarity is possibly owed to the close, long established cultural ties between Romania and France.

⁸ Verheijen, *Constitutional Pillars for New Democracies*, 167.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ www.cdep.ro (accessed November 6, 2008). Other members of government are appointed by organic laws. No information is available, however, with respect to appointment procedures.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid. Parliament issues three categories of laws: constitutional (i.e., aiming to revise the Constitution), organic (e.g., laws regulating the electoral process, the statute of deputies and senators, organization of government and of the education system, etc.) and ordinary (i.e., laws regulating social areas of less importance).

¹³ Verheijen, *Constitutional Pillars for New Democracies*, 176.

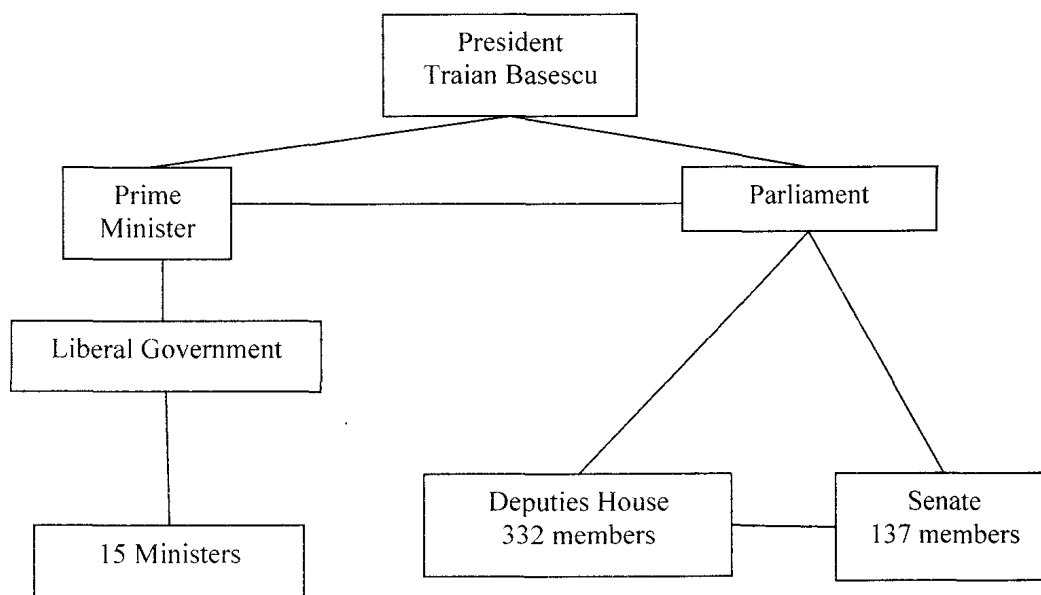
¹⁴ Ibid. See also Barber, ed., *Canadian Oxford Dictionary* (Oxford University Press, 2004), 1222. A Prefect is a magistrate or a chief official. In France, a Prefect is the chief administrative officer of public departments.

The structuring of Romania's parliamentary chambers, however, follows the configuration of the Italian Constitution. Both the Romanian and the Italian Parliaments have two chambers—a House of Deputies and a Senate—whose competencies are almost identical.¹⁵ The current structure of Parliament may also have been based on a similar legislative system that existed in Romania prior to the World Wars. Regardless of its originating model, Parliament is currently the legislative authority whose members are elected by the population's universal, direct and secret vote. Usually, chambers work separately unless their united sessions are necessary for approval of the national budget, for declaring a state of emergency in case of war, or for appointing heads of security services.¹⁶ As the last presidential and parliamentary elections were held in 2004, Romanians have recently (November 2008) elected their Senators and Deputies for Parliament (more about Romania's electoral system and structure of government shortly).¹⁷

¹⁵ Ibid., 168.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ <http://www.alegeri-uninominalc.ro/> (accessed September 17, 2008).

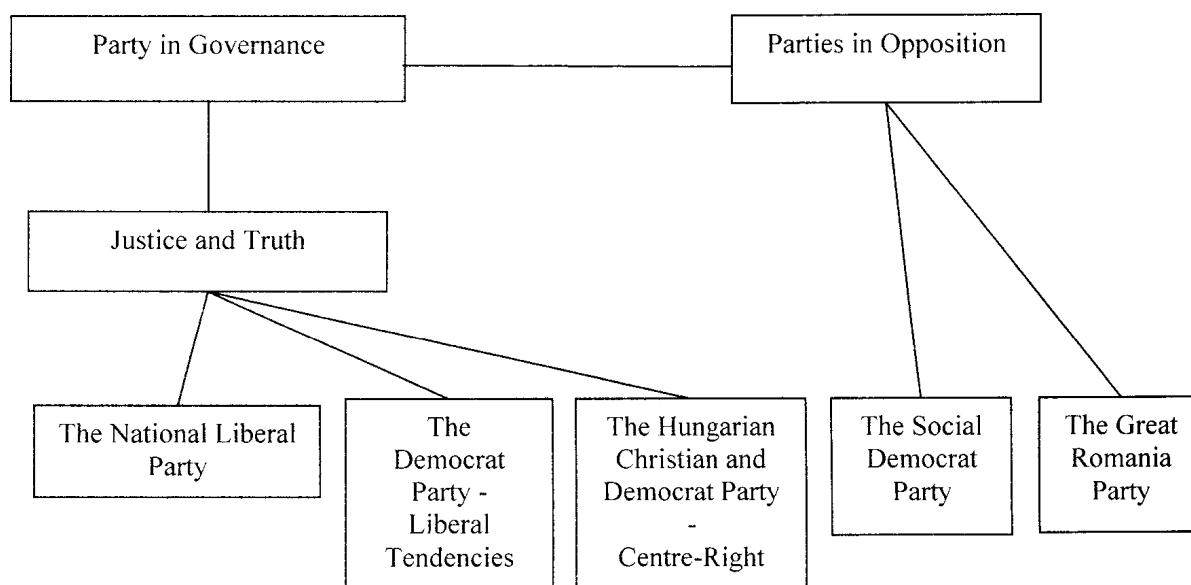
Table 1aRomania's Current Political and Governmental Structure¹⁸

Currently, the governing Party is based on an alliance of several major liberal leading parties that govern by the name of Justice and Truth. These are the National Liberal Party, the Democrat Party and the Hungarian Christian and Democrat Party. Major parties in opposition include the Social Democrat Party and the Great Romania Party. The latter political group expresses strong nationalist views (more about these parties and their political ideologies shortly).

¹⁸ www.gov.ro (accessed September 17, 2008). The 15 ministers are Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Economy and Finance, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administrative Reform, Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Transportation, Ministry of Education, Research and Youth, Ministry of Labour, Family, Equality of Opportunity, Ministry of Small and Medium Industries, Commerce, Tourism and Liberal Professions, Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, Ministry of Public Health, Ministry of Development, Public Construction and Housing, Ministry of Environment, Ministry of Culture and Religion, Ministry of Communication and Information Technology.

Table 1b

Party Structure



As will be explained shortly, the National Liberal Party and the Social Democrat Party have alternatively held power since the Revolution. This political alternation has previously been a characteristic of Romania's political life in the period before World War I and until 1947 when the country's political system was for a time and to a certain extent democratic. Given that the current structuring of Parliament remains indebted to earlier political systems, it is necessary to give the reader a brief account of Romania's short-lived period of democratic governance before reviewing and analyzing political, administrative and economic developments after the 1989 Revolution.

Romania's first attempt at democracy was made in 1866 with the introduction of the first Constitution, promulgated by Carol I of Hohenzollern-Sigmarinen, then Prince of

Walachia and Moldavia.¹⁹ In 1881, following the establishment of the country as a monarchy, Carol I became Romania's first King. The Constitution was modeled after the Belgian one and granted extensive powers to the King.²⁰ Accordingly, the monarch appointed and dismissed at will Prime Ministers and governments. The King also instituted a type of political system whereby the two main political parties—the liberals and the conservatives—alternated to power. This was a deliberate strategy of the King that was intended to create a political clientele subservient to him and his personal interests. Also under the absolute control of the King were the two chambers of Parliament—the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. These bodies enjoyed similar competencies and their members were elected by rich citizens on the grounds of wealth and/or political influence. The 1881 Constitutional provisions thus effectively denied large segments of the population access to political power.²¹ The King's authoritarian position created conflicts among the political parties and eventually led to nepotism, corruption and political machination as the rich and powerful attempted to manipulate elections. The fraudulent character of the governing system ultimately prevented intellectuals from taking political offices. Further, legislation began to be either ignored or used for personal benefits.²² This situation, obviously, created a feeble basis for the development of democracy.

The end of the First World War, however, brought about political and economic changes that allowed for a better consolidation of democracy. This was primarily

¹⁹ www.constitutia.ro/const1866.html (accessed December 15, 2008). In 1866, following the forced abdication of Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza, the political and social situation in the two Romanian principalities—Moldavia and Walachia—was highly insecure as politicians were fighting for the throne. As a result, both liberals and conservatives decided to bring to Romania's leadership a foreign prince. Carol I was nephew of Napoleon III on his mother's side and relative of the King of Prussia.

²⁰ Martyn Rady, *Romania in Turmoil* (London: I. B. Tauris and Co., 1992), 6.

²¹ Verheijen, *Constitutional Pillars*, 156.

²² *Ibid.*, 157.

facilitated by a new Constitution (1923) which aimed to curb to some extent the power and wealth of the ruling class and aristocracy by granting land ownership to peasants and by introducing universal suffrage.²³ Further, the new King's (Ferdinand I of Hohenzollern, Carol I's nephew) grip over Romania's political and economic life was weakened. One consequence of this development was the undermining of political pluralism and democracy as politicians approved a new electoral law (1927) that granted the party with the support of 40 percent of the electorate a majority in Parliament.²⁴ Obviously, this regulation did not allow for a fair representation of all social classes in Parliament.

Following Ferdinand's death in 1927, his eight-year-old nephew King Michael succeeded to power. He ruled until 1930 with the help of a royal regency consisting of his uncle, Prince Nicolae, Romania's Orthodox Patriarch and the president of the High Court of Justice.²⁵ However, political conflicts among leading politicians, an unstable economy and social unrest eventually prompted the Prime Minister to ask Carol II to resume his position as Romania's King. In 1930, Carol II was crowned king and managed to reassert his authority over the country by appointing his acolytes to important political positions. This contributed to end the period of relative democracy in Romania in 1938 when a new Constitution paved the way to even greater authoritarianism and later on fascist rule. The

²³ Ibid., 158.

²⁴ Ibid., 159.

²⁵ See Hannah Pakula, *Ultima Romantica: Viata Reginei Maria a Romaniei*. The English version: *The Last Romantic: A Biography of Queen Marie of Roumania* (Bucuresti: Editura Lider, 1984). Initially, Carol II, King Ferdinand's son was expected to succeed his father to the throne. The former, however, led a scandalous private life in that he supported a mistress to whom he eventually secretly married. This adventure caused a huge scandal in Romania and prompted the royal family to procure annulment of the matrimony and to send Carol II away. Following this fall from royal graces, Carol II decided to marry a princess of royal blood and to assume his position as the King's heir. The offspring of his official matrimony was King Michael, Romania's last monarch. Carol II was, however, dissatisfied with his royal matrimony, left his wife and went into exile to Paris with his mistress, Elena Magda Lupescu. King Ferdinand withdrew from his son all royal privileges, including his natural accession to the throne and Michael, Carol II's son became instead heir.

royal dictatorship instituted that same year lasted until 1940 when the Germans occupied Romania. Carol II, who had attempted to remain neutral, was forced to abdicate. He spent the rest of his life in exile.²⁶ Romania's leadership was entrusted to his son, King Michael. The latter's rule was hastily ended in 1947 when the communists took control over the country's governance and forced the King's abdication.²⁷ Following the end of monarchic rule, the country was renamed the Popular Republic of Romania and a new Constitution based on Leninist and Stalinist principles was published in 1948.²⁸ This remained in effect until 1989.

Although Romania had enjoyed a period of quasi-democratic rule for more than half a century, the long history of dictatorship coupled with the repression of Nicolae Ceausescu's neo-Stalinist rule, and particularly during the 1980s, unfortunately created certain negative precedents for the country's post-communist development. Indeed, post-1989 Romania inherited a political culture in which some of the most damaging characteristics of its former political systems (e.g., nepotism, corruption, authoritarianism and disregard for laws and constitutional regulations) are still maintained to the present day.

Nevertheless, under the terms of the 1991 Constitution, Romania is at least in theory a democratic country.²⁹ Since May 1990, human rights have been protected by the Constitution and mass media, including radio and television. The latter enjoy a certain degree of freedom, although certain newspapers and television stations (e.g., Antena 1,

²⁶ Ibid., 533.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ See Florin Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*. The English version: *A History of the Modern Romanian Education System*, vol. I. (Bucuresti: Editura Oscar Print, 2004).

²⁹ Bogdan Teodorescu and Dan Sultanescu, eds., *Epoca Basescu: Integrarea si Dezintegrarea Romaniei*. The English version: *The Basescu Era: Romania's Integration and Disintegration* (Bucuresti: Editura Proiect, 2007).

ProTV) are owned by influential politicians and, therefore, potentially subject to political manipulation.³⁰ The population, too, has been free to join religious and political groups and to choose schooling alternatives (e.g., private schools) for their children.³¹

During the 1990s, however, an enduring communist mindset coupled with inflation, high unemployment rates, deep-seated social discontent and corruption contributed to delay reform processes and to prompt Western political and economic experts to argue that the transition period for the Romanian economy and politics to market capitalism and democracy would exceed in duration that of the other former communist countries.³² This all contributed to the undermining of investors' trust in the political capability of the country's leaders to create economic prosperity and to consolidate democracy.³³ In consequence, and because the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other international financial institutions at the time grew reluctant to grant loans to Romania, the country's government was still perceived in the West as essentially communist, thus further hindering economic, social and educational improvements.³⁴

Following democratic reforms leading up to Romania's EU integration in January 2007, however, its political image in the West improved. The populace also now has greater faith and trust in politicians. This augers well for consolidation of democracy in that country.³⁵

All of the aforementioned democratic and economic transformations could not

³⁰ "Pentru Noi e un Handicap ca Patronul e Implicat Politic." The English version: "For Us, Our Director's Political Connections is a Handicap" July 12, 2006. www.evz.ro (accessed December 12, 2008).

³¹ Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, "Romania's 'End of Transition' Deconstructed," *Romanian Journal of Political Science* 2, 1 (April, 2002), 191.

³² Raphael Shen, *The Restructuring of Romania's Economy: a Paradigm of Flexibility and Adaptability* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1997), xvi.

³³ Mungiu-Pippidi, "Romania's 'End of Transition' Deconstructed," 186.

³⁴ Weiner, *Romania and Economic Reform*, 3.

³⁵ Mungiu-Pippidi, "Romania's 'End of Transition' Deconstructed," 186.

have been possible, however, without the 1989 Revolution that overthrew communism and opened Romania's doors to the Western world.

The 1989 Revolution

The year 1989 was to portend the end of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union as communist regimes lost their political legitimacy because of economic and ideological failures.³⁶ Beginning in February with Poland and the Hungarian Communist Party's resignation from power, the pace of revolutionary events gained momentum in November with the fall of the Berlin Wall, the "velvet" revolution in Prague that same month and, in December, the Romanian Revolution.³⁷ The permissive framework for the entire chain of revolutionary events was set, however, by Mikhail Gorbachev's radical political and economic reforms that replaced the former interventionist doctrines of the Leonid Brezhnev era with political and military relaxation and that brought the Cold War to an end.³⁸

International Context

Following his election as the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, Gorbachev initiated in 1985 the so-called "glasnost" (liberalisation) and "perestroika" (restructuring) reforms in politics and the economy. Their purpose was to challenge old

³⁶ Irina Culic, "Social Actors in A Political Game: The Romanian Political Elite and Democratization, 1989–2000," *Romanian Journal of Political Science* 5, 1 (Spring/Summer, 2005), 77.

³⁷ David S. Mason, *Revolution in East-Central Europe: The Rise and Fall of Communism and the Cold War* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1992), 2. The term "velvet" revolution was coined by the post-revolution Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel to describe the non-violent fall of communism in that country.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 43. Leonid Brezhnev, a devoted communist and one time General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, was the main architect of the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia which was intended to destroy the Prague Spring. The Prague Spring was a period of political liberalization, considered by the Soviets as an attempt at undermining communism. Brezhnev subsequently declared what became known as the Brezhnev Doctrine, or Soviets' right to intervene in other communist countries' affairs.

structures by introducing multi-candidate elections, by appointing non-Party members as government officials and generally by liberalising the economy and the social life.³⁹ For the first time, the Soviet Union's people were allowed some freedom of expression, mass-media were less politically controlled and most political prisoners were released. Further, the law on cooperatives that allowed citizens to exercise private ownership over services, manufacturing and foreign trade (enacted in May 1988) shattered the core of communist ideology based on collective participation to work and heralded the end of the communist era.⁴⁰

In June 1988, Gorbachev announced more reforms aimed to further reduce Party control of the government, to relax the grip of the Soviet military in occupied countries, to introduce a new executive body similar to the one in presidential systems and to institute a new legislature of elected representatives named the Congress of the People's Deputies. The new legislature was intended to establish separate powers of state and allowed for the first free election since 1917.⁴¹ This election of members of the Congress took place in March and April 1989. Gorbachev himself was elected the first executive President of the Soviet Union in 1990. At the same time, he opened himself and his policies to public criticism. This was previously unheard of in the communist world. Eventually, his radical politics created unavoidable inner conflicts among conservative (advocates of the old order) and progressive (proponents of political, economic and social change) politicians and ultimately led to the implosion of the Soviet Empire.

Gorbachev's foreign policy, and particularly the military retreat from Eastern

³⁹ Amos Yoder, *Communism in Transition: The End of the Soviet Empires*, a fully revised and updated edition of *Communist Systems and Challenges* (Taylor and Francis, 1993), 30-32, 78.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., 32.

Europe and Afghanistan, also contributed to the dissolution of the communist empire. His pacifist position particularly hindered Cold War policies as he “made major concessions under the Intermediate Nuclear Forces agreement” which led to the voluntary destruction of nuclear missiles and consequently reduced the communist threat from Soviet satellites and missiles to the rest of the world.⁴² The Soviet army’s withdrawal from the arm’s race also made the Warsaw Pact irrelevant since its main signatory, the Soviet Union, advocated non-interventionist policies.⁴³ With communism on the wane in the Soviet Empire, the United States’ policy which had been based on restraining Soviet expansionist policies lost significance and the conflict between superpowers ended.⁴⁴

Romania was directly and positively affected by Gorbachev’s reforms in that they undermined Ceausescu’s position both internally and in foreign affairs. The new changes in the Soviet Union and the removal of Soviet military threat were broadcast in Romania by illegal radio stations (e.g., Free Europe) and sparked awareness of possible change

⁴² Yoder, *Communism in Transition*, 53-63, 238. See also Mason, *Revolution in East-Central Europe*, 14. The origin of the so-called Cold War resides in a mutual hostility between Western powers (the United States, Britain and other European powers) and the Soviet Union (between capitalists and socialists) created by the spread and imposition of communist ideology at the end of War World I in Europe and Asia. However, in the early post-war year, the relationship among the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain was on friendly terms as the three leaders (Joseph Stalin, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Winston Churchill) met for what is now known as the Yalta Treaty to re-establish order in Europe. After the World Wars, however, with Soviets’ expansionist attempts toward Eastern Europe and Asia, the relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States deteriorated as the latter aimed to contain the expansionist policy. Further, the Soviet Union’s consolidation of power in Eastern Europe prompted the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), encouraged the rearmament of Germany, the growing unity of Western Europe and fuelled the Cold War. Another school of thought on the origins of the Cold War blames the United States for overreacting to the Soviet expansionist policy, arguing that United States also intended to extend its influence worldwide and possibly overtake that of the Soviet Union. After the United States and the Soviet Union came close to a nuclear war in 1962, they signed a limited strategic nuclear agreement.

⁴³ Mason, *Revolution in East-Central Europe*, 4. See also www.warsawpact.org (accessed September 2, 2008). The Warsaw Pact, otherwise known as the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, was initially signed at the initiative of the Soviet Union by all Soviet satellites as a counter action to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Romania became member of the Warsaw Pact in 1955 and called for the USSR to condemn the American imperialism. See Carol Harsan, “Romania – Rusia, Incotro?” The English version: “Romania – Russia, Where to?” www.romanalibera.ro/a111875/romania-rusia-incotro.html (accessed September 27, 2008).

⁴⁴ Ibid.

among the population. Further, as a result of Gorbachev's political withdrawal from Eastern Europe, Ceausescu's politics of independence from Soviet politics became irrelevant.⁴⁵ This led to a decline in his public image abroad and, perhaps, in response to this, a turn toward neo-Stalinism. This further isolated and alienated Romania from the Western world. Throughout the 1980s, the great majority of Romanians were forbidden from travelling to the West lest they became influenced by Western liberal ideas. Further, Ceausescu's attempts at modernizing the country at the expense of demolishing the former historical center of Bucharest and other historical monuments in the capital, such as the Vacaresti monastery, brought international condemnation. In one of his rare foreign policy interventions, Prince Charles of The United Kingdom attempted to stop demolitions and the construction of the Victory of Socialism Boulevard and the House of the People in Bucharest.⁴⁶ Prince Charles' interference was of course disregarded by Ceausescu, who continued with his modernizing plans. The systematization process also aimed to demolish Hungarian counties, thus exacerbating Romania's negative image on the international stage and increasing the country's isolation from the West. As is explained next, this isolation coupled with domestic economic and political failure eventually brought Romanian communism to an end.

Internal Causes

Romanian communism was the last bastion of the former Soviet communist Bloc

⁴⁵ Peter Siani-Davies, *The Romanian Revolution of December 1989* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 46. Among the events that brought a favourable light on Romania and Ceausescu's political acts were his condemnation of the Soviet Union's intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, his denunciation of the Soviets' intervention in Afghanistan in 1979, his counseling for no interference with the political crisis in Poland in 1981 and his calls to stop arm's race.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 50.

to fall in December 1989, following a violent popular uprising.⁴⁷ Although no accurate statistics of the Revolution's death toll exist, thousands of people reportedly lost their lives. This violence, which occurred only in Romania and not in the rest of the communist world, was rooted in the disastrous political and economic policies of the 1980s initiated by Ceausescu to pay off the country's foreign debt.⁴⁸ These policies affected every level of the society, including industry, education, social services, and the health system. Initially, industrial products were manufactured and traded on the communist states' market, otherwise known as the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. During the 1980s, however, Romanian industry became increasingly inefficient, producing goods of poor quality that were neither wanted nor needed in the communist or the Western European markets. Agricultural products were also almost entirely exported to cover financial shortfalls caused by poor economic planning and natural disasters (e.g., the 1977 earthquake followed by floods in subsequent years).⁴⁹ But this exporting of food led to domestic rationing of bread, meat, sugar, eggs and flour. By 1989, the lack of food and basic utilities reached crisis proportions.⁵⁰ According to analysts' reports for the period between 1980 and 1985, annual state expenditures decreased by 37 percent on housing,

⁴⁷ The violence of the Romanian Revolution set the country apart from the rest of the communist world where the overthrow of communism was more peaceful. See Duncan Light and David Phinnemore, eds., *Post-Communist Romania: Coming to Term with Transition* (Palgrave, 2001). See also Siani-Davies, *The Romanian Revolution*.

⁴⁸ George Galloway and Bob Wylie, *Downfall: The Ceausescus and the Romanian Revolution* (London: Futura Publications, 1991).

⁴⁹ Dennis Deletant, "New Evidence on Romania and the Warsaw Pact, 1955 – 1989." www.wilsoncenter.org (accessed September 3, 2008). The earthquake disrupted the activity in industries and hindered the export of food products.

⁵⁰ See Siani-Davies, *The Romanian Revolution*, 13 and Galloway and Wylie, *Downfall: The Ceausescus and the Romanian Revolution*. These austerity measures eventually entailed rationing of food (e.g., a monthly ration for a family of four consisted of a kilogram of four, sugar and meat, five eggs, four loaves of bread, etc), electricity (e.g., streets were only dimly lit at night while in people's homes electricity was shut off from 6 p.m. and until morning), stove gas (e.g., gas supply was often only flickering when not completely cut), heating, and automobile fuel for private owners (e.g., if available, gas was rationed to thirty liters a month per person).

by 17 percent on healthcare, and “by a crippling 53 [percent]” on education, culture and science.⁵¹ As will be explained later on, music education also suffered, particularly in the village schools where classrooms were unheated and teaching materials and even classroom space were in short supply. Because of a lack of space in schools and a decrease in the number of students, two grades were grouped in the same classroom and taught approximately at the same level. Financial cutbacks also led to the closing of several music high schools and music schools throughout the country (except for music high schools in Bucharest and Cluj). Music universities in major cities such as Brasov and Iasi were also closed.⁵²

Another damaging result of Ceausescu’s radical policies was restricted access to information by means of mass media channels (television, radio and newspapers). By the end of the 1980s, the only program on national television broadcasted Ceausescu’s visits abroad or reports of agricultural crops (always inflated). Some entertainment programs were, however, transmitted on Sundays, albeit based on Romanian-created songs, plays and movies.

Despite the severe hardships, many Romanians became resourceful in overcoming cut-backs, hunger and deprivation by listening to foreign radio stations illegally connected to main broadcast networks, by using personal, social and family connections to acquire books and other cultural materials, and by securing goods through an informal economy (e.g., food and other basic needs were supplied with the help of family and

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² See Sandu-Dediu, *Muzica Romaneasca*.

friends or via various connections, primarily in the commerce department).⁵³

Unfortunately, Romanians' resourcefulness in overcoming shortcomings was overshadowed by the ubiquitous, albeit not openly uttered, threat of severe punishment for those who dared to challenge the regime. This prevented any significant organized manifestations of popular discontent or overt opposition to the regime prior to the 1989 Revolution, such as happened with the Solidarity Movement in Poland and the Charter 77 Movement in Czechoslovakia.⁵⁴ Only a few isolated dissident events against the regime were recorded before 1989. In 1977, miners from the Jiu Valey peacefully protested against severe work conditions and living standards and asked for fewer working hours, more social benefits and better housing. Ten years later, in 1987, workers from the Red Flag factory in Brasov shouted "anti-regime slogans . . . ransacked the local Party headquarters and tore down and burnt in a huge bonfire much of the panoply of communist symbolism that festooned the city."⁵⁵ These revolts were quickly and quietly repressed, although Ceausescu, who was forced to come in person to solve conflicts, apparently acquiesced to strikers' demands (later, the revolts' leaders were imprisoned or sent into exile into more degrading work places).⁵⁶ Further, on 8 December 1989, a workers' plot was discovered in Iasi. This was quickly repressed and the demonstrators

⁵³ Siani-Davies, *The Romanian Revolution*, 14. The aforementioned restrictions were extended to other aspects of life. For example, people suspected of defying or rebelling against the regime were threatened with removal from office, various forms of persecution or detention. Conversations with foreigners, be those relatives or friends, were, also restricted in the sense that they had to be reported. Failure to do so was considered a criminal offence and punished accordingly. Rumors were that disguised Security informants, either paid or coerced to denounce any form of rebellion, infiltrated all levels of society (e.g., they might have been doctors, teachers, priests). Because of the high level of coercion, people became passive and resigned.

⁵⁴ Constantin Ionete, *Clasa Politica Postdecembrista*. The English version: *The Post Decembrist Romanian Political Class* (Bucuresti: Editura Expert), 225.

⁵⁵ Siani-Davies, *The Romanian Revolution of 1989*, 35.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

arrested.⁵⁷ The economic decline and the latent social discontent, however, contributed to build up and thus to undermine the regime's claim to legitimacy, since Socialism failed to deliver the "goods" (i.e., a better life, liberty, decent living conditions) promised in 1947.⁵⁸

The Revolution started in Timisoara in Western Romania on 17 December 1989 as a popular revolt against the eviction of a priest of Hungarian origin and spread nationwide.⁵⁹ This happened despite the intervention of the army and the Security forces who attempted to stop the popular demonstration.⁶⁰ At the time of the outbreak of the revolt in Timisoara, Ceausescu had just returned from a diplomatic visit to Iran (on 20 December). Although just a month earlier he had been warned about the political changes in other East European countries, Ceausescu disregarded the concerns of his advisors about his own safety and organized his re-election as the general secretary of the Communist Party. Disturbed by the unexpected demonstrations in Timisoara, he condemned them in a televised show, hoping that the population would obediently listen to him. Unfortunately for Ceausescu and his regime, the events in Timisoara and his generals' inability to suppress them played an important role in the discrediting of the government and eventually led to a united popular revolt against him and his regime. The masses realized that Ceausescu and his regime were not omnipotent.

On 21 December, Ceausescu organized a public rally in Bucharest as a means for rekindling public support for him and his policies. This time, however, he was no longer

⁵⁷ Mungiu-Pippidi, "Democratization Without Decommunization: The Balkans Unfinished Revolutions" *Romanian Journal of Political Science* 5, 1 (Spring/Summer, 2005), 11.

⁵⁸ R. J. Crampton, *Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 471.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* Laszlo Tokes repeatedly criticized the regime's human abuses. He was a representative of the Hungarian Reformed Church. This Church is the largest denomination in Hungary after the Roman-Catholic Church. It is based on Calvinism. See www.reformatus.hu/english (accessed November 20, 2008).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

acclaimed by the people gathered in front of the Central Committee's headquarters.⁶¹ On 22 December, the meeting transformed into a rebellion that eventually sparked a national uprising. Although later that day Ceausescu, his wife and four leading politicians managed to flee by helicopter, they were shortly captured near Targoviste by the army and held prisoners in the army's garrison. Immediately after their attempted escape on 22 December, a political organization named the National Salvation Front (NSF) led by Ion Iliescu, formerly a highly influential communist, appeared on national television to denounce the communist regime and to assume political power in Romania. Although little is known about the origins of the NSF, this political organization succeeded to power by claiming to be "the standard-bearer of the revolution and the voice of the crowds on the streets."⁶² Indeed, the NSF's members and main leaders gathered on the balcony of the Central Committee's building to announce to the gathered people that the regime had ended and to herald democracy. On Christmas Day, 25 December 1989, the presidential couple was hastily judged by an improvised military court and executed.⁶³

That was the end of communism in Romania. Many questions about events which occurred during the Revolution (e.g., was the Revolution a *coup d'etat* or a popular uprising; the origins of the NSF) remain unanswered by historians and scholars.⁶⁴ There is complete agreement, however, on the economic disaster and "physical and moral misery"

⁶¹ Ibid., 399.

⁶² Light and Phinnemore, *Post-Communist Romania*, 18.

⁶³ Tom Gallagher, *Romania After Ceausescu: the Politics of Intolerance* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), 1. The Ceausescus' "lawyer" was far from attempting to defend them. Further, Ceausescu refused to recognize the legitimacy of the improvised trial and accordingly to answer or defend himself unless the Grand National Assembly gathered to judge him and his wife. However, as rumor goes, the Ceausescus did not really believe that their people who, they believed, "loved" them could send them to death. The trial, however, placed heavy strain on its judges as two months after the trial the prosecutor was found dead, presumably following a suicide.

⁶⁴ See Siani-Davis, *The Romanian Revolution of December 1989*.

that communism brought to Romania.⁶⁵

Democratization and Economic Development, 1990 – 2008

The Revolution of 1989 re-introduced to Romania a pluralistic government and free market system. After 1989, the country's name was changed to Romania (as opposed to the former Socialist Republic of Romania) and borders were re-opened to the world. Living and working conditions also began to improve somewhat as Romanians moved toward Western European standards and attempted to introduce a democratic system of governance and a capitalist market economy. The Revolution also opened the doors for greater political, economic, cultural and educational integration with Europe.

Consequently, previously banned books of Romanian and foreign authors, including musical scores and recordings became more readily available. Further, Marxist-Leninist principles were removed from school and university syllabi and textbooks, and teaching methods departed from a transmission model to a problem-solving one (more about this in chapters 6 and 7). More music schools, high schools, and universities, both private and public, were also established.⁶⁶

But while Romanians experienced greater freedom after 1989 than in the last forty years, they were unprepared to benefit from it. After the Revolution, people manifested a libertarian attitude toward institutionalized forms of authority, as they thought that their recently acquired liberty meant the rejection of any imposed rules.⁶⁷ Students understood their freedom as disrespect of social rules, including school and university regulations

⁶⁵ Lucian Boia, *Miturile Comunismului in Romania*. The English version: *Myths of Romanian Communism* (Bucuresti: Editura Universitatii Bucuresti, 1995), 14.

⁶⁶ See the Ministry of Education's website: www.edu.ro (accessed September 2, 2008).

⁶⁷ Ivo Banac, ed., *Eastern Europe in Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 142-143.

about, for example, class attendance and appropriate social behaviour. As Benjamin Barber wrote with respect to Romania in the years immediately after 1989, “social insecurity and rampant unemployment for people accustomed to the cradle-to-the-grave ministrations of paternalistic socialist bureaucracies are unlikely to convert them to a system of democracy for which they have otherwise had no preparation.”⁶⁸

Ion Iliescu and his Communist Politics, 1990 – 1996

In its first decade of democracy, Romania remained in a state of political and economic insecurity, although some efforts were made toward introducing and consolidating democracy. On 26 December 1989, the National Salvation Front (NSF) appointed a provisional government consisting of revolutionaries and communist outcasts to rule the country. Five days later, a Provisional Council of National Unity, also comprised of former communists and participants in the Revolution, was created with Iliescu as president to function as the legislative power of the country. At that time, Iliescu was Romania’s *de facto* President. He had not yet been elected.⁶⁹ The Council’s main mission was to issue laws and to create a legal framework for Romania’s political operation as a democracy until the publishing of a new Constitution. Among immediate changes, on 31 December 1989 the communist Constitution was abrogated and some institutions of the former regime (e.g., the secret police) were dissolved. Further, regulations for the election of the President of the country and Parliament and for the organization of political groups were also established.⁷⁰ Other major legislation after

⁶⁸ Barber, *Jihad Vs. McWorld*, 15.

⁶⁹ Alexandru Radu, *Partidele Politice Romanesti dupa 1999*. The English version: *Romanian Political Parties after 1999* (Bucuresti: Editura Paideia, 2003). 7.

⁷⁰ Ionete, *Clasa Politica Postdecembrista.*, 74.

January 1990 addressed the separation of powers in the state and the establishment of a bicameral Parliament with a Senate and a Deputies' House. An electoral system based on proportional representation and one ballot was also established as an interim measure to serve the first free elections and until the publishing of the new Constitution.⁷¹ This system was maintained until 2007, when an electoral system that included one member from each district for election (also called uninominal) replaced the party list voting to render elections more transparent and to elevate people's trust in the political process and political leaders.⁷²

The Electoral System

Proportional representation is a method of voting whereby political parties are given legislative representation in proportion to their share of the popular vote.⁷³ The ballot system is based on proportional representation and allows voters to choose from party lists, the number elected being determined by the percentage cast for each list out of the total vote.⁷⁴ The seats are allotted to each party in proportion to the number of votes received. The winning party is the one with the majority of votes for its candidates.⁷⁵ The President is also elected upon popular and free vote, based on a majority of votes.

The proportional representation system guarantees that small parties can obtain official representation in Parliament, thus creating a multi-party system. Because the electoral threshold had been set at 3 percent, many parties were able to attain political

⁷¹ Ibid., 61.

⁷² <http://www.sferapoliticii.ro/sfera/131-132/art03-pavel.html> (accessed August 10, 2009).

⁷³ Barber, *Canadian Oxford Dictionary*, 1240.

⁷⁴ Ionete, *Clasa Politica Postdecembrista*, 105.

⁷⁵ See Pasti, *Noul Capitalism Romanesc*.

representation in power positions.⁷⁶ The electoral threshold was later raised to 5 percent.⁷⁷

Following a popular referendum in November 2007, a uninominal voting system was introduced to increase transparency in the voting process, to allow voters to elect a person and not a party list of unknown names and to make Romanians more direct participants in the political process.⁷⁸ According to the new system, every county consists of several uninominal electoral colleges that represent about 70,000 people and that are created for the purpose of electing representatives to the Deputies' House.⁷⁹ Senate colleges, representing about 160,000 people were also created to elect representatives for the Senate.⁸⁰

The Party System

Immediately after the Revolution, and owing to the convenient electoral threshold established to allow parties to be founded with only 251 members, political groups proliferated.⁸¹ The state also offered subsidies to encourage the foundation of new political groups. Accordingly, 27 political groups and 11 alliances, coalitions, and conventions were created between 1990 and up to 2000.⁸² Following other political organizations in Eastern Europe, some Romanian political groups such as the NSF preferred to avoid the term "Party" in their title, not so much to dissociate themselves from the communist era as to establish their political legitimacy and to become integrated into the wider post-communist movement (e.g., the Civic Forum in Czechoslovakia, the

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ www.cdep.ro (accessed November 20, 2008).

⁷⁸ www.becreferendum2007.vu.ro/legislatie.html (accessed December 15, 2008), a website of the Central Electoral Bureau in Romania.

⁷⁹ www.alageri-2008.ro (accessed December 15, 2008).

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid. The electoral threshold was later raised to 5 percent for parties and to 8 percent for coalitions.

⁸² Siani-Davies, *The Romanian Revolution*, 238.

New Forum in East Germany).⁸³ Parties such as the National Liberal Party (NLP) and the National Peasant Party (NPP) that existed before the communist era retained their original names.⁸⁴

The major parties at the 1990 elections and in the period between 1990 and 1996 were the governing NSF (later DFSN) and the opposition, the latter consisting of the Democratic Union of the Magyar Party (DUMP), the NPP, later renamed the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party (NPCDP) (later on it will become part of the Romanian Democratic Convention with other small parties) and the NLP.⁸⁵ All of these parties clamoured for a stable democracy, guarantee of human rights and a free market economy.⁸⁶ These and other democratic principles had already been espoused by the NPCDP and the NLP at the beginning of the twentieth-century when Romania had enjoyed a period of quasi-democracy.⁸⁷

The NPCDP (formerly the NPP), was established in 1926 as the main force to support the monarchy and the parliamentary democracy of the interwar period.⁸⁸ It embraced a conservative ideology although in some instances it bore some similarities with the NLP, particularly with respect to rejection of state intervention in the economy and social life.⁸⁹ The early NPP's main themes included attachment to an organic evolution of the society, moderate progress and a great respect for, and encouragement of, traditional values such as the family and the church. The Party was also against the

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ See Radu, *Partidele Politice Romanesti*.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Gallagher, *Romania After Ceausescu*, 17.

⁸⁷ Filip Mihai Alexandrescu, "Configuratia Sistemului Politic Romanesc in Perioada Interbelica si Dupa 1989." The English version: "Configuration of the Romanian Political System in the Interwar Period and after 1989" *Revista de Cercetari Sociale* [Social Research Review] 1, 2 (2000), 126.

⁸⁸ Gallagher, *Romania After Ceausescu*, 17.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

importation and imitation of Western institutions which were considered incompatible with Romanian social and political life at the time. For example, they protested against the establishment of the Romanian Athenaeum because there were no Romanian artists to perform on its stage and against the foundation of the Romanian Academy because the country did not have a developed academic life.⁹⁰ They were also opposed to the establishment of the Music Conservatory in Bucharest as there were no adequately trained professors.⁹¹ The peasants were also against communism and constituted the heart of communist resistance after War World II. They were accordingly banned in 1947.

After the 1989 Revolution, the NPP was the first political party to be reactivated by its former leaders, although they were largely unknown to the population.⁹² With old politicians at the helm, the NPCDP's post-1989 political platform appealed to traditional values while attempting to address the post-communist reality. For instance, although the Party envisioned a large private sector with a mixed economy (partly private, partly state subsidized), energy and transportation were to remain under state control. Privatization was to spread over ten years while former collective farms were to be entrusted to individual farmers or peasant associations.⁹³ As will be shortly discussed, the governing NSF also declared in favour of privatizing some smaller industries while maintaining the large communist factories. Similar to the NSF, the NPCDP was mainly against liberalism

⁹⁰ www.fge.org.ro/ateneul-roman/istoric (accessed January 21, 2009). The Romanian Athenaeum was founded in 1886 by members of the Romanian Philharmonic Society to serve the Romanian art, science and culture.

⁹¹ Laurentiu Vlad, ed., *Conservatorismul Romanesc: Concepte, Idei, Programe*, The English version: *Romanian Conservatism: Concepts, Ideas, Programs* (Bucuresti: Editura Nemira & Co, 2006).

⁹² Radu, *Partidele Politice Romanesti*, 51.

⁹³ Siani-Davis, *The Romanian Revolution*, 241.

and was ideologically closer to the Left.⁹⁴ Unlike liberals and social democrats, however, the peasants remained united under a common ideology until their removal from the political stage following the 2000 elections. In the 1990s, they joined the NLP to form the opposition.⁹⁵

Although apparently polarized as political doctrines (conservatives versus liberals), the coalition of the two historical parties was possible because in those first years after the revolution their political platforms overlapped. As will be discussed shortly, both parties advocated for privatization and a fast return of the retail, services and some parts of the industry into the hands of private owners. They were also against communism and consequently against the NSF government. Unlike the NPP, however, the NLP attempted to forge some connections with the NSF in order to come to power.⁹⁶

The NLP was established in 1875 with a doctrine based on the French political views brought to Romanian Principalities by young Romanian intellectuals and members of the rich class educated in Paris (e.g., equality of rights, right to affirm individual liberal ideas).⁹⁷ The Party thus became associated with modernization in that it advocated for liberty and social justice.⁹⁸ The Party's main principles also included promotion of capitalism and economic liberalization and private education, as well as minor state intervention in the country's social and economic affairs. After the 1989 Revolution, this

⁹⁴ Ionete, *Clasa Politica Postdecembrista*, 84. Political ideologies of the Romanian parties in this period were not clearly defined nor were they strictly delimited. As a result, there were many ideological overlaps among them as each of these parties aspired to curry favour with the leading power in order to prepare their path for future political positions in government.

⁹⁵ Siani-Davies, *The Romanian Revolution*, 243. The Party changes its name to the National Peasant Christian Democrat Party in 1991 although the doctrine remains largely similar to the one manifested in the interwar period. Ironically, the pre and inter-war Peasants Party did not include peasants but land owners who represented their own interests in politics.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ See <http://www.pnl.ro> (accessed October 11, 2007).

⁹⁸ Anastasie Iordache, *Dumitru Bratianu: Diplomatul, Doctrinarul Liberal si Omul Politic*. The English version: *Dumitru Bratianu: The Diplomat, the Liberal Dogmatic and the Political Man* (Bucuresti: Editura Paideia, 2003).

pre-war ideology continued to be part of the liberals' political program (e.g., support for market fundamentalism, privatisation and deregulation of education).⁹⁹ Unlike the NPCDP, however, the NLP suffered various schisms in the 1990s which contributed to its decline.¹⁰⁰ This allowed the NSF to increase its political influence to the point that it ultimately monopolized power after the Revolution and until 1996.

The Communist Legacy of the NSF

Following the first free elections after forty years of communism, May 1990 brought 81.19 percent of Romanians to vote Ion Iliescu as the country's President.¹⁰¹ The NSF, which despite its communist legacy claimed to introduce democracy, to establish a free market economy, and to ensure that democratic principles were at work, also obtained an overwhelming majority of votes with 66.31 percent for the House of Deputies and 67.02 percent for Senate.¹⁰² The other major parties combined received only 34 percent of the vote.¹⁰³

Indeed, to all appearances more than half of Romanians decided in favour of a political party with evident communist ties. Obviously, foreign observers claimed that the May 1990 elections were only theoretically democratic as they legitimated a continuation of communism.¹⁰⁴ However, and despite the NSF's inability to dissociate itself from its previous communist values, these elections helped set the fundamental groundwork for democracy through the establishment of a multi-party system. Romanians' participation

⁹⁹ Ionete, *Clasa Politica Postdecembrista*, 88.

¹⁰⁰ Radu, *Partidele Politice Romanesti*, 99.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid., 129.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Stanislaw Gebethner, "Free Elections and Political Parties in Transition to Democracy in Central and Southeastern Europe," *International Political Science Review* 18, 4 (Oct 1997), 383.

in the voting process also revealed the population's commitment to the transition from authoritarianism to democracy. Further, the publishing of a new Constitution on 21 December 1991 re-enforced the regime's legitimacy in that it set the legal parameters for the establishment of democracy.¹⁰⁵ As stated in the Constitution, "Romania is a social democratic state, where freedom and individual rights and dignity, the free development of personality, justice and political pluralism are guaranteed highly regarded values."¹⁰⁶ Other constitutional provisions addressed the introduction of a free market economy under state supervision: "the State has to ensure that commerce is free, that competition is [fair], and to warrant that the appropriate framework for production patterns is created."¹⁰⁷ Procedures for presidential and parliamentary elections, including Parliament's prerogatives and functions were also constitutionally defined. The governing NSF also declared in favour of a free market system while advocating for a welfare state.¹⁰⁸

Nevertheless, the political structure of the NSF remained very similar to that of a communist regime. For example, the Council initially appointed as the legislature mirrored the old Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, while the Executive Bureau, which consisted of Iliescu and certain leading politicians (e.g., the Prime Minister), performed the role of the former communist Political Executive Committee (see Table 2).¹⁰⁹ The Council was directly supported by government's administrative branch and by a series of NSF commissions created to serve as advisory bodies. The country's various counties were also administered by a series of local NSF

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. See also Light and Phinnemore, eds., *Post-Communist Romania*, 2.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. Citation from Romania's 1991 Constitution.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Siani-Davis, *The Romanian Revolution*, 191-192.

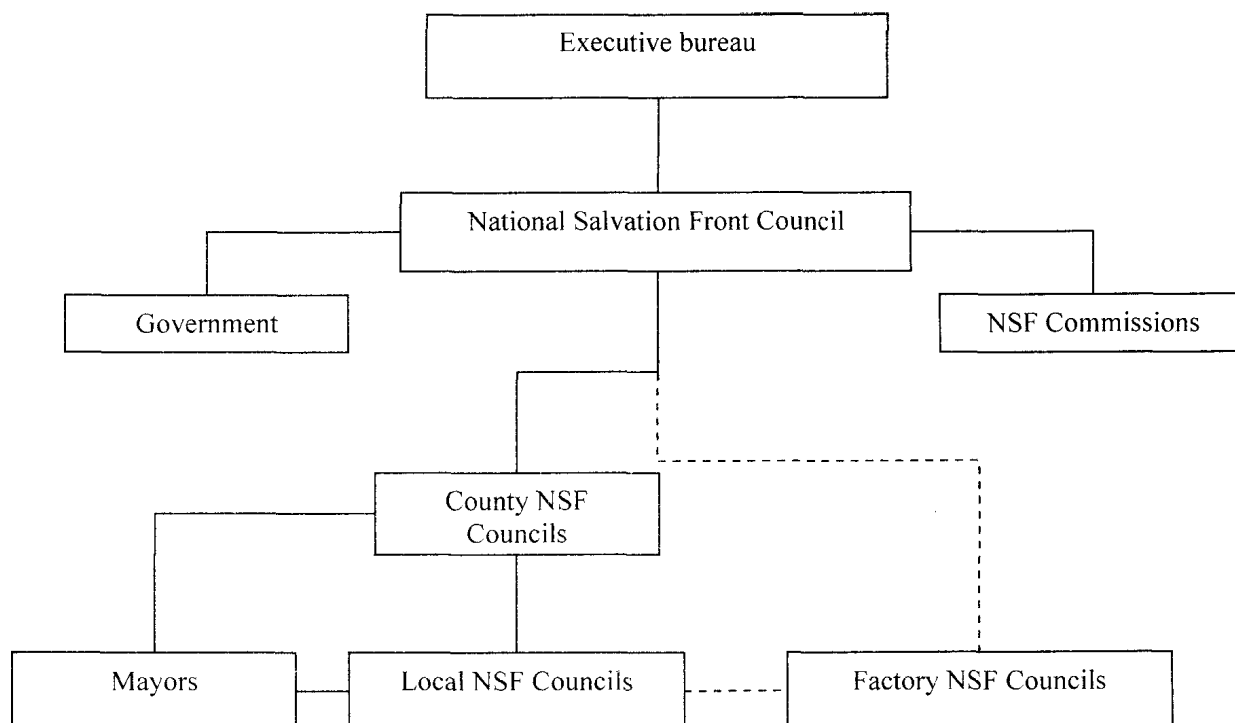
¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

councils whose administrative branches where local mayors and a network of factory branch councils of the NSF was also designed, albeit never formally constituted (these factory councils are represented by interrupted lines in the following diagram).¹¹⁰ Iliescu thus created a strong presidential office which was divided into various policy departments, each maintained by a relatively large number of officials.¹¹¹ It became obvious that Iliescu did not conceive of the President's role as merely ceremonial but intended to play a more powerful and involved role in Romania's political affairs. Given the NSF's dominance at all levels of Romanian politics, opposition parties were left with little room for political manoeuvring.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 191.

¹¹¹ Verheijen, *Constitutional Pillars for New Democracies*, 160.

¹¹² See Stein Ugelvik Larsen, ed., *The Challenges of Theories on Democracy: Elaborations Over New Trends in Transitology* (Social Science Monographs, Boulder, New York: Columbia University Press, 2000). In his discussion on "Conditions for Democracy," Seymour Martin Lipset stresses the difficulty of democratization processes in countries previously under authoritarian regimes, such as Romania. See also Gallagher, *Romania After Ceausescu*, 1.

Table 2The Structure of the National Salvation Front ¹¹³

As it became increasingly obvious that vestiges of communism were still persistent in Romania, Iliescu made efforts to protect his own image and that of his closer acolytes from public scrutiny. Even before passing the new Constitution in 1991, his regime issued regulations on national security which effectively denied public access to communist archives.¹¹⁴ A new secret police called the Romanian Information Service—in reality a successor of the former Security Service—was also established. Not surprisingly, Iliescu’s commitment to democracy began to be questioned by Romanians and foreign observers.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Dieter Fuchs and Jan Zielonka, eds., *Democracy and Political Culture in Eastern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2006). The Romanian Constitution is based on the French model with the exception that the Romanian President does not have the power to dissolve Parliament. The French model, based on the 1958 Constitution and grounded in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of 1789, proclaims France as a secular and democratic republic, provides for the election of the President and the Parliament, the selection of the Government, and establishes the powers for each political organism. Other characteristics include ratification of international agreements, etc. See the website of the French Constitution: <http://conseil-constitutionnel.fr>.

Another example of the President's support of communist structures and totalitarian attitude was his disregard of minority rights manifested through delayed interventions in alleviating ethnic conflicts in a province mostly inhabited by Hungarians, in March 1990.¹¹⁵ Further, Iliescu's call for miners' rallies in June 1990 and September 1991 in Bucharest to help him strengthen his position by repressing anti-presidential demonstrations gave rise to suspicions with respect to his democratic credentials.¹¹⁶ And in fact the 1991 miners' rally contributed to the destabilization of the government and the forced resignation of the Prime Minister Petre Roman.¹¹⁷ One consequence of the destabilization of the NSF was a split in the party. In 1992, the conservative wing, mainly consisting of the old communist guard, formed the Democratic Front of National Salvation (DFNS), led by Iliescu. The rest of the NSF was renamed the Democratic Party (DP) under the leadership of Roman.¹¹⁸

Another factor contributing to the fragmentation of the NSF was a strong opposition on the part of the conservative wing of the NSF to Roman's economic reforms, which were intended to bring about radical changes.¹¹⁹ As Roman lost hope for implementing his economic reform plans, he called for new elections that might help him regain control over the reform process. Further, Parliament's failure to draft a new Constitution also brought about conflicts within the NSF as the conservatives pressed to have control over the writing of the new Constitution. The conservatives' opposition to new elections was obviously out of fear that they might lose power.¹²⁰

Nevertheless, following the publishing of a new Constitution and the September

¹¹⁵ Light and Phinnemore, eds., *Post-Communist Romania*, 2.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Radu, *Partidele Politice Romanesti*, 126.

¹¹⁹ Verheijen, *Constitutional Pillars for New Democracies*, 161-163.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

1992 elections, a new government was installed, albeit still under the sway of the DFNS. For this voting round, however, only 76.28 percent of the population came to vote as compared with the almost 82 percent in 1990, and the DFNS won with a feeble majority. Apparently, the population had begun to lose confidence in the regime and in the efficiency of its political, economic and social reforms.¹²¹ This loss of public confidence also affected the number of parties in Parliament which was reduced to a third as compared with the first elections because they did not meet the required number of votes. The proportion of the popular vote between governing and opposition parties was also reduced.¹²² Despite the apparent strengthening of political pluralism in Romanian politics, opposition parties could still not compete equally with the NSF (later DFSN) because the government acquired control over state assets and media, including radio and television.¹²³ Obviously, the lack of opposition party activity posed serious challenges to Romania's pluralism and democratic consolidation.¹²⁴

The struggle for power among and within parties eventually contributed to delay initiation and implementation of reforms. As a result, during the early 1990s the population's standard of living declined with high inflation and an increase in unemployment rates.¹²⁵ Another contributing factor to the slow pace of reforms was the chaos in the Romanian legislature that resulted from lack of experience on the part of the legislators.¹²⁶ The complex legislative framework also created imprecise legal boundaries for the division of powers of state which encouraged political irresponsibility such as, for

¹²¹ Ibid., 130.

¹²² Siani-Davies, *The Romanian Revolution*,

¹²³ Gallagher, *Romania After Ceausescu*, 100.

¹²⁴ Shafir, "The Ciorbea Government and Democratization," in Light and Phinemmore, eds., *Post-Communist Romania: Coming to Term with Transition*, 80.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ See Pasti, *Noul Capitalism Romanesc*.

example, in the drafting and implementation of reforms. Iliescu, too, infringed upon legislative regulations regarding division of powers when he was entrusted with the executive power while still president of the legislature (see above).

Other shortcomings of the first post-communist years included increased bureaucratization along with degradation of social services and “the appearance of mafia-like networks of smugglers, managers of state-owned enterprises (including banks) and corrupt police officers” and other authorities.¹²⁷ Obviously, all this discouraged foreign investment in Romania.

The reluctance of international organizations to operate on the Romanian market also entailed delays in negotiations for trade and cooperation agreements with the European Community (EC).¹²⁸ The reader might recall that Western governments, banks and financial markets only agreed to financially support former communist countries provided that their post communist reform program met the International Monetary Fund’s “approval.”¹²⁹ As previously discussed with respect to the political activity of the IMF, its program was consistent with the neoliberal agenda of privatization, price liberalization and reduced government expenditure. The ultimate goal of these monetary reforms was achievement of macroeconomic stability through growth of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), low inflation rates, sustainable debt ratios, price stability and sound fiscal policies.¹³⁰ Political pundits speculate, however, that some IMF reforms were

¹²⁷ Mungiu-Pippidi, “Romania: From Procedural Democracy to European Integration,” in Mary Kaldor and Ivan Vejvoda, eds., *Democratization in Central and Eastern Europe* (New York: Continuum, 2002), 148.

¹²⁸ Light and Phinnemore, eds., *Post-Communist Romania*, 252.

¹²⁹ Steven Weber, ed., *Globalization and the European Political Economy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 113.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* Prominent East European reformers including Czechoslovakia’s Vaclav Klaus who became the country’s prime minister after 1989 and Leszek Balcerowicz, the main promoter and supporter of Poland’s first reform program, were exposed to neoliberal policies during economic studies in the United States and other Western European universities.

simply introduced to curry favour with various political groups in governance, to promote group or individual interests or for personal enrichment.¹³¹

Introducing the Free Market Economy to Romania

The radical restructuring imposed by the IMF and the World Bank entailed privatization of large state industries, elimination of enterprise debts, decreases in the salaries of public enterprises' managers if they failed to meet the economic targets set by the agreements with the Fund, lowering of the public debt through increased taxes, control of inflation and the reform of the fiscal system through tax collection and raised rates. Implementation of these reforms, however, was one of the most difficult problems that confronted the Romanian government in the early 1990s. This was because Romania lacked the administrative institutional infrastructure or the necessary specialists to make a successful transition to a market economy.¹³²

However, and despite expected difficulties, IMF officials suggested that Romania apply "shock therapy" in order to achieve rapid privatization, economic stabilization and trade liberalization. This method, however, required appropriate political, economic and other specialized personnel, drastic reductions in government expenses, and extensive financial resources, all of which Romania lacked in the 1990s.¹³³ Proponents of the shock therapy method (i.e., neoliberals) claimed that these measures could reduce and control the inflation rate. From their perspective, rapid privatization and trade liberalization were among the major components of a successful transition process leading to

¹³¹ See Teodorescu and Sultanescu, *Epoca Basescu*.

¹³² Weiner, *Romania and Economic Reform*, 8.

¹³³ Shen, *The Restructuring of Romania's Economy*, 22.

macroeconomic stability.¹³⁴

In the first months after the instalment of democracy, the Roman government implemented several elements of the economic and social shock therapy. Between June 1990 and September 1991, the former administrative bureaucracy of the socialist economy was dissolved (e.g., Central Committee subsidiary bureaus), prices and currency were partially liberalized (i.e., consumer goods prices were liberalized but not those for energy, water, etc.), reform of the banking system was begun, international commerce was redirected from the former communist market to that of Western economies, and privatization of former state-supported industries was initiated.¹³⁵ However, no appropriate legislation to control commercial activity, including competition, existed. Despite this lack of economic legislation, sales of commercial products increased in 1990 by 24 percent as compared with 1 percent in the last two years of communism. This increase, however, may have only been a result of the population's craving for refused goods that were suddenly available on the market and not as a result of increased spending capacity of the citizenry, as incomes did not significantly rise.¹³⁶ Indeed, living standards actually decreased for a while as inflation soared. And by the end of 1990 Romania was experiencing one of the most severe economic crises in its entire history.¹³⁷ Until the 1992 elections, Romania's economy stagnated.

In attempting to remedy this economic crisis, the 1992 government decided to

¹³⁴ Marin Dinu, Cristian Socol, and Aura Niculescu, *Economia Romaniei: O Viziune Asupra Tranzitiei Postcomuniste*. The English version: *Romania's Economy: A Vision of the Post Communist Transition* (Bucuresti: Editura Economica, 2005), 219.

¹³⁵ Pasti, *Noul Capitalism Romanesc*, 406. See also Daianu and Vranceanu, *Subduing High Inflation in Romania*, 402.

¹³⁶ Pasti, *Noul Capitalism Romanesc*, 311.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* By 2000, one fifth of Romania's population would live on approximately 2 dollars a day, although the economy would improve. According to World Bank analysts, this threshold is the ultimate limit of poverty.

implement gradual reforms because they were less risky and expensive and thus less harmful to macroeconomic stability.¹³⁸ This approach could also allow time to establish the institutional infrastructure Romania needed to develop a prosperous market economy, to train specialists and to eventually achieve macroeconomic stability.¹³⁹

The period of political instability between 1990 and 1992 caused by the change in Prime Ministers, economic insecurity and the slow pace of reforms further undermined the population's trust in government and politicians. Romanians also distrusted the banking system because they lacked experience in managing banking operations and because the promised economic reforms brought poverty instead of economic growth. Reform of the banking system had also been slow and inadequate for meeting the needs of the population. Only in 1991 did Parliament approve two reform acts regulating the banking system, including National Romanian Bank (NRB).

Similar to other national banks, since 1991 the NRB controls and regulates the money supply, foreign currencies and credit policies, and other banking institutions. Its main objective, as established in 1991, was "to ensure stability of the domestic currency with a view to maintaining price stability."¹⁴⁰ Every year, a conjoint board of government and RNB officials meets to establish an inflation target as agreed with the IMF. Also in conformity with IMF directives, banking regulations have to support the establishment and development of private banks with their own capital and to allow and encourage foreign financial institutions' entry to the national banking market.¹⁴¹ By 1992, several private banks had already been founded (e.g., four banking corporations with government

¹³⁸ Ibid., 223.

¹³⁹ Dinu et al, *Economia Romaniei*, 219.

¹⁴⁰ Daianu and Vranceanu, "Subduing High Inflation Rate in Romania," 13.

¹⁴¹ www.bnr.ro (accessed September 8, 2008). See also *Evolution and Prospects of the Romanian Economy*, a report of the National Bank of Romania (Romanian Business Digest). www.rbd.doingbusiness.ro (accessed September 8, 2008).

supported capital; four banks with private, cooperative and mixed capital and several branches of foreign banks).¹⁴² However, unlike other former communist countries, competition among banks was almost nonexistent because they used the same crediting system.¹⁴³ Further, there was a notorious lack of payment instruments (e.g., cheques, cards and e-banking). This was especially the case in public institutions where monthly salary disbursements were paid in cash. The activity of foreign banks was also irrelevant to the evolution of the Romanian economy and to an increase in competency among Romanian banks, as the former only took deposits for stocks, bonds and other financial assets, none of which entailed active managing or current banking operations.¹⁴⁴ It was thus not surprising that the population had little faith in the new banking network while foreign investors were reluctant to rely on Romanian banks for their financial affairs.¹⁴⁵

Investors' reluctance to work with Romanian banks was also fuelled by initiatives of the NRB to subsidize industries on the brink of economic collapse.¹⁴⁶ Other subsidies, in the form of elimination of corporate debts, were also made to various industries in an attempt to revitalize the economy.¹⁴⁷ Further, the National Bank had to provide personal savings accounts "in the failing banks with a minimum capital."¹⁴⁸ Unfortunately, these operations led to an expansion of the national debt as the NRB absorbed corporate debts. This, in turn, brought about an increase in consumer product prices.¹⁴⁹ Overall, inflation rates escalated from 200 percent in 1991, to 222 percent in 1992 and to 300 percent in

¹⁴² Dinu et al, *Economia Romaniei*, 147.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ www.bnr.ro (accessed September 8, 2008). See also Daianu, "Subduing High Inflation Rate in Romania," 13.

¹⁴⁵ Dinu, *Situatia Economica a Industriei Romanesti*, 149.

¹⁴⁶ Daianu, "Subduing High Inflation in Romania," 4.

¹⁴⁷ Dinu, *Situatia Economica a Industriei Romanesti*, 147.

¹⁴⁸ Daianu, "Subduing High Inflation in Romania," 17.

¹⁴⁹ Pasti, *Noul Capitalism Romanesc*, 365. For example, energy, gas, food increased by 170 percent in 1991 as compared to 5.1 percent in 1990, by 210 percent in 1992 and 256 percent in 1993.

1993. This contributed to depreciation in the currency exchange rate. Interest rates for bank credits for non-governmental customers during this time also increased from 3.8 percent in 1990 to 58.9 percent in 1993. Moreover, a trade deficit followed as the demand for imported goods increased.¹⁵⁰

Agriculture was also on the political agenda for reform in that attempts were made to supplement the needs of the economy by allowing peasants private ownership over land as individuals or associations and by encouraging establishment of private farms. The first decree was issued in 1990 to allow peasants to own land plots ranging from 0.15 hectares to 0.5 hectares.¹⁵¹ Law 18/1991 further allowed for former communist cooperatives to be officially dismembered while land restoration increased to ten hectares per family “as partial restitution for the moral injustices of collectivization,” regardless of their pre-communism share.¹⁵² Individuals with productive land ranging from two to four hectares were by law considered ineligible for state financial aid, this despite their possible inability to work the land (i.e., lack of tools and technology). In reality, however, many peasants did not have the necessary tools or the strength to work the land. Although they were encouraged to loan the land to corporate renters in order to create small-scale farms, the profit from selling their agricultural produce was insignificant and many became poor.¹⁵³ By 1996, agriculture, too, declined.¹⁵⁴

Eventually, the poor management of economic reforms, inflation and the decline in quality of life and other social standards directly affected the education system,

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Nigel Swain and Maria Vincze, “Agricultural Restructuring in Transylvania in the Post-Communist Period,” in Light and Phinnemore, eds., *Post-Communist Romania*, 176.

¹⁵² Ibid. After forty years of communism and Ceausescu’s systematization projects, it was possible that the initial land plot to not correspond with the actual dimensions.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Katherine Verdery, “The Elasticity of Land: Problems of Property Restitution in Transylvania,” *Slavic Review* 53, 4 (1994), 1071-1109.

including music education, in a variety of ways. For example, the duration of mandatory public education was reduced from ten to eight years and the communist policy that regulated continuing training for teachers and professors was abandoned.¹⁵⁵ Public universities, including music universities, had to introduce tuition fees to support at least a portion of their operation.¹⁵⁶ Ironically, at the same time, establishment of private educational institutions was encouraged. By 1993, almost seventy private universities and general schools were founded in celebration of the recently gained freedom.¹⁵⁷ The Spiru Haret University, for instance, was established in 1991 in Bucharest as part of a non-governmental organization with the aim to offer students access to education, including music education, outside of any political affiliations.¹⁵⁸ The University has received official accreditation and is currently in operation. Many of the first privately founded universities, however, did not meet the required educational standards in terms of teaching materials, classrooms, numbers of students and qualified professors and were refused official approval. One reason why these private universities lacked sufficient enrolment was that most students preferred public universities where tuition was free so long as they had high marks.¹⁵⁹ Further, with low incomes and inflation on the rise, Romanians could hardly choose among educational offers.

After six years of attempted economic reform, the Romanian economy remained in decline. By 1996, industrial output and GDP decreased “at a faster rate than in most other EC countries.”¹⁶⁰ At the same time imports exceeded exports, consumer price

¹⁵⁵ Pasti, *Noul Capitalism Romanesc*, 101.

¹⁵⁶ www.edu.ro (accessed September 11, 2008). Government Decision no. 283 from 21 June 1993, art. 47.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ www.2.spiruharet.ro/prezentare (accessed September 9, 2008).

¹⁵⁹ www.edu.ro (accessed September 11, 2008). Education Law no. 84/1995.

¹⁶⁰ Light and Phennemore, eds., *Post-Communist Romania*, 4.

inflation reached “triple-digit figures” and wages fell.¹⁶¹ Family income and living standards continued to decline while relationships between the political class and the new capitalists became corrupted as great financial and political interests were at stake.¹⁶² Social and economic inequalities grew considerably during this period and will likely continue to grow in the foreseeable future.¹⁶³

In this economic context, the 1996 presidential and parliamentary elections were perceived as turning points in Romania’s post communist transition and as chances to pursue economic prosperity and a clear break with communist values and traditions.¹⁶⁴

Transition Continues: Emil Constantinescu and an Agenda for Change, 1996 – 2000

Only in 1996 was Romania able to depart from communism with the election of Emil Constantinescu as the country’s President and that of the centre-right Romanian Democratic Convention (RDC). This was a coalition government formed by the NPP, and NLP, the Democratic Party (DP) and members of the Hungarian Party (now renamed the Hungarian Christian Democratic Party–HCDP). This represented a significant move toward Romania’s commitment to democracy as it was, arguably, the fully first democratic alternative to power since 1947.¹⁶⁵

Among the RDC’s promises for genuine political and economic reforms was a

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Pasti, *Noul Capitalism Romanesc*, 43.

¹⁶³ Dinu et al, *Economia Romaniei*, 178.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Victor Ionescu, *Crestin-Democratia Europeana si Crestin-Democratia Romaneasca*. The English version: *European and Romanian Christian Democracy* (Iasi: Editura Lumen, 2006), 40. Christian Democracy holds supremacy in the EU as most of member states have Christian democrat governments. Christian democrats advocate support of religion, subordination to moral norms, common well-being, individual property, intervention of state as promoter of common good, defense of social groups, solidarity among people and participatory democracy. Despite the NPP’s adherence to Christian Democracy, the Party is against state intervention in the economy and society.

pledge to improve the multi-party system.¹⁶⁶ Government's political agenda also included plans to eradicate corruption, to downsize bureaucracy and to offer more support for child care and better pension plans for peasants. The government further sought to achieve macroeconomic stability and economic prosperity through energy and food price liberalization (more about economic reforms shortly) and accelerated privatization.¹⁶⁷ One important means of pursuing these goals was through renewed negotiations with Western European leaders for admission to the EC. Unfortunately, the combination of various political ideologies (i.e., liberals, conservatives, and Christian democrats) and intra-party alliances within government brought about conflicts and compromises among leading politicians with respect to political privileges and the achievement of these goals as inter-party negotiations became difficult.¹⁶⁸ Further, and despite their initial promises, none of the members of the RDC coalition was concerned about pursuing realistic economic, administrative, social, health and educational reforms. Ironically, the major impediment was not a lack of proposed reforms but rather an abundance of reform programmes which were proposed by individual political groups, few of which were acted upon.¹⁶⁹ The reforms campaign not only revealed lack of consensus among leading politicians but it also transformed into a fight for political supremacy and power.

This type of anti-consensus politics contributed to create two major deficiencies within the Romanian political system and social life. One key shortcoming of the 1996–2000 period was the lack of agreement among the governing political groups with respect to the reform programmes' efficiency and suitability for the Romanian economic and

¹⁶⁶ Mungiu-Pippidi, "Romania: From Procedural Democracy to European Integration," 195.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 137.

¹⁶⁸ Shafir, "The Ciorbea Government and Democratization," 85.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 87.

social infrastructure, which was still moulded on communist values. Even when reform programmes were approved, they were only superficially applied to practice. For example, educational reforms led to the introduction of alternative textbooks in schools without correlating their contents with exam subjects (e.g., not all textbooks included the same subject matters and students found themselves unprepared in exams). Disparities between theory and practice were a direct result of personal political ambitions. A contributing factor to these disparities between theory and practice was the lengthy legislative voting process that slowed economic and other reforms. As a result, foreign financiers were discouraged from investing in the country. The IMF, too, advanced only two instalments of a previously approved loan and expressed dissatisfaction with the slow-paced implementation of the reform programme.¹⁷⁰

Another major problem of this period was the level of corruption which, inherited from previous governments, extended to all levels of the political sphere, including the governing coalition, the police and the Security forces. In fact, corruption escalated so much by 1997 as to force President Constantinescu to establish the National Council of Combat against Corruption and Organized Crime, with members of the executive and the legislature as its constituents.¹⁷¹ According to opposition critics, however, this only exacerbated the problem as its activity only infringed upon democracy through the mixing of executive with judicial officials.¹⁷² Ironically, one of the major factors contributing to the growth of corruption might have been the Constitution's ambiguity with respect to the boundaries between powers in the state.

In this context of political and economic disarray, several political acts were

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ See www.kappa.ro/news/dimineata/dm7206.html (accessed September 16, 2008).

¹⁷² Shafir, "The Ciorbea Government and Democratization," 89.

designed to help re-assert Romania's favourable image in the Western world. These were inclusion of the HCDP in the coalition government, and regulatory laws that addressed protection of minority rights. For example, Hungarians living in Romania were allowed to use bilingual street signs in those counties where they were a majority (e.g., Covasna, Harghita) and to study subjects such as geography and history in their own language. Unfortunately, this educational regulation was revoked several months later.¹⁷³ The HCDP, though, was not only concerned with protecting minority rights. The Party also respected other parliamentary disciplines and regulations, participated in debates aimed at solving economic and other matters of national interest and genuinely attempted to mediate between rival groups and personalities in order to attain the long-desired political consensus.¹⁷⁴ The HCDP was, in effect, the only political body that did not attempt to impose its political views upon the rest of the governing parties. As a result, the Party's political activity, coupled with the government's protection of minority rights, prompted American President Clinton to claim that the inclusion of the HCDP in the coalition affirmed real democratization processes at work in Romania.¹⁷⁵ Hungary, too, appreciated the Romanian government's attempted inclusiveness while observing that Romania's respect of minority rights was evidence that it was on the road toward a stable democracy. Another favourable outcome of policing minority rights and of demonstrating substantive efforts toward democratization was an invitation in 1999 by EU officials to start integration negotiations to the EU.¹⁷⁶ Following implementation of parts of the initial political platform and achievement of macroeconomic stability (inflation was reduced

¹⁷³ Ibid., 95.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 91.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 95.

¹⁷⁶ See Sorin Ionita, "The Cargo Cult of Democracy in Romania and What can Local Think Tanks do to Bring About the Real Thing," *Romanian Journal of Political Science* 3, 1 (Spring, 2003), 164.

from 18 percent in February 1997 to 1 percent in June that same year), as will be shortly discussed, the IMF and the World Bank further removed restrictions on previously “frozen loans” in recognition of Romania’s positive signs of change along democratic principles.¹⁷⁷ Of course, these loans were granted on preconditions with respect to accelerating economic reforms along the aforementioned neoliberal ideas.

The success of economic and political reforms, however, was to be short-lived as in fighting within the coalition eventually fragmented the government and became an obstacle to maintaining the country’s positive image abroad and its economy afloat. Toward the end of the 1996–2000 period of governance, leading politicians lost credibility among the population and among Western governments. Further, the lack of appropriate laws to support economic and other reforms, including taxation regulations, created chaos and more bureaucracy in the administrative system and the economy. This was in part because the status of public employees and the nature of resource mobility in the context of a capitalist society were not adequately defined by government.¹⁷⁸

1996 – 2000 – Accelerated Liberalization of the Economy

The 1996 change in government political ideology and programme appeared to herald an era of real political, social and economic reforms and eventual prosperity based on rapid privatization of the remaining state industries and removal of hidden state subsidies (e.g., for energy, transportation). However, a reduction of the government deficit by two-thirds and liberalization of foreign trade and prices on the national market

¹⁷⁷ Shafir, “The Ciorbea Government and Democratization,” 86, 87.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 88.

brought an end to economic development and macroeconomic stability in 1997.¹⁷⁹ As already discussed, major factors contributing to the slow-pace of economic development were the lack of legislative framework, lack of interest on the parts of the politicians and the communist heritage. As Romanian political analyst Alina Mungiu-Pippidi argues, the interference of the IMF in Romania's implementation of economic reforms also contributed to overshadow part of the Romanian government's proposed economic reforms in that the Fund's radical pre-conditions asked for a re-implementation of the aforementioned economic shock therapy.¹⁸⁰

Following the IMF's directives, in 1997 the government applied the shock therapy programme with the intent to accelerate the reform process but also to curry favour with this and other international financiers. The programme included a package of a hundred regulations to help establish and further consolidate the legislative framework for economic activity and to achieve economic growth. Eventually, these laws aimed to completely liberalize prices for utilities, agricultural products and public services, to privatize almost all state-supported industries, to eliminate state subsidies and to introduce more credits for agriculture.¹⁸¹

The proposed reforms, however, did not bring the expected results. Further, this type of economic "therapy" did not generally consider measures for the protection of the citizens against the resulting high unemployment, soaring inflation rates and the inevitable decline in personal income and living standards.¹⁸² The plummeting of Romania's economy was also a result of a discrepancy between theory and practice. In

¹⁷⁹ Light and Phinnemore, eds., *Post-Communist Romania*, 4.

¹⁸⁰ Mungiu-Pippidi, "Romania: From Procedural Democracy to European Integration."

¹⁸¹ Alan Smith, "The transition to a Market Economy in Romania and the Competitiveness of Exports," in Light and Phinnemore, eds., *Post-Communist Romania*.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

theory, for example, price and trade liberalization allow for competition and increased efficiency in the production of goods. In practice, however, these kinds of radical reforms are bound to generate damaging results because they force national economies in transition, such as Romania's, to use their locally produced goods in order to compete with international markets, and to their detriment. In Romania's case, none of the country's transition governments possessed the skill, the specialists or the infrastructure to engage the economy in competition with well-established and experienced capitalist markets. This policy, argued Stiglitz, only made local industries and companies vulnerable while leading to disastrous effects on society and the economy as many jobs had to be eliminated.¹⁸³ Especially individuals with less permanent employment positions (e.g., in construction or agriculture) "were forced into poverty."¹⁸⁴

One of the immediate effects of the trade and price liberalization reforms in Romania was an escalating inflation rate that almost reached its 1993 level. Another outcome of the resulting economic decline and of bad management was a 12 percent decrease in the GDP for three consecutive years.¹⁸⁵ Other consequences of these radical economic reforms also included dismemberment of naval and army bases as equipment was sold for a mere pittance and officers were forced to retire. As President Constantinescu observed, the state of affairs in Romania was increasingly daunting because "banks have been robbed, the navy has been destroyed, we live in a world in which everything [i.e., ideologies and parliamentary seats] is for sale."¹⁸⁶ Former Romanian Finance Minister Daniel Daianu similarly argued that Romania's overall

¹⁸³ See Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents*.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁸⁵ See <http://www.ziare.com/articole/PIB> (accessed August 10, 2009).

¹⁸⁶ Wiener, *Romania and Economic Reform*, 4.

economic development during the first ten years of transition can be described as “disappointing: the country has not been able to deliver steady growth, low unemployment and low inflation.”¹⁸⁷ By 2000, the rate of poverty had increased five-fold since 1989.¹⁸⁸

Another damaging effect of government’s lack of coherence in political and economic policies and the slow pace of economic and social reforms was growing dissatisfaction among the population. This discontent eventually prompted students and workers to revolt in 1997 and again in 1999. These protests brought back Iliescu and his political organization, the Social Democratic Party (SDP), formerly known as the NSF and then DFSN, as victors in the 2000 elections.¹⁸⁹

The Return of the Communists? Iliescu at his Third Presidential Mandate, 2000 – 2004

Similar to the first six years after 1989, the SDP formed the government with the support of the HCDP and other small parties. Romania was again a coalition government that did not allow political groups in the opposition much participation in political and other decision making processes. This 2000 – 2004 government, however, was the most stable of all since the 1989 Revolution, this despite suspicions of corruption among its members.

The SDP generated unwavering political support by exerting, among other things, control over local resources and by placing mayors loyal to the party’s interests in key centres in the country. Another factor that worked in their favour were legislative

¹⁸⁷ Daianu and Vranceanu, “Subduing High Inflation in Romania.”

¹⁸⁸ “In Romania, Rata Saraciei a Crescut de Cinci ori din 1989 pana in 1998.” The English translation: “In Romania, the poverty rate has increased five times more from 1989 and until 1998.” *Transilvania Express* (March 2, 2000).

¹⁸⁹ See Mungiu-Pippidi, “Romania: Fatalistic Political Cultures Revisited,” in Klingemann et al, *Democracy and Political Culture in Eastern Europe*.

loopholes that eventually made local centres dependent on central administration with respect to distributing resources, including welfare support, various state subsidies and licenses to use public resources such as wood.¹⁹⁰ This was coupled with weak law enforcement by authorities. This situation allowed for SDP officials to increase their wealth and political power, while encouraging local mayors and members of other parties to join their ranks.¹⁹¹ As in the 1990 – 1996 period, the remaining parties in the opposition had little room for political manoeuvring as their participation in political and other decision making processes was almost completely blocked. Indeed, opposition parties did not even have offices in rural areas where the SDP political elite literally shut them out of local government premises.¹⁹²

Through control of a network of local elites in the countryside, the governing party gained unrestricted access to an electorate dependent on distribution of essential resources by its officials.¹⁹³ Television channels and newspapers were also under the sway of the SDP insomuch as political shows that did not support the government disappeared or were scheduled late at night, political news was kept to a minimum if not “hidden” at the end of news programs and gradually transformed into “tabloid-like segments,” as was the case during the former communist regime.¹⁹⁴ The National Romanian Television was perhaps the first of the growing network of broadcasting channels to be subjected to SDP politics as it was the only station licensed to broadcast in the rural areas. Through the use of the National Television, the SDP could thus easily manipulate the great majority of peasants who did not have access to other media

¹⁹⁰ Sorana Parvulescu, “2004 Romanian Elections: Test Case for a true Romanian Democracy,” *Romanian Journal of Political Science* 4, 2 (Winter, 2004), 9.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid., 10.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 12.

channels.¹⁹⁵ Until the end of its rule, the SDP's governing procedure mirrored to a large extent the previous communist rule. Unlike the rest of the former communist countries which attempted to distance themselves from communism and its doctrines, Romania failed to implement sound policies of political liberalization and depolitization of the judicial and other legislative institutions, including mass media channels.¹⁹⁶

In this context, corruption continued to remain a serious problem, to the point that 88 percent of Romanians lost their trust in democratic institutions such as the Parliament, government and the Justice department and considered politicians as beyond the bounds of law.¹⁹⁷ And indeed, as the 2004 elections were drawing closer, institutions that were allegedly founded to support democracy, such as the Electoral Central Bureau, the General Prosecutor's Office or the Judiciary, were highly corrupted by the SDP. For example, prior to the 2004 elections, the electoral legislation was amended so that Iliescu could run on the electoral list of the SDP for a seat in Parliament and thus secure a position in the highest echelon of power.¹⁹⁸ This legislative revision revealed the SDP's abuse of its governmental prerogatives as it was a severe violation of the Constitution (article 84 of the 1991 Constitution states that the President of Romania cannot be member of any political party).¹⁹⁹ Nevertheless and despite their efforts to win the 2004 elections, the SDP and Iliescu lost to Traian Basescu and a liberal coalition government.

Notwithstanding the political battles for advancing individual or party interests, by 2004 Romania's economic development began to show the first certain signs of stabilization. One major catalyst in this growth was the fast approaching European

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 11.

¹⁹⁶ Ionita, "The Cargo Cult of Democracy in Romania," 175.

¹⁹⁷ Parvulescu, "2004 Romanian Elections," 11.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 13.

¹⁹⁹ See www.gov.ro (accessed September 23, 2008).

integration.²⁰⁰ Another important factor was a legislative revision of regulations that were drafted so as to support and facilitate long-proposed economic reforms.

2000 – 2004 –Economic Macrostabilization Begins

After three years of recession, a certain period of economic stability began in 2000 as the legislative framework for the economy became more specific and exports led to a 1.6 percent growth in the national GDP.²⁰¹ At the same time, more private companies held monopolies over the production and delivery of consumer goods and more private banks were established, either by privatizing national banks such as the Agricultural Bank or from foreign investment. The inflation rate was also better controlled under the action of the concurring forces of the National Romanian Bank and a new government program called the National Strategy for Medium-Term Development.²⁰²

Prominent among this program's objectives were a better restructuring of the health system through equal access to health services, greater efficiency in providing medical services, better financing of hospitals, and a reduction in the Health Ministry's control over medical institutions. Social reforms were also part of the aforementioned program as government sought to improve the functioning of the welfare system through reorganization of pension plans and protection of unemployed citizens and parentless children.²⁰³ Another major objective of the National Strategy for the Medium-Term Development Program was the strengthening of educational reforms through decentralization, training of educational managers and introduction of a national program

²⁰⁰ Pasti, *Noul Capitalism Romanesc*, 173.

²⁰¹ Dinu et al, *Economia Romaniei*, 233.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Dinu, *Situatia Economica a Industriei Romanesti*, 179.

for adult education. A new National Curriculum for Education was also created to replace the traditional teacher-centered school wherein students were spoon fed with a student-centered system (more about this in chapter 6). Subject curricula were also created in accordance with students' levels of knowledge and capacity of assimilation, diversity and complexity of educational interests, the permanent growth of the fields of knowledge, and the needs of shaping students' personality within a changing global world.²⁰⁴ However, as will be discussed in chapter 6, this new curriculum essentially re-conceptualizes education as job training.

The National Strategy for Medium-Term Development program eventually brought an increase in the GDP and a reduction in the inflation rate. These indicators of macroeconomic stability were maintained throughout 2001 and encouraged IMF officials to grant Romania a three-year loan that was to facilitate privatization of the rest of state industry, help reduce the national deficit, and maintain a low inflation rate. As Romanian economist Marin Dinu states, the macroeconomic results of Romania during this period were among the best economic outcomes the country had obtained since 1990.²⁰⁵ Further, these results prompted the European Commission to declare that Romania's market economy was functional and that the country was therefore eligible to finalize negotiations for European integration in 2007.²⁰⁶

Entry to the EU was to be among the greatest political challenges facing the President and government as it entailed not only that Romania must maintain its economic growth, but also that corruption, particularly in the justice department, had to

²⁰⁴ *The New National Curriculum, 2000*. See www.edu.ro (accessed September 23, 2008).

²⁰⁵ Dinu, *Situatia Economica a Industriei Romanesti*, 234.

²⁰⁶ Dinu et al, *Economia Romaniei*, 236.

be eliminated.²⁰⁷

“Live well!” - Traian Basescu and Consolidation of Democracy, 2004 – 2008

The 2004 elections brought liberals back to governance. The so-called Justice and Truth (JT) governing coalition was based on an alliance consisting of the NLP, the Democratic Party, the HCDP and some other small political groups. The liberal government promised economic prosperity, more privatization, a secure membership into the EU and decent living standards.²⁰⁸ Of course, these promises were no different from others previously announced in political programs. The 2004 government’s apparent cohesiveness in political interests, however, indicated brighter prospects for the stabilization of the Romanian political scene while offering hope for real progress with respect to the country’s integration into the EU—Romania’s greatest political, economic and social achievement since 1989.²⁰⁹

For the first two years at governance, the JT alliance remained the major political force of Romanian politics, working to attain the political stabilization the European Commission required as a pre-condition for the country’s EU integration. Beginning in 2006, however, the political interplay of interests between the two main parties at governance, the Liberals and the Democrats, fractured the alliance and brought Romania into a political crisis.²¹⁰ Following the alliance’s political rift, a new liberal government

²⁰⁷ Teodorescu and Sultanescu, *Epoca Basescu*, 101.

²⁰⁸ Parvulescu, “2004 Romanian Elections,” 21. See also Valeriu Stoica, *Unificarea Dreptei*. The English version: *The Unified Right* (Bucuresti: Editura Humanitas, 2008), 31. The NLP–DP alliance had been formed in 2002 when Traian Basescu, then Bucharest’s mayor and leader of the Democrat Party were attempting to undermine the political dominance of the SDP and also to create a political group and campaigning platform capable of participating in the next elections.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.

²¹⁰ Teodorescu and Sultanescu, *Epoca Basescu*, 36.

was recreated without the DP.²¹¹

Fortunately, changes in the political structure of government did not affect Romania's negotiations with the EU as these had already been completed. However, Romania still had to maintain the European Commission's specific pre-conditions with respect to that country's EU membership. As already mentioned, these pre-conditions included fighting corruption, committing to pursuing real economic, social, health and educational reforms (i.e., leading to economic prosperity and improvements in the health and education systems), strengthening of the rule of law and depoliticizing of the judiciary.²¹²

After taking office, Basescu re-enforced the previously founded National Commission against Corruption (by President Constantinescu) with a mandate to bring to justice any instances of bribery or fraud. An example was readily set by the questioning of former Prime Minister Adrian Nastase (and also leader of the SDP) with respect to the origins of his great wealth, including the provenance of his famous art collection. Although this trial may appear as a political dispute between two adversaries and possibly power abuse on the part of government, it nonetheless served several purposes. On the one hand, it showed the European Commission that corruption in Romania was on the wane or that efforts were being made to eradicate it. Further, it increased the population's trust in Basescu and in the Judiciary. The fight against corruption also re-enforced Basescu's image as President-Judge that he had earned after his presidential victory through disclosure of some communist files (purportedly those less harmful to the politicians still in governance) to the public and his insistence that politicians be made

²¹¹ Ibid., 43.

²¹² Ibid.

accountable to the public.²¹³

These and other political acts by Basescu were arguably intended to cultivate a populist image.²¹⁴ Unlike his predecessors, Basescu became openly involved in affairs of national importance, many of which were beyond his presidential prerogatives.²¹⁵ For example, in 2006 alone his presidential decrees regarding the economy, politics, education, and the health system equalled in number those issued by the former two presidents combined.²¹⁶ Basescu was also actively engaged in enlivening Romanians' hopes in a consolidated democracy by asking their opinions in matters of national importance. This was accomplished through referenda (see the referendum on introducing the uninominal voting system), opinions polls and public appeals to the masses when his conflicts with other politicians needed public legitimation of his ideas.²¹⁷ As a result, the population's trust in the institutions of democracy improved as compared with previous governments.²¹⁸ According to Romanian political analysts, since 2004 and continuing to the present day, positive comments about the President's political acts have abounded in the mass media.²¹⁹ Further, Romania's granted membership into the EU in January 2007 might have also contributed to the cultivation of the positive image of the President.

In April 2007, however, the SDP accused Basescu of abusing his power and Parliament voted that the President be discharged from office.²²⁰ Although his efforts to eliminate corruption and to make communist files accessible to the public were certainly

²¹³ Ibid., 24-25.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 84.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 89-91. Some of these decrees address legislative regulations, promotions for army personnel, decorations for bravery, appointments, replacements or revoking of prosecutors and judges, appointment and changes of ambassadors and drafts of international treaties sent to Parliament for approval.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 17.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 18.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Teodorescu and Sultanescu, *Epoca Basescu*, 15.

important factors behind the requested demise, the SDP's attempts at re-gaining power were the major motivations behind this attack.²²¹ Despite the SDP's efforts, however, a national referendum restored Basescu to power that same month.²²²

The fight between the liberals and the social democrats for political power still continues. As the November 2008 parliamentary election results reveal, social democrats, now in an alliance with conservatives, obtained fewer votes for both chambers of Parliament than the democrats. The Democratic Party, renamed the Democratic Liberal Party (PD-L), obtained majorities in Parliament for both the Deputies' House and the Senate (e.g., 115 members for the Deputies' House and 51 members for the Senate).²²³ As a result, President Basescu has recently proposed that a new government be formed with the leader of the PD-L as Prime Minister.²²⁴ As in the past, there is a danger that opposition parties might again be emasculated. If that happens, then democracy might once again be threatened.

It remains to be seen whether Basescu's efforts at eradicating corruption, downsizing bureaucracy and reforming the judiciary, the economy and the society in general are genuine or simply political machination and manipulation of the popular will. It also remains to be discussed in chapters 6 and 7 whether education, including music education, can benefit from the President's political acts and from the increasing economic growth that Romania enjoyed in the last four years.

²²¹ Ibid., 21.

²²² <http://www.voanews.com/english/archive/2007-05/2007-05-19-voa9.cfm?CFID=265764355&CFTOKEN=57637320&jsessionid=0030b440ceae2e4be22444519704461352d4> (accessed August 10, 2009).

²²³ www.alegeri-2008.ro (accessed December 15, 2008). The Democrat Party's website does not offer information with respect to the new denomination of the party.

²²⁴ "Basescu l-a Ales pe Boc pentru ca are Mai Multe Mandate." The English version: "Basescu Chose Boc Because the Latter has More Mandates" www.alegeri-2008.ro (accessed December 15, 2008).

2004 - 2008 – Macroeconomic Equilibrium

Particularly during the first half of the 2004 - 2008 period the Romanian economy continued to make improvements to the GDP while reducing inflation and lowering unemployment rates.²²⁵ The economic increase was particularly supported by the introduction at the end of 2004 of a common tax quota of 16 percent for all citizens, including public and private employees, companies and firms.²²⁶ The economic growth has contributed to bring more job opportunities on the market, especially as more private firms have been established.

With the imminent prospect of EU integration, foreign financiers became increasingly interested in investing in the Romanian market. Subsequently, national industries and companies such as Petrom (i.e., the national petroleum industry), Connex (i.e., mobile telecommunication company) and Dacia Pitesti (i.e., the national automobile industry) were bought by multinational corporations and developed.²²⁷ The banking system has also been largely privatized with only two public banks remaining (e.g., CEC, the former Communist Savings Bank and Transylvania Bank) on state subsidy. With a foreign investment of 95 percent of total investments in the Romanian market, that country may increase its chances of continued significant economic development in that Western-based business methods that financiers bring to the country may eventually make the Romanian economy competitive with other Western countries.²²⁸

According to a 2006 report by the IMF on Romania's macroeconomic and financial developments, macroeconomic conditions have improved owing to better

²²⁵ Ibid., 235.

²²⁶ http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck.htm_act_text?id=35518 (accessed August 10, 2009).

²²⁷ Teodorescu and Sultanescu, *Epoca Basescu*, 184.

²²⁸ Ibid., 186.

monetary policies, an enhanced financial performance of state-owned enterprises and privatization. Further, the National Bank of Romania has achieved substantial deflation while the depreciation quota of the exchange rate has also decreased.²²⁹

After more than a decade and a half of political and economic turbulence, Romania has caught up with other former European Soviet Bloc countries, although Romanian politics is still plagued by controversial issues that unfortunately set the country apart from European structures and thrust it to the periphery of Europe rather than bring it closer to the core. As many Romanian political pundits argue, the process of democratization in Romania has produced ambiguous results.²³⁰

Issues and Controversies in Romanian Politics

On the one hand, Romania is integrated with Europe primarily through acceptance into the EU and as achievement of democracy and economic growth become almost certainties. The Romanian economic and democratic system has been modeled after the Euro-continental model, based on the principle of the market, while remaining more open to state intervention and support in the economy, society, and education and health systems.²³¹ This model also emphasizes acknowledgement of social justice, acceptance of the productive role of public policy and its contribution to economic prosperity and dialogue among social partners.²³² Implementation of Western European institutional models such as a pluralistic political system, establishment of various councils and committees to oversee European integration and other processes played an important role

²²⁹ Public Information Notice of the International Monetary Fund, May 4, 2006. www.gov.ro (accessed August 14, 2008).

²³⁰ See Pasti, *Noul Capitalism Romanesc* and Mungiu-Pippidi, "Romania's 'End of Transition' Deconstructed."

²³¹ Geoana, *America, Europa si Modernizarea Romaniei*, 16.

²³² *Ibid.*, 189.

in the country's development. Agreements with European states at the level of educational policy and foundations of private educational institutions and exchange university programs with European counterparts also contributed to Romania's political, economic, social and educational development. This is because it offered Romanians equal opportunities with respect to work and education within the EU and the Western world.

On the other hand, implementation of Western-based democratic institutions has been challenging for Romania as some public institutions and the legal framework for addressing property rights and labour markets that did not previously exist had to be invented.²³³ This obviously implied a series of changes at political, administrative (institutional), economic, social, and, later on, educational levels for which Romania was, and probably remains unprepared. Given that Western political and economic institutional patterns had to be implemented in Romania in a very short time, it was perhaps inevitable that those reforms would be "elite-dictated" and not always successful.²³⁴ It should thus also not be surprising that Romania's economic, social and educational development is still slow-paced.²³⁵

The strong ties of Romanian oligarchy with communist values, practice and mentality also contributed to set apart Romania from the same European structures. As Romanian political analyst Mungiu-Pippidi explains, these factors are largely attributable to the forty years of communist indoctrination. Indeed, the communist system rendered Romanians fatalistic and thus unable to "fully exploit both freedom—being distrustful

²³³ Claus Offe, "East European Exceptionalism as a Challenge to Democratization," in Larsen, ed., *The Challenges of Theories on Democracy*, 91.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 92.

²³⁵ Pasti, *Noul Capitalism Romanesc*, 29.

toward the utility of the exercise of free will—and power, as low mental trust makes collective action difficult to achieve.”²³⁶ Drawing on Douglas North’s definition of mentalities as patterns “emerged out of habit,” Mungiu-Pippidi considers that people’s attitudes toward politics “reflect the formal institutions of the previous, rather than the current, regime.”²³⁷ From this perspective, Iliescu’s three political victories were a result of a political culture based on forty years of communist indoctrination.

Similarly, social and political analysts such as Margaret Levi and Paul Pierson attribute Romania’s difficult transition to a Western-style economy and democratic model of governance to a fear of the unknown.²³⁸ As Levi wrote, “once a country has started down a track, the costs of reversal are very high.”²³⁹

The enduring communist political mindset has produced other major and controversial outcomes in Romanian politics. For example, Romania did not have a functional political system and a clearly polarized structure of political forces capable of eliciting ideas conducive to development.²⁴⁰ Governing parties, too, have had elusive political programs as they mostly attempted to curry favour with the population for election reasons or for consolidating their position in governance. Further, Romanian governments since 1989 have tended to be coalitions that were apparently interested in gaining and holding onto power. The suspicion, division and fragmentation that have characterized Romanian political life and society since 1989 are, unfortunately, direct consequences of the communist legacy in Romania.²⁴¹ For post-1989 Romania,

²³⁶ Ibid., 311.

²³⁷ Ibid., 309.

²³⁸ Pierson, *Politics in Time: History, Institutions and Social Analysis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

²³⁹ Ibid., 20.

²⁴⁰ Stoica, *Unificarea Dreptei*, 169.

²⁴¹ Shafir, “The Ciorbea Government and Democratization,” 83.

institutional and policy innovations did not necessarily imply cultural changes among the elites and even among the masses.

The communist mindset and the remaining in office of former communist officials also affected the evolution and development of the public education system, including music education after the 1989 Revolution. In order to understand current developments in Romanian public education and music education and to help envision its possible future evolution, it is first necessary to document the evolution of the Romanian public music education system since its beginning in the nineteenth-century and until the Revolution in 1989. This is important to understanding the system's circumstances under the communist regime and particularly the changes in educational and institutional policies during the later half of the twentieth century and after the revolution in 1989.

CHAPTER V
MUSIC EDUCATION IN ROMANIA, 1864 – 1989

This chapter presents a brief history of music education in Romania as a means of establishing a framework for future developments. Readers interested in a more comprehensive history of music education in that country before 1989 (the year when Nicolae Ceausescu's communist government was overthrown) should consult my Master's Thesis, *A History of the National University of Music in Bucharest, 1864 – 2003*.

A Brief History of Music Education in Romania to 1989

Although the roots of music education in Romania can be traced back to the fourteenth-century, formal music education as is known today only became possible with Alexandru Ioan Cuza's *Law on Public Instruction* of 1864.¹ Prior to this law, church schools were the only educational institutions to offer musical training, usually in the practice and singing of the Byzantine Gregorian chant for church singers. The teaching process, however, had an improvised character as the teachers (generally monks) had no formal musical training. Liturgical music programs, commonly taught in Greek, Slavonic, German or Hungarian, were learned by rote.²

Following the official declaration of Romanian as the national language by the 1821 Organic Regulations Act in Moldavia and Walachia (the first attempt at a Constitution), Greek and Slavonic were gradually removed from official documents and

¹ Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. I, 14.

² Vasile Vasile, *Metodica Educatiei Muzicale*. The English version: *Methods of Music Education* (Bucuresti: Editura Muzicala, 2004), 71. The first church school was established in the fourteenth-century.

church services.³ Further, Romanian was introduced in schools, textbooks and church psalm books were published in Romanian and the church schools were thereafter controlled by the government.⁴ Following these developments, more church schools with teaching partly in the Romanian language were established, with a music instructor employed to train students in the singing of church music.⁵ This was the earliest attempt at founding an organized and institutionalized public education system.

By the end of the eighteenth-century, private lessons also became available and foreign music teachers were invited to give piano lessons to the aristocracy's children and to perform in private musical circles. The first theatre was founded in Bucharest in 1817 to offer musical and theatrical performances accessible to the public. Concerts and other artistic activities, however, were initially executed by visiting foreign artistic groups as Romanian musicians were either few in number or poorly prepared owing to the long tradition of church vocal education and to the lack of organized music education in Romania.⁶

The urgent need for professionally trained Romanian musicians was partly met through the foundation of several cultural organizations such as the Philharmonic Society (1833) which, among other things, aimed to promote some form of organized education.⁷

³ At that time, the actual territory of Romania consisted of three provinces, independent politically: Moldavia (Moldova), Walachia (Tara Romaneasca) and Transylvania (Transilvania).

⁴ Vasile, *Pagini Nescrise din Istoria Pedagogiei si Culturii Romanesti*. The English version: *Unwritten pages of Romanian Pedagogy and Culture* (Bucuresti: Editura Didactica si Pedagogica, R. A., 1995), 78. See also Georges Castellan, *A History of the Romanians*. Translated from the French by Nicholas Bradley (East European Monographs, Boulder, New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 120.

⁵ Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. I. Diac does not specify whether the music instructor was Romanian or foreign. Among those church schools, several were village church schools which had been founded at the end of the eighteenth-century.

⁶ Mihai Cosma, *Opera in Romania Privita in Context European*. The English version: *Opera in Romania in European Context* (Bucuresti: Editura Muzicala, 2001), 125.

⁷ Octavian Lazar Cosma, *Universitatea Nationala de Muzica Bucuresti la 140 de Ani*. The English version: *The National University Music in Bucharest at 140 Years* (Bucuresti: Editura Universitatii Nationale de Muzica, 2004), 21.

In 1834, this Society founded the Bucharest School for Vocal Music, Elocution and Literature, although instruction was initially provided on an informal basis (i.e., relatively unstructured). Beginning in 1835, and under the leadership of a German musician, the school began to offer its students an organized four-year program of vocal and instrumental musical study.⁸ More schools with similar vocal and instrumental music programs were thereafter established throughout the Romanian provinces. However, the quality of the teaching process remained uneven and mostly performed by foreign or inadequately trained musicians-teachers. The need for an organized public music education system and for the foundation of a higher music education institution to professionally educate instrumentalists and singers and to train music teachers was thus pressing.⁹

The Public Music Education System, 1864 – 1947

The decisive contribution to the establishment of an organized system of public education was made by Alexandru Ioan Cuza, Prince of Moldavia and Walachia who, in 1864, issued the *Law on Public Instruction*. This law laid the grounds for a national public education system and also led to the establishment of the two Conservatories of Music (actually universities of music) in Bucharest and Iasi that same year.¹⁰ The aforementioned law stipulated that education was free from elementary to university studies and mandatory for children between 8 and 12 years old.¹¹ Cuza's law also directed

⁸ George Breazul, *Invatamantul Muzical*. The English version: *The Musical Education System* (Bucuresti: Editura Muzicala, 1955), 7. The German musician was Andreas Wachman who, presumably, introduced to the Romanian school teaching methods, textbooks and other teaching materials used in Germany at the time.

⁹ See Cosma, *Universitatea Nationala de Muzica Bucuresti la 140 de Ani*.

¹⁰ Vasile, *Metodica Educatiei Muzicale*, 80.

¹¹ Ibid.

that the school system be organized into three levels, elementary, secondary and university, and that a comprehensive school curriculum be introduced.

The elementary level (level I) included grades one to four and was available in both urban and rural schools. Urban schools were usually segregated by gender, whereas rural educational classes were mixed owing to a small student population that made segregation less economically feasible. Level II, or the equivalent of the North-American junior and senior intermediate levels, included grades five to eleven with students' admission ages varying from 12 to 14 years old.¹² Both elementary and secondary students were evaluated on in-class written and oral exams and final year examinations. Graduation exams had a more official character in that a university professor was part of the examination board for all school subjects, and presumably for music as well.¹³ High school students could further take admission exams for university although, as was the case with the Conservatories of Music in Bucharest and Iasi, students as young as 9 years old could be admitted upon examination. This was allowed until the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁴

As the public education system became institutionalized and centralized, three administrative bodies (the Ministry of Instruction and two Councils of Instruction) were also established to organize and supervise the education system's operation. The Ministry of Instruction was charged with the general supervision and control of school units

¹² Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. I, 114. Level II consisted of general and special education. The former type was comprised of two stages (inferior and superior) and was represented by general high schools for boys and secondary schools with grades I (inferior cycle) and II (superior cycle) for girls. Special education included theological seminaries, normal (teacher) schools, and professional or vocational schools. These schools placed greater emphasis on preparing students for working in agriculture, industry, teaching or performing household duties (e.g., sewing, knitting and cooking). Students who aspired to continue their education at the superior stage of level II were admitted upon exams.

¹³ Ibid., 117.

¹⁴ See Cosma, *Universitatea Nationala de Muzica la 140 de Ani*.

whereas Councils were responsible with creating school curriculum, syllabi and textbooks. These documents were further submitted for approval to the Ministry of Instruction and for the decisive signature to the Prince.¹⁵

Cuza's law also gave rise to the development of the music education system in that it mandated music education (tonic sol-fa, general music theory notions) as part of school curriculum, beginning with kindergarten and until the last year of high school.¹⁶ The law actually specified that a specialized music instructor be appointed for each school and that music education contribute to the development of a national Romanian character through folk songs.¹⁷ The institutionalization of music education at all levels of the education system, coupled with the cultural and musical activity contributed by foreign visiting musicians later sparked the authorities' and the population's interest in introducing instrumental music education in the form of piano instruction to school curriculum. Consequently, piano study became available in most schools, although it was thought to be more appropriate for girls.¹⁸ The foundation of the two Conservatories of Music in Bucharest and Iasi in 1864 and the establishment of normal schools for teachers' training further set the foundation for the future development of a national Romanian school of music.

¹⁵ Ibid., 54. Members of these organizations were appointed by the Prince.

¹⁶ Ibid., 116.

¹⁷ Vasile, *Pagini Nescrise din Istoria Pedagogiei and Culturii Romanesti*, 91, 94.

¹⁸ See Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. I.

Table 3

The Structure of the Public Education System Following the 1864 Reform¹⁹

Higher Education							Diploma Exam		
Normal School (3 years)									
Optional Education Level II	20	XI	High School (Boys)	Secondary School Grade II (Girls)	Grade II Exam	Graduates are able to work			High School, Secondary School Final Exam
	19	X							
	18	IX							
	17	VIII	Secondary School Grade I (Girls)	Grade I Exam	Secondary Agricultural School for Boys	Secondary Technological School for Boys	Secondary Commerce Schools for Boys	Vocational School Final Exam	
	16	VII							
	15	VI							
	14	V	Admission School Age Varies form 12 to 14 Years Old						
Compulsory Education Level I	12	IV	Elementary Schools for Boys (Urban School)	Elementary Schools for Girls (Urban School)	Mixed Elementary Schools (Rural Schools)	Final Year Exam	Level I Final Exam		
	11	IV							
	10	III							
	9	II							
	8	I							
Age	Year of Study								

The upward curve of the Romanian public education system continued with the appointment of Spiru Haret, a politician of liberal orientation and a teacher, as Minister of Education (1897–1899, 1901–1904 and 1907–1910).²⁰ His reforms laid the groundwork

¹⁹ Ibid., 416. Cuza's law differentiated between boys' and girls' education. Boys were trained in high schools which usually offered a more advanced and more serious education. Girls' instruction mostly focused on home economics, including sewing, knitting and cooking. Girls were educated in so-called secondary schools. Other differences can be observed in the length of studies for each stage (differentiated between boys and girls). With respect to normal schools, which were similar to a certain degree to the North-American Teachers' College in the sense that they prepared students to become teachers, no information is available with regard to their curriculum.

²⁰ Ibid., 110.

for the development of modern public education in Romania, including music education, in that the education system was conceived so as to elevate the level of literacy and culture for all Romanians and to develop musical literacy.²¹ The major intention of these reforms was to bring Romania closer to other European countries' educational and cultural standards. Prominent among these reforms were an increase in the length of compulsory education up to grade 10 and a growing emphasis on vocal (tonic sol-fa and theory notions) and instrumental music for all students from kindergarten to the last year of high schools of all specializations. Music appreciation was introduced to the school curriculum, as were choral ensembles, although participation was optional.²² Haret also instituted in 1904 school music competitions as a means of encouraging students to develop performance skills but also as a venue for enhancing learning and music appreciation skills.²³

To achieve his educational goals, Haret re-structured teacher education to offer teacher-in-training opportunities for experimenting with teaching units and curriculum implementation through participation in real teaching sessions. To this effect, normal schools (renamed pedagogical seminaries) became affiliated with higher education institutions and with so-called application schools.²⁴ The latter were general elementary schools and high schools that provided opportunities for practical training for future teachers.²⁵ Given Haret's liberal orientation, emphasis was also placed on teaching future

²¹ Ibid., 110. Haret was Ministry of Education during three liberal governments.

²² Ibid.

²³ Vasile, *Metodica Educatiei Muzicale*, 107.

²⁴ Ibid. This educational framework has been maintained until present day.

²⁵ www.unmb.ro (accessed February 19, 2009). This structure mirrored current organization of university education wherein students obtain their teacher's education as part of their undergraduate study and following practicum sessions in general schools affiliated with the university.

educators how to consolidate patriotic, social, moral and religious values in students.²⁶ These pedagogical seminaries functioned until the communist educational reforms of 1948 introduced Marxist-Leninist principles to schools and rearranged the public education system along Soviet lines.²⁷

With the union of Moldavia, Walachia and Transylvania in 1918 and the urge for the affirmation of a national Romanian aesthetic and sense of identity, music education enjoyed new developments. For example, a common curriculum and syllabi were institutionalized throughout the three united provinces and a music education program for kindergarten based on songs, musical games and movement was mandated as part of the curriculum.²⁸ In 1923, the first teaching method for music in elementary general schools was published.²⁹ More than a decade later, in 1937, a common music curriculum was also created for secondary schools with the purpose

to awaken and develop children's musical abilities, thus contributing to a harmonious development of their soul; to grant them joy through learning, creating and performing songs and musical games; to awaken their interest and cultivate their taste in, love and understanding of, the Romanian folklore in songs and dances and of the old church music, thus educating them to sing and listen to Romanian traditional music; to prepare children through music for the civic life of Romanian thought and act.³⁰

One year later, the curriculum for pedagogical seminaries was also improved so as to

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, 131.

²⁸ Until the union of the three provinces, educational developments in Transylvania were far from auspicious. Immediately after the Austro-Hungarian military and political occupation in 1865, school curriculum, including music education, was modeled after that in use in Hungary at the time and any attempt at asserting a national Romanian sense of identity was prohibited and even punished.

²⁹ Vasile, *Metodica Educatiei Muzicale*, 380.

³⁰ Breazul quoted in Vasile, *Metodica Educatiei Muzicale*, 83.

“give students [future teachers] the musical technical and pedagogical training necessary to teach music in kindergarten and elementary schools, and to contribute to the population’s musical development.”³¹ Curriculum for teachers’ pedagogic seminars aimed for a comprehensive education as these teachers-in-training were taught harmony, music history, musical forms, and aesthetics. Teachers were considered “apostles” of the nation and were taught to conduct musical ensembles and to instil in peasants the love for music and Romanian traditions.³² As teachers’ training became instrumental to authorities’ interest in preserving Romanian traditions, a course in encyclopaedia and pedagogy of music and other courses in psychology and pedagogy were introduced to music universities’ curricula to better assist teachers-in-training in their teaching careers.³³ These improvements were possible following implementation of a 1932 Law that granted universities a greater degree of autonomy and, accordingly, more flexibility in establishing curriculum and other affairs. For example, the Conservatory of Music in Bucharest was renamed the “Royal Academy of Music and Drama” in 1938 with the mandate to provide university-level courses.³⁴

This period of burgeoning cultural, musical and educational life was only allowed until 1947 when the communist regime was installed and the country was renamed the Popular Republic of Romania. Thereafter, Marxist-Leninist ideology was introduced at every level of Romanian society, culture and education and the public music education

³¹ Vasile, *Metodica Educatiei Muzicale*, 380.

³² *Ibid.*, 381.

³³ *Ibid.*, 382.

³⁴ *Conservatorul “Ciprian Porumbescu,”* 85. Until this time, the Bucharest Conservatory was considered by authorities as a high school institution owing to the modest level of students’ performing abilities and the lack of appropriate buildings and other facilities.

system was rearranged along Soviet lines.³⁵

Historical Background to the Installation of Soviet Influence, 1944 – 1947

The historical event that prompted the Soviet incursion into Romania was the anti-fascist armed insurrection on 23 August 1944 when the country allied itself with the Soviets against Germany with the intention of regaining the North-western part of Transylvania, then still under Austro-Hungarian rule.³⁶ Eventually, the alliance with the Soviet Union led to the military occupation of Romania and brought the country into the Soviet sphere of influence. Romania's communist fate was further decided following the Yalta Conference when Winston Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Joseph Stalin met to divide Eastern Europe into areas of influence. As a result of this conference, Romania remained under Soviet occupation for almost four decades. The immediate effect of this political act was the installation of the communist regime with the support of the Soviet Union.³⁷ On 30 December 1947, the communists forced King Mihai I to resign his crown and the leadership of the country was assumed by Gheorghe-Gheorghiu Dej and his communist followers. Further, the Stalinist model of society, education, the economy and politics was rapidly introduced through nationalization of private property, industrialization and creation of co-operatives in villages and the rearranging of the education system, including music education, along Soviet lines (more about this shortly). With respect to politics, the Stalinist model was based on a totalitarian leadership

³⁵ For more information about the historical and political circumstances leading to the Soviet occupation of Romania in 1945, see my Thesis *A History of the National University of Music in Bucharest, 1864 – 2004*.

³⁶ Robert Bideleaux and Ian Jeffries, *A History of Eastern Europe: Crisis and Change* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 519.

³⁷ Mihai Manea, Adrian Pascu and Bogdan Teodorescu, *Istoria Romanilor pana la Revolutia din 1821*. Manual pentru clasa a XI-a. The English version: *Romanians' History until the Revolution in 1821*. Textbook for Grade XI (Bucuresti: Editura Didactica si Pedagogica, 1991), 361-365.

whereby the country's President was also the president of the governing party. With the renaming of the country as the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1965, the country's path to socialism was firmly established for the next forty years.

Music Education During Communism, 1947 – 1989

The establishment of the Popular Republic of Romania in 1947 influenced the evolution of the music education system in a variety of ways. Among the first positive steps made by the communist government were the establishment and democratization, in the sense of access for all, of schools and institutions. The new socialist regime offered everyone, and especially underprivileged children, free tuition for university education and the opportunity to study music. Music schools, music high schools and music universities were also established in major cities. However, along with an improvement in education, musicians and artists were not allowed to express their thoughts and liberal ideas. Communist ideology was imposed by force as the only legitimate authority at every level of the national education system, as well as with respect to the country's musical and cultural life. Music education was no exception.

The authorities, in keeping with the official educational policy of Soviet Socialist Realism, considered support for the arts as a worthy investment because of their potential as ideological propaganda and for indoctrination of the masses.³⁸ Consequently, in addition to the increasing number of schools at elementary and secondary levels, philharmonic institutions and music theatres were established. These institutions immediately benefited from increased funding for equipment with new instruments,

³⁸ Vaughn C. James, *Soviet Socialist Realism: Origin and Theory* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973). Soviet Socialist Realism maintained that art's function was to educate the masses.

buildings, facilities and supplies. But, of course, Marxist-Leninist ideology and principles were incorporated into university curricula and all levels of artistic and cultural life. With respect to music composition, for example, and beginning with 1947, Soviet Socialist Realism was imposed as the only authoritative and acceptable composition method.³⁹ Many contemporary composition techniques were forbidden or discouraged by the state, while the use of folkloric motives in Romanian compositions was encouraged so long as it remained consistent with the newly introduced arts policy. New music had to be consistent with the New Socialist Man (i.e., simplistic and accessible to the masses) and to reflect communist symbols (e.g., tractors in the fields, workers in industries). Further, in both music universities and schools there was an increased emphasis on Romanian nationalism, primarily manifested through the mandatory introduction of Romanian compositions to national competitions for university students, and of songs and marches to general public school curricula. These changes to the structure of the national music curriculum were primarily laid out in the 1948 communist educational reform.

The Reforming Process of the Public Sphere and the 1948 Educational Reform

The drafting and implementation of the 1948 educational reform was part of a much greater effort to transform the public sphere along Soviet lines. Romania's Sovietization was largely prompted by the installation of the rule of the proletariat, the military and political occupation by the Soviet army and the reconstruction of Romanian society under the supervision of Soviet councillors. Soviet patterns were transplanted and imposed on all aspects of Romanian society.⁴⁰ Romania's Constitution of 1952 was

³⁹ Sandu-Dediu, *Muzica Romanesca*, 16.

⁴⁰ Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. II, 33.

accordingly modelled after that of the Soviet Union. Even Romanian history was modified so as to distort Romanian tradition and to place the Soviet Union on a pedestal, just as Romanian orthography was altered (in 1954) so as to legitimize the assumed Slav origins of the language.⁴¹ At the same time, cities, streets and institutions were re-named to remind the population of the great Soviet achievements and their authors (Brasov, a city in Transylvania, was re-named Stalin).⁴² Russian and Soviet books and writers were also published and disseminated throughout the country in huge numbers.⁴³ Obviously, the entire reform was an attack at the national musical and cultural identity of the Romanian people and an attempt to dissolve the entire cultural and artistic heritage of Romania's past as the government aimed to construct a new nationalism based on Marxist-Leninist ideology.⁴⁴

Among the effects of the 1948 reforms was the restructuring of the institutions that had been the basis for the intellectual life prior to 1947. This included the replacement of their personnel. For example, the Romanian Academy was re-organized and its leadership was entrusted to a member of the leading echelon of the Communist Party. Further, many of the Academy's members were replaced with individuals of doubtful intellectual qualities but who were openly loyal to the new government. Universities, too, were stripped of their autonomy and the professorial body was significantly reduced in number.⁴⁵ School syllabi were changed so as to reflect the new

⁴¹ Ion Ratiu, *Romania de Astazi: Comunism sau Independenta*. The English version: *Romania Today: Communism or Independence* (Editura Express, 1990), 173.

⁴² Tiberiu Troncota, *Romania Comunista: Propaganda si Cenzura*. The English version: *Communist Romania: Propaganda and Censorship* (Bucuresti: Editura Tritonic, 2006), 138.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁴⁵ Adrian Neculau, "Manipularea Contextului si Controlul Reprezentarilor Sociale" in Adrian Neculau, ed., *Viata Cotidiana in Comunism*. The English version: "The Manipulation of the Context and the Control of Social Representations" in *Day to Day Life during Communism* (Iasi: Editura Polirom, 2004), 39.

political ideology and were increasingly politicized and modelled after the Soviet educational system (more about this shortly). The Russian language became mandatory at all levels of the Romanian education system, beginning with the fourth grade.⁴⁶ At the same time, Romanian culture, intellectuals, artists and musicians became isolated from the Western world as cosmopolitanism and Western ideas were attacked. Censorship and other administrative and punishment measures were consistently used by the Romanian secret police (e.g., removal from office) to ensure compliance with the government's policy, while intellectuals were subjected to forced re-education.⁴⁷

All of these changes were part of a so-called Cultural Revolution, which aimed to rapidly create a new professional elite chosen from the peasantry and workers or the so-called "cultural elite of the proletariat."⁴⁸ Those who complied with the regime were promoted to key positions within the institutions in which they had previously worked where they could contribute to the indoctrination of students to communist ideology.

The 1948 reforms prompted a large-scale restructuring of the public education system as the authorities sought to reproduce the Soviet model at all levels. For example, the school curriculum was copied after the Soviet one and Soviet textbooks were translated into the Romanian language.⁴⁹ Private education was also forbidden with a decree that all education was public, free and secular. The length of general education was reduced to 10 years (instead of 11 as had been the case during Haret's Ministry) and the Soviet marking style was also introduced (e.g., from one to five as opposed to the

⁴⁶ Troncota, *Romania Comunista*, 135.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 135-136.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Diac, *O Istorie a Intamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. II, 11, 33.

previous system from one to ten).⁵⁰ Other changes included a campaign for eradicating illiteracy, including musical illiteracy, through a massive enrolment in elementary schools, a significant increase in secondary training and an important move toward improvement of university infrastructure and education.⁵¹

Fortunately, music education at all levels and mostly at the higher education stage benefited to a certain extent from the literacy campaign and even the moulding of the Romanian system on Soviet patterns in that the communist policy led to a very well-organized music education system. The national curriculum was structured from elementary schools for students ages 7 to 10, to secondary or gymnasium schools for students ages 11 to 14, through general and music high schools and leading to the last year of university.⁵² In 1948, the first national (common) music curriculum and syllabi were created and implemented throughout all of the levels of the music education system in order to establish closer connection among elementary, secondary and university instruction.

In general elementary schools, music became mandatory until grade seven (one hour per week, with emphasis on songs for grades one to four and on theoretical notions thereafter) and an optional course in choral ensemble was offered for grades five to eight (two hours a week).⁵³ All schools throughout the country used common music textbooks that promoted patriotic songs and marches along with musical and theoretical notions. These textbooks were a collaborative work between professors at the conservatory and music school teachers. The intent was to provide musical training for all students who

⁵⁰ Ibid., 42.

⁵¹ Trond Gilberg, *Modernization in Romania since World War II* (Preager Publishers, Inc., 1975), 100.

⁵² Gabriela Munteanu, music teaching methods professor at the "Spiru Haret" Music University, Bucharest, personal correspondence, 2004.

⁵³ Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. II, 91, 122.

expressed desire to study music and to contribute to a growth in the population' level of culture.⁵⁴ Of course, the study of Russian and other socialist countries' composers was mandatory (e.g., in 1950, music textbooks for grade VII included 6 Russian composers and 6 composers from other socialist countries).⁵⁵ The interest in music education was also maintained through school festivities and various music-related manifestations.⁵⁶ As these musical celebrations were usually prompted by communist dictates and saturated with the Party's ideology, students, teachers and parents lost interest and enjoyment in preparing and delivering these messages. Until 1989, music education courses in general elementary schools continued to develop within the curricular and ideological paradigm established in these first years of communism. Later changes to this structure were only observed in a strengthening of political ideology and an increased emphasis on patriotic songs and marches. With respect to music education in special schools, in subsequent years this increased interest in music education was to lead to the foundation of many music schools and music high schools as means for indoctrination to communist principles.

For example, among the several music high schools established throughout Romania following the 1948 reforms was the "Dinu Lipatti" Music High School, founded in 1949 in Bucharest (the first music high school established in Romania).⁵⁷ The second music high school in Bucharest—the "George Enescu" Music High School—was established in 1971 (it had initially been an elementary music school founded in 1957).⁵⁸

⁵⁴ *Conservatorul "Ciprian Porumbescu,"* 121.

⁵⁵ Munteanu, *Studiu Comparativ Asupra Manualelor de Muzica, 1846 – 1993*. The English version: *Comparative Study on Music Textbooks, 1846 – 1993*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation (Bucuresti: Academia de Muzica, 1994), 66.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 270.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 269.

Other music high schools were also established in Cluj in 1950, in Sibiu in 1965 (initially a music elementary school founded in 1957) and in Iași in 1960.⁵⁹

In elementary music schools (with grades from I to VIII), music education consisted of individual instrument lessons and classes in music theory (based on the fixed Do system) and music history. Music instruction in these schools was more advanced than that in general schools as many music students aspired to attend music high school and to eventually take music university courses. Course requirements in music high schools (with grades from I to XII), however, were greater and more stringent than in elementary music schools and included more advanced instruction in music performance, theory, and history. Final evaluations for students were also more stringent and were granted based on theory and instrument performance exams as opposed to the modest evaluation in general and even elementary music schools.⁶⁰

Among some of the most important and immediate benefits to music universities (otherwise known as conservatories of music) were an increase in funds, provision of equipment and instruments (e.g., Steinway & Sons pianos and several others of Soviet origin), construction of new buildings, enrichment of the library with books and musical scores, and a significant increase in the number of students admitted entrance to the music conservatories' courses.⁶¹ The length of study was also established at five years to allow students time to grow musically, and the graduating diploma became the equivalent of the North-American Bachelor of Music Degree. This was a significant change from previous years in that it aligned the music conservatory with other more developed countries.

⁵⁹ www.scoli.didactic.ro (accessed February 20, 2009). Romanian music High Schools usually comprise grades from I to XII.

⁶⁰ See Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. II.

⁶¹ *Conservatorul "Ciprian Porumbescu,"* 131. There were three Music Conservatories in Romania at that time and until the Revolution in 1989: in Bucharest, Iasi and Cluj.

Further, and as the government considered music and musicians as instrumental in disseminating the Party's ideology both at home and abroad, talented students were sent to international competitions (France, Brazil) and to Eastern European communist countries to perform. This was obviously a political act that intended to reveal to the world that communism had fulfilled the initial promise of promoting the well-being and betterment of the population. In keeping with this aim, talented students without financial means were also supported by the state and were granted scholarships.⁶² Choirs and instrumental groups (e.g., the Madrigal, the Academica Quartet) that eventually became internationally renowned were also founded during the communist regime.

Perhaps the most important changes to music conservatories' operation resulting from the 1948 reforms and the subsequent historical revisionism (i.e., the rewriting of history books and the alteration of the Romanian language to show Slavic origins) of curriculum and syllabi were the introduction of the Russian language and literature as a compulsory subject and courses in Marxist "Historical Materialism" and "Scientific Socialism."⁶³ This reform also changed considerably the content of courses in music history and folklore since Marxist-Leninist principles had to be incorporated into the curriculum.⁶⁴ Composition courses also had to be consistent with Soviet Socialist Realism, although communist dictates were ignored whenever possible. Unfortunately, courses in church music were removed from the conservatory's curriculum since faith in God was not consistent with socialist principles. Subsequently, compositions and performances of works with explicit religious themes and motifs were banned, although professors and musicians were often able to evade censors and to publish works with

⁶² See *A History of the National Music University in Bucharest, 1864 – 2003*.

⁶³ *Conservatorul "Ciprian Porumbescu,"* 121.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 134.

subtle religious messages.⁶⁵ Fortunately, communist censors were more concerned with the external trappings of compositions than with actual content. They also had modest musical training and thus were often unable to detect subtle resistance to communist dictates.

Another result of the 1948 reform policy was a “Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union” to ensure that composed music was simplified and made accessible to the masses.⁶⁶ Subsequently, dodecaphonic musical works were prohibited because they were considered too complex and therefore inaccessible for the masses.⁶⁷ By the end of the 1950s, mass culture education had become a primary concern of Party officials and various cultural institutions were established mostly in villages to contribute to the cultural literacy of peasants and to the dissemination of communist ideology.⁶⁸ In the Party’s vision, artists and musicians had to undertake political instruction in order to contribute to the development of the New Socialist Man, the founding of socialist consciousness and the advancement of “socialist humanism.”⁶⁹ Composition of works with Romanian folkloric themes was one approach to achieving these ends.

The government’s intention to promote and encourage Romanian culture and national identity eventually led to a native version of Soviet Socialist Realism known as Proletkultism (1950s – 1960s). One immediate result of this policy was the banning of

⁶⁵ Timothy Rice, *Music in Bulgaria: Experiencing Music, Experiencing Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 61.

⁶⁶ Sandu-Dediu, *Muzica Romaneasca*, 16.

⁶⁷ Iosif Sava, *Stefan Niculescu and Galaxiile Musicale ale Secolului XX*. The English version: *Stefan Niculescu and Musical Galaxies of the Twentieth-Century* (Bucuresti: Editura Muzicala, 1991), 41.

⁶⁸ Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. II, 125.

⁶⁹ Erich Fromm, ed., *Socialist Humanism: An International Symposium* (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., Garden City, 1966). The concept of socialist humanism addresses the organization of social division of labour so as to encourage men to satisfy their social and personal needs “without exploitation and with minimum of sacrifice.”

great works of literature and drama that were not consistent with the Soviet Socialist Realism doctrine. Instead, Romanian works that praised and promoted the ideals of the working class were received with great acclaim. The operation of music conservatories was also affected by the implementation of the Proletkult policy. For instance, it became mandatory that musical compositions based on patriotic themes be included in performances and concerts.⁷⁰ Professors were also forced to create works that illustrated communist symbols such as revolutionary marches. Those who were not willing to embrace the government's ideology were rapidly replaced with professors hastily trained in the Party's schools.⁷¹

Political and Cultural Relaxation, 1958 – 1965

Following Stalin's death in 1953, a cultural thaw allowed intellectuals more freedom in expressing their ideas and the government decided to encourage cooperation and collaboration with intellectuals, engineers, musicians and artists.⁷² Other characteristics of this cultural and political thaw included a relaxation of censorship, the release from prisons of the old intellectual guard and a general removal of Soviet symbols from the Romanian society (e.g., Stalin's statue was demolished).⁷³ Further, beginning in

⁷⁰ *Manual de Muzica*. The English version: *Music Textbook* (Bucuresti: Editura Didactica si Pedagogica, 1960), 3. Examples of patriotic songs include "Republica Mareata Vatra" ("The Republic, Our Great Hearth") and "Salutul Cravatelor Rosii" ("Pioneers Salute the Nation").

⁷¹ Sandu-Dediu, *Muzica Romaneasca*. See also Marino, *Politica si Cultura: Pentru o Noua Cultura Romana*. The English version: *Politics and Culture: For a New Romanian Culture* (Iasi: Editura Polirom, 1996), 53 and *Conservatorul "Ciprian Porumbescu"*. An example is the case of Lucian Blaga, one the most influential poets, philosophers and literary personalities of Romania's culture. After he was fired from the leadership of the Department of Literary Philosophy within the Bucharest University, Blaga was replaced with a Party-trained activist without a philosophy-based education. Other examples include cases of Mihail Jora, a former director of the Conservatory in Bucharest and Valentin Silvestri, composer and professors at the same institution.

⁷² Troncota, *Romania Comunista*, 138.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

1963, Russian was no longer mandatory in schools.⁷⁴ Other significant changes included an opening to the Western world and civilization and permission for intellectuals, especially those loyal to the regime, to travel abroad and to take part in symposiums and other cultural events. Foreign movies were also allowed in Romanian movie theatres and foreign scholars were granted entrance to Romania. As censorship became more lax, more valuable literary and specialty works were published (e.g., Marcel Proust and James Joyce) and literary figures prominent in the prewar Romania were rehabilitated (e.g., the literary critic Titu Maiorescu and the historian Nicolae Iorga). Soviet sympathisers in key positions were also replaced with individuals demonstrating a commitment to Romanian nationalism. Obviously, these liberating measures aimed to improve the already damaged relationships between the state and society.⁷⁵

Music education in general elementary and secondary schools and at the music conservatory during this period also benefited to a certain degree from this political and cultural liberalization. For example, music textbooks for elementary schools were partly re-conceived so as to lead to a better teaching-learning process (e.g., teachers charged with writing these textbooks debated on the best methods for teaching rhythm). Various foreign teaching methods were also introduced to teaching music in general elementary schools (e.g., rhythmic system of measuring musical durations of Maurice Chevais, hand signs of Curwen-Kodaly).⁷⁶

Other changes addressed development of creativity in elementary school music students through various musical activities. However, as students' creativity could lead to

⁷⁴ Ibid., 157.

⁷⁵ See Paul Cernat, Ion Manolescu, Angelo Mitchievici and Ioan Stanomir, *Explorari in Comunismul Romanesc*. The English version: *Explorations into Romanian Communism* (Iasi: Editura Polirom, 2006).

⁷⁶ Munteanu, *Studiu Comparativ Asupra Manualelor de Muzica*, 43. The rhythmic system starts with tritons and continues to tonal and modal seven-note formulas.

exploring forbidden aspects of musical composition (i.e., dodecaphonism and serialism), this initiative was soon stifled and development of musical creativity was restricted to simply imitating a melody sung by the teacher.⁷⁷ Directives from the Ministry of Education also restricted the content of the musical repertoire to the two anthems of the Popular Republic of Romania and that of the Soviet Union which were mandatory for students, four contemporary songs (belonging to the Western classical literature), three Romanian folk songs and one song of neighbouring countries' folklore. These songs had to be accessible to all and to have communist aesthetic and educational value (i.e., to be simplistic and to reflect communist principles).⁷⁸ Music education in secondary schools was less concentrated on developing students' musical skills (i.e., musical reading and writing) through solfege, singing and musical games as singing was optional while the emphasis was placed on the theoretical aspect of the musical notions. The musical repertoire, however, included more Western classical composers and works (e.g., F. Chopin, F. Liszt, E. Grieg, A. Dvorak, J. Sibelius, etc), twentieth-century music (e.g., B. Bartok, P. Boulez, A. Copland, C. Debussy, G. Enescu, O. Messiaen) and more Romanian composers (e.g., G. Musicescu, G. Dima, G. Cucu, D. Chirescu).⁷⁹

Music university professors also seized the opportunity to introduce a new aesthetic orientation in composition and to teach previously prohibited composition techniques.⁸⁰ Dodecaphonism and serialism, which had previously been banned because of their inaccessibility to the masses continued, however, to be used albeit in subtle ways

⁷⁷ Ibid., 33.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 35.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 44.

⁸⁰ Sandu-Dediu, *Muzica Romaneasca*, 21.

so as to evade communist censors.⁸¹ Communist ideology did not affect all courses offered at the conservatory. Instrumental technique and other performance related courses by their very nature resisted politicization. And several festivals such as the “Romanian Week Festival” were established to stimulate the creation and performance of Romanian compositions. Further, the foundation of the “George Enescu International Festival and Competition” in 1958 provided musicians and teachers opportunities to listen to contemporary musical works created outside Romania and to meet foreign musicians. For music university students, these musical festivals were an opportunity to gain experience and to enhance their musical knowledge and thus to contribute to the musical and cultural growth of the country.⁸²

Despite the freedom that the 1950s – 1960s had brought, musicians were still isolated from the musical and cultural life of the Western world through the lack of access to musical recordings and scores. Most professors resisted the communist ideological impositions by embracing the formalist conception of art for art’s sake and, when feasible, attempted to evade the official ideology.⁸³ Professors were also “respectfully” asked to refine their communist-based knowledge and to attend courses soaked with Marxist-Leninist principles, all to the betterment of the socialist country. Others, however, chose to follow the Party line and to obtain financial and other benefits as a result of their overt partisan support. Some of them were appointed to the leadership boards of music institutions and were charged with supervising the implementation of the

⁸¹ Ibid., 22, 25.

⁸² Ibid., 28.

⁸³ Bennett Reimer, *A Philosophy of Music Education*, 2nd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1989).

Party's ideology and principles.⁸⁴

Beginning with 1965 and the appointment of Nicolae Ceausescu to the leadership of Romania and until the end of the communist regime in 1989, the Party's grip on music, culture and education continued to be strengthened, censorship increased and the promotion of Romanian national identity and culture was exaggerated to hideous dimensions, particularly in the last years of communism.

The Ceausescu Era, 1965 – 1989

A Second Cultural Thaw

Following Ceausescu's appointment as General Secretary of the Communist Party in 1965, a second period of cultural and political relaxation provided musicians and intellectuals with more freedom in travelling abroad and attending international festivals.⁸⁵ This liberalism, however, was a mere instrument to consolidate Ceausescu's power within the Party.⁸⁶ The cultural and political thaw was also intended to attenuate previous hardships and possibly to help the population forget the repressive acts of the beginning years of communism and to make Ceausescu appear the right ruler. Ceausescu's political position against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia (1968) further opened for him opportunities for international affirmation while creating the image of a national hero in Romania.⁸⁷

Music education in music schools and universities again benefited from this second cultural thaw. For example, a new department for training music teachers was

⁸⁴ Ratiu, *Romania de Astazi*, 24.

⁸⁵ Sandu-Dediu, *Muzica Romaneasca*, 27.

⁸⁶ Troncota, *Romania Comunista*, 160.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 182.

founded at the Bucharest Conservatory to support the demand for music teachers in the large number of music schools and high schools. Courses in psychology, pedagogy and vocal methods training were instituted within the Faculty of Pedagogy while courses in Romanian popular music for the training of vocal and instrumental singers for the country's concert halls were also introduced to the Bucharest Conservatory's curriculum.⁸⁸ Courses in "Historical Materialism" and "Scientific Socialism," however, continued to be part of the curriculum. Further, and as a result of Ceausescu's desire to depart from the Soviet influence and to consolidate his hold on the country's governance, an increased emphasis was placed on the Romanian language in university admission exams. In general elementary and secondary schools, this renewed interest in Romanian nationalism was observed through an increase in the number of native composers and national folksongs introduced to music textbooks.⁸⁹

Despite the political subjugation of curriculum and course content to the Party's ideology, in 1968 the number of students at the Bucharest Conservatory increased from 650 (in 1864) to 1383 (384 within the Faculty of Performing Art and 999 in the Faculty of Pedagogy).⁹⁰ The professorial body also grew from only a few in the first years of the Conservatory's existence to 238.⁹¹ Beginning in 1972, however, student enrolment gradually decreased. For example, in 1972 only 724 enrolled for the Bucharest Conservatory's courses.⁹² The main cause for this decrease in enrolment was Ceausescu's wish to pay off Romania's foreign debt and the reduction in funding to cultural and educational institutions as government money was re-directed to debt reduction. Another

⁸⁸ See *Conservatorul "Ciprian Porumbescu."*

⁸⁹ Munteanu, *Studiu Comparativ Asupra Manualelor de Muzica*, 66.

⁹⁰ See *A History of the National University of Music in Bucharest*.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*

factor in this decrease in student enrolment was related to Ceausescu's visit to communist China in 1971 and his exposure to Mao Zedung's political philosophy.

The Cultivation of Ceausescu's Cult of Personality, 1971 – 1989

Ceausescu's visit to China had a severe impact on Romanian society and its musical, cultural and educational life in that he strengthened political activity in schools and institutions in what became known as the Minicultural Revolution. This movement was a replica of the Chinese Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966) in that it stressed the position and importance of Party policy by placing great emphasis on publications and works that praised communist and Party symbols (e.g., the hammer and the sickle, the symbols of Romania's communist flag).⁹³ The Romanian Minicultural Revolution was also a means for Ceausescu to consolidate his power and to cultivate a cult of personality that was to reach monumental proportions in the 1980s.

The immediate consequences of this renewed commitment to Marxist-Leninist principles were a public critique of cosmopolitanism and a call for ideological purity followed by an increased nationalist direction in culture, music and education. Subsequently, foreign movies and books and valuable works of art that were not consistent with communist ideology were prohibited and artists were again compelled to create within the boundaries of Soviet Socialist Realism. Realist principles were emphasized in both schools and universities.⁹⁴

This aggressive ideological and propagandistic campaign by Ceausescu's government affected music education at all levels in a variety of ways. As an immediate

⁹³ John Bryan Starr, *Ideology and Culture: An Introduction to the Dialectic of Contemporary Chinese Politics* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., 1973), 163, 174.

⁹⁴ Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. II, 220.

consequence, in 1972 –1973 the structure of the public education system returned to its 1918 – 1944 organization (compulsory education up to grade X) as a means to affirm a clear departure from the Soviet system and to stress the importance of national identity. Another change was a gradual removal of music education from the general high school curriculum in 1974, as there was a greater need for more classes in political ideology and methods for defending the country in case of enemy attack.⁹⁵ In 1977, music education was completely eliminated from the general high school curriculum. During this same period, several music high schools were also closed.

This policy was consistent with the government's concern for producing more workers and specialists in the country's factories and industries and in agriculture. As Ceausescu sought to industrialize and to transform Romania from a rural country into an urban state, the number of industrial and technological high schools (see Table 4) and specialty schools for carpenters, blacksmiths and other specialties outnumbered that of art and music schools, this despite the overtly expressed propagandistic function of the arts in creating the new Socialist Man.⁹⁶ In addition, there were post-high school institutions (different from universities) that prepared students for various employment positions (e.g., nursing).

⁹⁵ Vasile, *Metodica Educatiei Muzicale*, 86.

⁹⁶ Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. II, 188.

Table 4The Structure of the Public Education System⁹⁷

Age	19	Higher Education			
	18	High School (Superior) XI - XII	Compulsory General Education gr. I - X	Year of Study	XI - XII
	17				IX - X
	16	High School (Inferior) IX - X			VIII
	15				VII
	14	Gymnasium (V - VIII)			VI
	13				V
	10				IV
	8				III
	7				II
	6				I
	5	Kindergarten			
	4				
	3				

The effects of the aforementioned communist educational policy began to be observed also at the music conservatories' level where more courses with ideological content were added to the curriculum (e.g., trends in contemporary philosophy and sociology of culture and education) in 1972. One year later, conservatory students were required to give concerts in factory clubs to acculturate workers to communist ideology. This measure for mass education would acquire hideous proportions particularly after 1975 when the Party renewed its commitment to Historical and Dialectical Materialism and the notion that the main purpose of art, including music, literature, theatre and cinematography was to reflect the development of society. As stated in the 1975 Party program of government, literature and art

express the transformations that continually take place within society, the

⁹⁷ Ibid.

achievements of the revolutionary force [...]. Within the conditions of the socialist order, art reflects the reality of the new production relationships based on equity and social justice. . . . Literature and art have to incite the masses, the youth of our country, toward the accomplishment of great achievements dedicated to the fulfillment of the golden dream of humankind—communism.⁹⁸

This political statement also helped Ceausescu to consolidate his leadership and position and cult of personality, which was highly reminiscent of those of Stalin and Mao.⁹⁹ Examples of Ceausescu's industrious work toward developing his cult of personality include accumulation of numerous titles and positions (e.g., General Secretary of the Communist Party, the Highest Commander of the Army, President of State Council), engagement in political exchanges with foreign state leaders (e.g., particularly the Arab countries but also with Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford) and mass-media and television reports of the presidential couple's visits in Romania and abroad and unrealistic accounts with respect to bounteous crops and huge industrial output.¹⁰⁰

As truth and reality were re-constructed so as to fit and support the ideology, a so-called wooden language (*limbaj de lemn*) characterized by verbal and written clichés (ideological stereotypes) emerged to eventually give communication a ritualized character.¹⁰¹ This language was intended as propaganda for the obsequious New Socialist

⁹⁸ *Programul Partidului Comunist Roman*. The English version: *The Program of the Romanian Communist Party* (Bucuresti: Editura POLitica, 1975), 162.

⁹⁹ Ratiu, *Romania de Astazi*, 93.

¹⁰⁰ See Florin Constantinescu, *O Istorie Sincera a Poporului Roman*. The English version: *An Honest History of the Romanian People* (Bucuresti: Editura Univers Enciclopedic, 2002), 487. The Ceausescu government was also a dynastic one as several members of the family, including his sons, were invested in key positions. Elena Ceausescu was also an important figure on the political scene. Her political advancement was modeled after Mao Zedong's wife. By 1980s, Elena Ceausescu exerted considerable power and became involved in the operation of various ministries such as Education and Research. The Romania media's worship of the First Lady almost paralleled that of her husband.

¹⁰¹ Troncota, *Romania Comunista*, 33.

Man and to reduce society to a few categories. The wooden language became ubiquitous particularly with respect to the “notable ritualistic and ostentatious praising” of the great Leader.¹⁰²

Obviously, Ceausescu’s megalomania negatively affected the social life of the country and its economy, including politics and education. Music schools and conservatories particularly suffered as their students, teachers and professors had to devote their music activities (compositions, performances and teaching) to preparing grandiose music festivals dedicated to praising the Party and the progress of communism in Romania, but mostly to “exalt the myth of the Leader.”¹⁰³ The state attempted to overwhelm the public sphere with continuous and obsessive celebratory events (e.g., festivals, articles in the mass media, television programs).¹⁰⁴ One good example of this was the singing and performance mass contest and festival *Cantarea Romaniei* (“Singing Romania”), otherwise known as the National Festival for Political Education and Socialist Culture. This festival was initiated in 1976/1977 at county and national levels. Each edition of the festival ended with a grandiose performance held in Bucharest, jointly organized by the Bucharest Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and representatives of youth and pioneer organizations.¹⁰⁵ The first edition involved over 120,000 performing groups and approximately 2,500,000 performers, who benefited from the opportunities to gain experience and to develop musically. Toward the end of the 1980s, however, the festival had become a burden for teachers, professors and students as it grew into a highly politicized event dedicated to celebrating the cult of Ceausescu’s

¹⁰² Ibid., 36.

¹⁰³ Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. II, 221.

¹⁰⁴ Troncota, *Romania Comunista*, 34-35.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

personality.¹⁰⁶ Artists and performers were again compelled to create works that were to contribute to the cause of socialism. However, and despite the imposed restrictions and the obvious politicization of the festival, musicians, writers and artists could create works that were intellectually rigorous and demanding, although only few of them were published.¹⁰⁷

As the 1980s progressed, the cult of Ceausescu's personality grew increasingly despotic as he built a neo-Stalinist type of dictatorship to increase his political power and his popularity.¹⁰⁸ This scheme, however, contributed to severe economic drawbacks to various aspects of Romania's society, including its economy, culture and education as Ceausescu became obsessed with paying off Romania's foreign debt. This mania, unfortunately, entailed rationing of basic food products, gas, fuel and electricity.

Cultural and musical events that could evade political restrictions became scarce while the music activity in schools and music universities was transformed into a strict propagandistic and indoctrinating tool of the government. The music operation at the conservatory was particularly affected by the rigorous economic policy and financial cut-backs. For example, at the Bucharest Conservatory, higher admission standards were introduced as the number of students was drastically reduced (134 students in 1981–1982 as compared with 1140 in 1972).¹⁰⁹ Further, access to musical scores, records and techniques mostly printed and developed in the Western musical world was radically restricted. The reduction in the number of students admitted entrance to the Bucharest Conservatory's courses led to a reduction in the number of music teachers in general and

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 222.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ See *A History of the National University of Music in Bucharest*.

music schools and music high schools, particularly after 1989 (as will be discussed in chapter 7).¹¹⁰

Despite the lack of financial support for music and the arts, the role of art and music in society and schools continued to be emphasized by the government as a means “to serve the people [and] to integrate the masses into the entire cultural-artistic life of the country” toward the progress of socialism and communism.¹¹¹ As already explained, although the propagandistic function of music was evident in schools and music conservatories, it was mostly seen by the population in choral performances and mass festivals because mass choral events were more palatable and accessible to the large majority of the population. Programmatic musical works were particularly susceptible to Party control and were subverted to promote Ceausescu’s cult of personality. Some composers and artists were happy to collaborate with the government and were paid accordingly. These composers, however, were not appreciated by conservatory professors and musicologists, many of whom struggled to avoid political impositions.¹¹²

Especially in the 1980s, the last decade of communist governance, the communist regime tightened to extreme its grip on the country’s economic, cultural and educational life. Consequences of this austerity included renewed censure of performance of dodecaphonic and atonal contemporary compositions that were deemed beyond the level of understanding of the masses, and of any musical genres that did not express socialist principles (e.g., patriotic feelings, socialist brotherhood). Other effects of this severe economic and political policy included a continuing reduction in the number of students

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Nicolae Ceausescu, *Raportul Comitetului Central cu Privire la Activitatea Partidului Comunist Roman in Perioada dintre al XII – lea si al XIII – lea Congres*. The English version: *Report of the Central Committee with Respect to the Activity of the Romanian Communist Party in the Period between the XII and the XIII Congress* (Bucuresti: Editura Politica, 1984), 56, 62.

¹¹² See Neculau, *Viata Cotidiana in Comunism*.

in music universities and a decrease of the teaching staff. The small student enrolment and number of graduates soon led to a dearth of specialized music teachers in general schools and in music schools and music high schools. Another consequence of Ceausescu's 1980s economic policy was the appointment of conservatory graduates to schools and musical institutions based on marks. For example, only the best students were granted the opportunity to teach or perform in the cities. The rest of the students had to work in rural areas of Romania or in small cities where they were compelled to musically educate the peasants and to spread the Party ideology. Unfortunately, rural schools were poorly equipped with instruments, teaching materials, or even sufficient classrooms to accommodate all students. As already mentioned, in most cases, two or three grades were grouped in one classroom and literally taught almost the same material, regardless of their ages or knowledge. Living conditions in the rural areas were also poor as compared to the city (restricted access to running water, central heating, libraries and musical and cultural events).¹¹³ Despite the tight grip on the country's social life, economy, politics, culture and education, students graduating from the conservatories of music were some of the best ever produced by the Romanian national music education system. Most of these graduates, however, required more challenging and more satisfying employment conditions that were denied to them owing to the aforementioned closing of many music schools and the narrow framework of the communist ideology.

The end of communism in Romania in 1989 owing to the disastrous political and economic policies of the previous decade was to open the doors of that country and its musicians to greater political, economic, and cultural integration into the Western world and to offer students and the population more opportunities for musical and intellectual

¹¹³ Sandu-Dediu, *Muzica Romaneasca*, 38.

affirmation. As the country was suddenly forced to compete in the global economy after 1989, the re-introduction of capitalism also was to bring about confusion and chaos in the organization of the public education system, including music education.

CHAPTER VI

THE GENERAL EDUCATION SYSTEM IN POST-REVOLUTIONARY ROMANIA,
1990 – 2009

The Revolution in 1989 opened doors to those who wanted to study, but also revealed an education system fraught with problems and, in some respects, considerably behind its European and Western counterparts. The paucity of educational institutions, the outdated technology, the obsolete educational materials and a shortage of qualified teachers and professors made accommodation of the increasing number of students wishing to enrol in postsecondary institutions practically impossible. Nevertheless, there were numerous opportunities for those who wanted to study music and other subjects and many music/art high schools and universities, including music universities (e.g., at Iasi, Brasov and Timisoara) were established. Some of the latter were private educational institutions (e.g., the Spiru Haret Music University in Bucharest). Improvements with new technological equipment, introduction of more varied teaching materials and the availability of a wide range of textbooks were all initiated so as to align and integrate the country with the Western world. Among other important changes were removal of Marxist-Leninist principles and ideology from curricula and a general shift in educational administration from a centralized system to one that relegated more decision-making authority to local school levels.¹

Unfortunately, a lack of political consensus with respect to the direction of educational reform that characterized the entire transition period frustrated progress toward the attainment of Western standards. As is discussed shortly, a renewed

¹ Vasile, *Metodica Educatiei Muzicale*.

submissiveness of the education system to the political and economic interests of the ruling class in the 1990s gradually contributed to the deterioration of public education in Romania, as did frequent changes in the leadership within the Ministry of Education. Other factors contributing to the deterioration of Romania's public education system relate to its political and economic transition from a centralized to a capitalist market economy, including advocacy for privatization, decentralization and re-conceptualization of education as job training. The country's education system, including its music education program, is said to be currently in decline.² These and the ongoing politics of transition that shapes "the terrain on which education operates" are explained and taken into consideration in an analysis of educational changes affecting Romania's education and its music education system.³ This chapter describes the legislative and operational framework of the general education system in Romania and documents its evolution after the Revolution in 1989 and until the present day as a means of placing the structure and evolution of the public music education system over the course of the last two decades into larger social and political perspective.

1). The Current Structure of the Romanian Public Education System

Legislative and Operational Framework

The Romanian public education system is governed by five sets of directives. Prominent among these are the Constitutional laws passed in 1991, the organic Education Act of 1995 (revised in 2003) and specialized laws such as the 1993 law regarding the

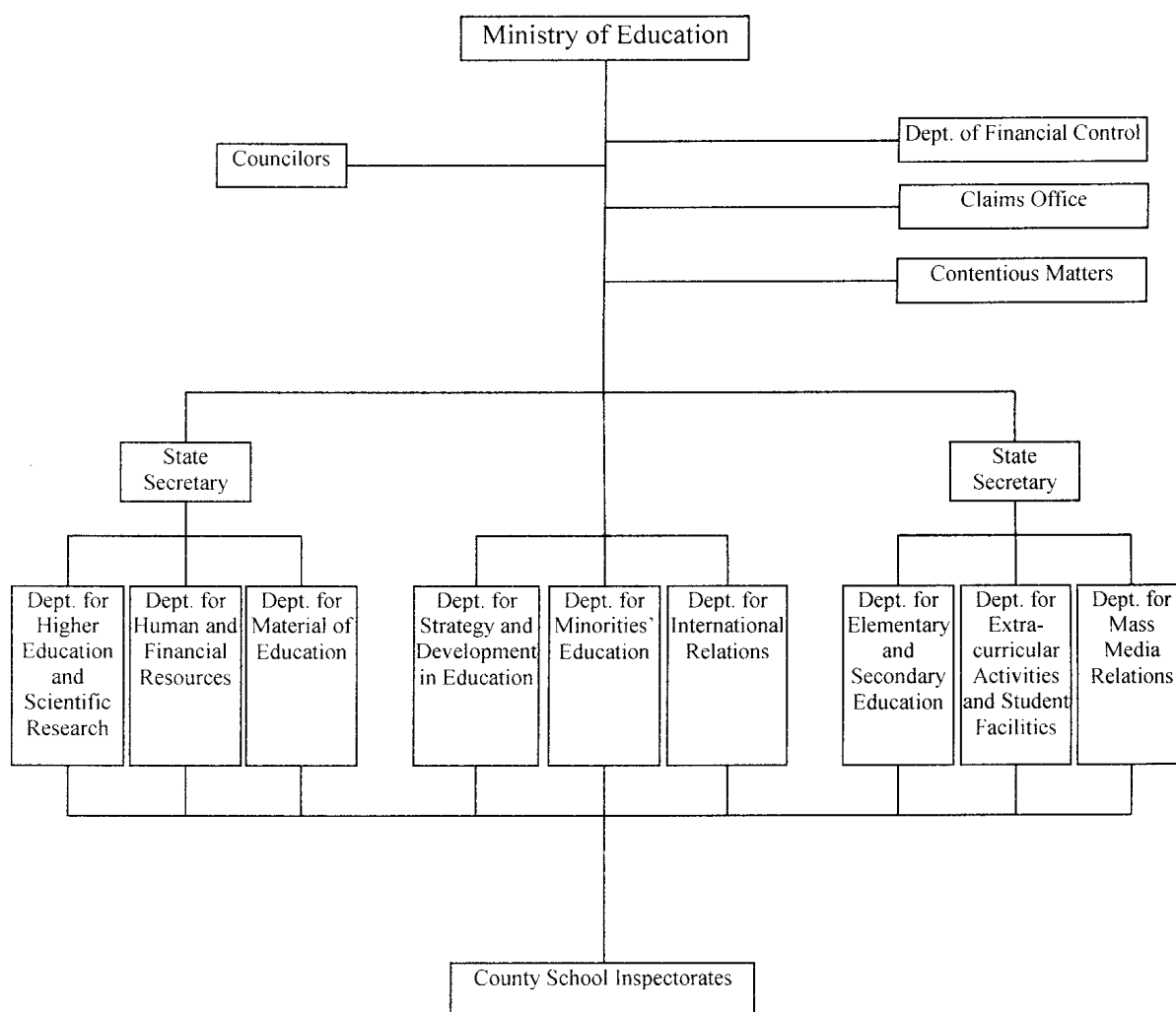
² Sorin Ivan, "Invatamantul – Prioritate Nationala?" The English version: "The Education System – A National Priority?" in *Tribuna Invatamantului* (Nov. 14, 2008), the *Romanian Journal for Education*. www.tribunainvatamantului.ro (accessed February 18, 2009).

³ Apple, "Creating Difference: Neo-Liberalism, Neo-Conservatism and the Politics of Educational Reform," 15.

establishment and accreditation of private educational institutions.⁴ Prior to the publishing of the 1995 Education Act, the national public education system was governed by the communist Educational Act of 1978 and through various local regulatory agencies. Since the 1978 Education Act, and continuing to the present day, the general management of education at the national level has been the purview of the Ministry of Education, Science and Innovation (formerly known as the Ministry of Education and Research and the Ministry of Education, Youth and Research).

⁴ www.ibe.unesco.org (IBE is acronym for the International Bureau of Education) (accessed February 12, 2009).

Table 5
The Structure of the Ministry of Education ⁵



The Ministry organizes, coordinates and controls the operation of the national education system, recommends enrolment figures to government based on proposed budget, approves curricula, syllabi and textbooks, organizes and supervises school textbook competitions, provides finances for their publishing and approves textbooks for school use. School financing according to the allotted percentage from the GDP (i.e.,

⁵ Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. III, 70. The Contentious Matters department within the Ministry of Education is charged with resolving conflicting issues within the various sub-departments of the Ministry of Education.

gross domestic product) is also regulated by the Ministry of Education.⁶ Further, the Ministry is responsible for supervising the activity of the National Council for Education Reform, the National Council for Academic Degrees, Diplomas and Certificates, the National Higher Education Research Council and national commissions specialized by fields, such as that on music education (more about this shortly).⁷ Until 2009, the Ministry of Education was also charged with organizing and supervising teacher training and national tests for admission to the teaching profession and appointment to schools. These tests, which are available only to university graduates, are based on a written exam for teachers aspiring to general school teaching positions. For music education graduates applying to teach in music schools and music high schools, the written exam is preceded by an instrumental performance exam (more about this in chapter 7).⁸ Recently, this task of organizing and supervising these national teacher exams has been relegated to County Education Inspectorates.⁹

On the international level, the Ministry of Education establishes international student agreements and exchanges such as the Socrates program, resulting from the Bologna Declaration and following Romania's entry into the European Union (EU) in 2007. This particular program is intended to facilitate educational exchanges among students and to allow Romanian students to gain professional experience and to expand their educational, social and cultural horizons through study in foreign higher education

⁶ Fiszbein, ed. "Decentralizing Education in Transition Societies: Case Studies from Central and Eastern Europe," 92. The Ministry of Finance determines the education budget based on proposals from the Ministry of Education. Parliament then passes the national budget and the Ministry of Finance approves monthly credits to the Ministry of Education based on previously calculated and expected expenditures.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁸ www.didactic.ro/examene/tit/centralizator_discipline2006.pdf (accessed June 23, 2009).

⁹ See Oana Pauliuc, "Examenul de Titularizare va fi Organizat la Nivel Local Incepand cu Anul Acesta." The English version "The Exam for Teachers will be Organized at Local Levels Beginning with this Year" (May 13, 2009) www.obiectivdesuceava.ro/index.php?page=articol&ids=54819 (accessed June 23, 2009).

institutions.¹⁰

The Ministry of Education continues to control elementary and secondary education and, to some extent, the higher education institutions (through state funding) through its two state secretaries. The latter are deputy ministers, mainly charged with supervising administrative affairs and activities of the various departments of the Ministry.¹¹ Among other things, state secretaries are responsible for administering and controlling departments of higher education and scientific research, elementary and secondary education, extracurricular activities and student facilities, human and financial resources, educational materiel, public relations and Country Inspectorates (see table 5).¹²

County Inspectorates are territorial authorities of the Ministry of Education's administration affairs for regional pre-university education.¹³ Similar to the Local Education Authorities in England and the Office for Standards and Education in England and Wales under the supervision of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector, Romanian school inspectors assess and "report on the work of educational institutions."¹⁴ At the local level, they implement directives of the Ministry of Education, supervise distribution of funding to county schools and administer governmental reforms with respect to improving children's education.¹⁵

In Romania, school inspectors are officially appointed by the Ministry of Education on competitive assessment of managerial (i.e., administrative skills) and professional competencies (e.g., teaching lessons in classroom settings and evaluating

¹⁰ See www.unmb.ro (accessed July 6, 2009).

¹¹ www.sgd.ro (accessed May 2, 2009), the website for Smart Group Development which is a company that provides personal development counseling to children, parents and various organizations.

¹² Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. III, 58.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 94.

¹⁴ John Lee, "HMI and OFSTED: Evolution or Revolution in School Inspection," *British Journal of Educational Sciences* 45, 1 (March, 1997), 39.

¹⁵ <http://www.dcsfgov.uk/localauthoritiesindex.cfm?action=subject&subjectID=2> (accessed May 1, 2009).

teachers' lectures).¹⁶ As will be discussed, however, appointments of school inspectors are often based in part on their political affiliations.¹⁷ Currently, school inspectors are category I teachers (see footnote) with a master's degree in educational sciences, educational management or public administration.¹⁸

County Inspectorates cooperate with local communities and business with respect to financing individual schools, supervising the operation of these schools and organizing school inspections to assess the quality of education. In addition to evaluating the quality of education in schools, school inspectors are also charged with overseeing the application of laws and the organization of the educational process at local levels.¹⁹

Recently, however, and as a result of the decentralization process of school management and funding to local levels, County Inspectorates are now also responsible for raising and distributing funds to schools under their supervision.²⁰ According to the 2005 and 2006 reports on the operation of the national education system, approximately 97 per cent of the total funds for education is now provided by County Inspectorates.²¹ Although to a significant extent an outcome of the decentralization process, this situation is also a result of the under-funding of the school system by the government. Until very recently and compared to other Western European countries which spend about 8.5 percent of the

¹⁶ www.edu.ro/index.php/articles/c245 (accessed June 23, 2009).

¹⁷ "S-au Legiferat Nepotismul si Favoritismul." The English version: "Nepotism and Favoritism are Legal in Romania." www.tribunainvatamantului.ro/d_art.php?id=1059&cat=118 (accessed May 6, 2009).

¹⁸ http://www.didactic.ro/files/secretariat/ord.4958_din_24.11.1999_metodologie_conc_inspectorii_scolari.doc and <http://www.ismb.edu.ro/Subpagini/Personal/metedologia%20inspectorii.pdf> (accessed June 23, 2009). In Romania, teachers can advance in their careers along three steps: beginner (upon a definitive appointment in the education system called *Definitivat*), grade or category II (also obtained upon an exam) and grade or category I (obtained upon successful completion of a battery of tests which include a performance exam). In order to maintain their positions in the education system, teachers have to have at least the first level, the *Definitivat*. Each rank is accompanied by increases in salary.

¹⁹ www.ibe.unesco.org (accessed February 12, 2009).

²⁰ www.edu.ro/index.php/articles/c245 (accessed June 24, 2009).

²¹ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php/legaldocs/11841> (accessed June 24, 2009).

national GDP on public education, Romania only spent an average of 3.3 percent of GDP on its public education system.²²

Table 6

Percentage of GDP spent on Public Education in Romania, 2000 – 2007²³

2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
3.4	3.6	3.6	3.5	3.4	3.5	4.52	5.20

The current budget for all educational expenses has only recently been increased to 6 per cent of the GDP to help the public education system reach Western European standards.²⁴

Organization of the Schooling System

Having briefly described the government administration of education, it is now necessary to explain the organization of the school system according to factors such as grades structure, length of education studies, differentiation of schools according to specialty (e.g., music or vocational schools), teachers' roles and specializations and student examination and evaluation. The first factor includes elementary schooling, gymnasium (the equivalent of the North-American junior intermediate), secondary or high school and university undergraduate and graduate programs. This is obviously necessary for readers if they are to understand the country's formal music education system which is described and explained in chapter 7.

²² <http://www.edu.ro/index.php?module=uploads&func=download&fileId=8175> (accessed June 22, 2009). *Raport Asupra Starii Sistemului National de Invatamant, 2006*. The English version: *Report on the Status of National Education, 2005* (Ministerul Educatiei si Cercetarii).

²³ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php/genericdocs/10376> (accessed June 22, 2009). *Starea Invatamantului din Romania, 2007*. The English version: *The Status of Education in Romania, 2007* (Ministerul Educatiei si Cercetarii).

²⁴ Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. III, 58.

Table 7Structure of the Education System ²⁵

University Graduate	21 -	Doctorate (3 years) Masters (2 years)						
University Under graduate	18 -	3 years	Music and the Arts	Humanities	Social Science	Natural Science, etc.		
High School	15 - 18	IX - XII	Theoretical - Science and Humanities	Computer-Based	Normal School (see footnote)	Art/Music	Sports	Commerce. Industry, etc.
Compulsory Education	11 - 15	V - VIII	Gymnasium (Junior Intermediate)					
	7 - 11	I - IV	Elementary Education					
	6 - 7		Preparatory Kindergarten Class					
	3 - 5		Kindergarten					

Education in Romania is compulsory from ages 6 through 16 (the last year of schooling can be repeated until the student reaches 16 years of age). The structure of the state-run education system consists of pre-school educational institutions (ages 3 to 6), elementary schools (ages 6-10, grades I-IV), junior intermediate schools (ages 11-14, grades V-VIII), and high schools (ages 14-18, grades IX-XII). For the sake of clarity, the junior intermediate schools will be referred to hereafter as gymnasiums. There are also vocational schools, which differ from the Canadian vocational schools in that they only offer training in the arts, including music.²⁶ As in the rest of the EU, undergraduate education lasts for three years and is located in the main cities in the country: Bucharest, Cluj, Timisoara, Iasi, and Basov. Two post-secondary educational programs—a two-year masters and a three-year doctorate—have been added to complete higher education. As in

²⁵ Ibid., 99.

²⁶ Only vocational high schools offer a more diversified range of training such as in religion and sports. Normal school is a high school that trains elementary school teachers (with grades IX to XIII).

other countries that share membership in the EU, the demand for superior education at masters and doctorate levels has increased, especially following Romania's admission to the EU in January 2007.²⁷ As most undergraduate programs do not offer sufficient education for professional specialization, many students (77.5 percent of 792 students surveyed in one study) feel compelled to apply for masters and doctorate studies as a means of improving employment opportunities.²⁸

Also as a reflection of European integration processes and as a sign that democracy is at work in Romania (see chapter 4), minority rights have been granted particular consideration. For example, in all districts where a linguistically defined ethnic minority (i.e., Hungarian, German and Ukrainian) exceeds 10 per cent of the total population, free public school education is provided in the relevant language. Education in the Romanian language is, however, compulsory.²⁹ Private schools also offer bilingual education, with English, French or German as the second language in addition to Romanian.³⁰

As under communism, the first four years of schooling are taught by a generalist classroom teacher, with additional specialists only for subjects such as secondary languages (which start in the second grade). Music continues to be taught by the generalist classroom teacher until grade IV. In grades V to VIII, a specialist teacher is

²⁷ See Singer and Sarivan, eds., *Quo Vadis, Academia*, 67, 393. The survey was initiated by a team of teachers within the Department for Curriculum, the Institute for Educational Sciences, Romania. The main goal of the survey was to reveal students' and professors' opinions on the impacts of the Bologna Declaration on the structure, administration and curriculum of Romanian public higher education. Of the total number of students (792), 180 were in engineering, 15 in agricultural studies, 251 in business and administration, 338 in university studies (Math, Science, History), and 8 were in arts. No mention is available with respect to the specific area of studies of latter students. The total student body in 2006 was 615296.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 82.

²⁹ See Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. III.

³⁰ See <http://www.federal.ro/educatie/pre-universitar/scoli/site-13885.html>, <http://www.scoala-mca.com/scoli-particulare.html> and <http://www.gradinite.com/site/ScoliParticulare/detalii/11-little-london-school.html> (accessed June 25, 2009)

employed for each subject, including music. Each class also has a teacher designated as counsellor and group organizer (referred to as a homeroom teacher in Canada) in addition to teaching his/her own subject.³¹ The main difference from the former communist education with respect to the content of primary school curriculum (grades I to IV) is found in the kindergarten preparatory year for school which aims to familiarize students with school-related subjects, behaviour and the educational program. Music is also part of this preparatory unit and involves musical games and movement to music.³²

Assessment of student performance in elementary school also differs from that performed under the former communist regime which employed marks on a scale from 1 to 10 and from that in secondary and high school in that a formal system of assessment rubrics such as excellent, good, unsatisfactory is compulsory (as of 1999). Beginning with grade V, however, and continuing until the last year of high school, students are evaluated on a numeric system from 1-10 as had been the case during communism. Final assessments at the end of each academic year are based on standardized tests for science subjects and written essays for humanities subjects.³³ Some private schools may use school reports and Report Cards (as are customarily used in North-America); these are, however, rare and not official.³⁴ As was the case during communism, some schools still have uniforms for the first four grades (either following a Ministry standardized design or the school's own model). In grades V to VIII, however, uniforms are almost never worn as there is now greater freedom and rules are more lax.³⁵ Since 1999, the structure of admission exams to high school courses has also become more lenient than it was during

³¹ See Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. III, 88.

³² Munteanu, *Didactica Educatiei Muzicale*, 93

³³ See Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. III.

³⁴ As the American International School seeks to follow the American school system, they use Report Cards, as is customary in the United States.

³⁵ Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. III, 87.

communism in that after 1989 students were admitted based on their Capacity Exam results (achievement examinations based on a combination of standardized tests and in-class written essays).³⁶ The latter exams were intended to assess students' knowledge from grades I to VIII. They also evaluate knowledge of Romanian grammar and literature, math, history or geography (students can choose one or the last two subjects) and of a foreign language (to be chosen among English, French or German).³⁷ Students also have to take an exam to be admitted to high school courses.³⁸ Beginning in 2000, the high school entrance exam was removed and admission is now based on the average mark between the Capacity Exam results (weighed 75 percent of the final mark) and the sum of marks obtained throughout gymnasium years (weighed 25 percent of the final mark). Yet another change was introduced in 2004 when the Capacity Exam was eliminated and replaced with national tests which are to a certain extent similar to the Capacity Exams. The only difference is that they are weighed as 50 percent of the final mark.³⁹ Music students, however, have to take a music exam in addition to taking the national tests before their music high school enrolment. The music exam consists of an instrumental performance jury and a battery of theory tests which include ear training, dictation and solfege.⁴⁰

There are three types of high schools in Romania allowing access to university. These are national collegiates emphasising either science or the humanities, technology high schools and vocational high schools. Vocational high schools offer military training, religious education, sports, arts (including music) and pedagogic education. Unlike the

³⁶ http://www.clopotel.ro/educatie/stiri/stn-Admiterea_in_clasa_a_IX_a_se_schimba_din_nou-3231-1.html (accessed July 8, 2009).

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ <http://www.liceuldinulipatti.ro/elevi.php> (accessed July 8, 2009).

Swedish or French systems where admission to university is restricted by the educational profile of the high school attended, the type of high school curriculum in Romania does not formally limit future academic choice in university. For example, a graduate of a Mathematics-Computer Programming Department of a National College may apply to a Music University (also known as Music Conservatory) without any pre-requisite music-related courses.⁴¹ Depending on the type of high school or collegiate (i.e., science or the humanities), enrollment is contingent only on passing a national exit exam (Baccalaureat) consisting of a battery of tests on distinct subjects such as, for example, the Romanian language, one foreign language (either English or French), and one subject (either history or geography).⁴² This freedom of choice is allowed by the flexible framework of the Romanian National curriculum, which was conceived so as to permit school principals to introduce music and other subjects to the curriculum and thus to provide students with more opportunities for further specialization.⁴³ In reality, however, students applying to a music university are requested to do a performance audition.

Conceptualizing Curriculum

The term and concept of curriculum as it is known in the West was only introduced to the Romanian education system in 1995 with the drafting of the first National Curriculum after communism.⁴⁴ Prior to this initiative, the education system operated on an “education plan” that was somewhat similar to a curriculum in that it

⁴¹ Artificial barriers may still be raised. For example, a graduate of Humanities and Social Studies will find it very difficult to apply for Mathematics at the University because the admission exam requires knowledge of calculus, a subject not taught in Humanities and Social Studies. However, there is no formal prerequisite. In Romania, music universities have educational and institutional autonomy.

⁴² Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. III.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Vasile, *Metodica Educatiei Muzicale*, 133.

consisted of lists of objectives and course contents to be achieved by the end of the class or school year. New syllabi were also developed based on previous centralized educational plans instituted by the communists, while decision-making power was vaguely divided between the previously established National Council for School Planning and national commissions for different school subjects.⁴⁵ No judicious application of theoretical principles to education practice was considered.

Changes to the former communist education plan were first made in 1993 when the National Commission for Education was established to draft an educational program for grades V to X in answer to the newly social, political, economic and educational transformations that had begun to take place in Romania.⁴⁶ The first National Curriculum was drafted in 1995 to bring about new and important changes in that it was conceived so as to respect the democratic principles of right of choice and equal learning opportunity discussed in chapter 1 and to establish a more convincing connection between theory and practice.

Beginning with 1998, the 1995 National Curriculum was divided into core and school-based curriculum and consisted of 27 volumes amounting to approximately 3000 pages.⁴⁷ The former division includes the minimal number of hours per week for each compulsory subject and the compulsory subjects for each student, regardless of the type of school or high school. These subjects are organized into seven curricular areas. These are 1) Language and Communications; 2) Mathematics and Natural Sciences; 3) People

⁴⁵ Fiszbein, "Decentralizing Education in Transition Societies," 97. See also www.cncep.ro, the website of the National Centre for Curriculum and Evaluation in Pre-university Education (accessed May 2, 2009). The National Council for Curriculum was instituted after the Revolution to oversee the drafting, implementation and revision of national curriculum.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Singer, "Balancing Globalisation and Local Identity in the Reform of Education in Romania," in Bill Atweh, ed., *Internationalisation and Globalization in Mathematics and Science Education* (The Netherlands, Dordrecht: Springer, 2007), 371.

and Society; 4) Arts (including music); 5) Physical Education and Sports; 6) Technologies; and 7) Counselling and Guidance.⁴⁸ The core curriculum for each subject within the larger National Curriculum is established by national commissions. The latter are teacher committees for education initiated to plan, draft and implement curriculum and to offer proposals for syllabi and analytical curricula (i.e., background documents) to the Ministry of Education and Research. These commissions operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education.⁴⁹ The school-based curriculum (*Curriculum la Decizia Școlii – CDȘ*) is an extension of the core-curriculum and refers to optional subjects (such as music education) chosen by the schools' management.⁵⁰

In 2000, the National Curriculum was expanded so as to respond to the new challenges of Romanian society following agreements for EU integration. The new curriculum is predicated on new cognitive trends in education (e.g., “learning intellectual capacities specific to a given domain”) that announce a shift in emphasis from information-based education (e.g., feeding students with knowledge followed by passive regurgitation) to an open educational system that allows students to build a “structured set of functional competencies” that can equip them with the tools necessary for the current job market.⁵¹ This perspective is, of course, consistent with the neoliberal trait of government educational politics which stresses that education should produce students capable of competing on the global market. The primary aim of the school system is no longer to produce good communist citizens but to prepare children to function in

⁴⁸ Lucian Ciolan, Alexandru Crisan, Monica Dvorski, Dakmara Georgescu, Daniel Oghina, Ligia Sarivan, and Mihaela Singer, *The New National Curriculum*, Ministry of National Education and National Curriculum Council (Bucharest, 2000), 6. http://www.see-educoop.net/education_in/pdf/new_nation_curric_rom-rom-enl-t06.pdf (accessed July 8, 2009).

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., 3.

capitalist society (which is not necessarily democratic).

Curriculum is founded on three major reference points that include current dynamics and needs of Romanian society resulting from social developments. These are 1) globalization and European integration, 2) international tendencies with respect to educational policy reform (more about these shortly) and 3) traditions of the Romanian education system that are relevant to the on-going reform.⁵² Curricular reform also takes into consideration development of subject curricula according to several performance indicators such as “the students’ level, diversity and complexity of educational interests, the rhythm of the permanent growth of the fields of knowledge [and] the needs of shaping the students’ personality within a changing world.”⁵³ Finally, curricular reforms seek to adapt the curriculum to specific national cultural, social, economic and political contexts, to improve the curriculum with recent educational developments, to achieve transparency of curriculum to all those involved (i.e., students, teachers, parents), and to revise teaching methodology so as to make it consistent with the latest improvements and developments in education.⁵⁴

In 2007, all of the aforementioned educational councils and committees were absorbed into the National Centre for Curriculum and Evaluation of pre-university education under the guidance of the Ministry of Education. The aims of the latter organization include supervision of the drafting, application, implementation and revision of curriculum. In addition, the Center for Curriculum administers the organization of national exams and the evaluation of school textbooks, and supervises the selection and

⁵² Ibid., 4.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 8.

education of gifted students.⁵⁵

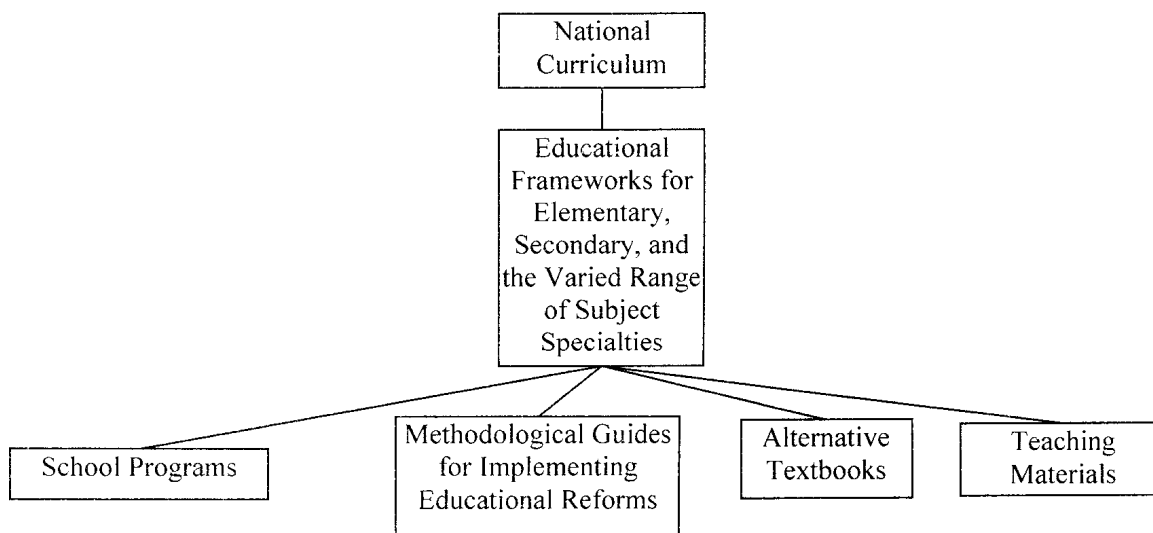
*Configuration of the National Curriculum*⁵⁶

The Romanian National Curriculum consists of:

- A. Curriculum frameworks for grades I to XII. This document establishes the curricular areas (each area may include several related subjects; e.g., curricular area “arts” includes music and drawing), school subjects and time allocations.
- B. Subject curricula for grades I-IX and X-XII. This document establishes attainment targets and syllabi for each subject, including music.
- C. Handbooks, guidelines, materials.
- D. Alternative textbooks.

⁵⁵ www.cncep.ro (accessed May 2, 2009).

⁵⁶ Ciolan et al., *The New National Curriculum*, Ministry of National Education and National Curriculum Council (Bucharest, 2000), 4. http://www.see-educoop.net/education_in/pdf/new_nation_curric_rom-rom-enl-t06.pdf (accessed July 8, 2009).

Table 8Structure of the National Curriculum⁵⁷

Music education, including music textbooks and other educational materials are also an integral part of the National Curriculum (see chapter 7). Before an analysis of the transformations and evolution of the music education system is approached, however, it is necessary to first examine the changes undergone by the general public education system. The following sections address the evolution of general education from its communist orientation to the adoption of Western European standards, the reconstruction of education along neoliberal lines and the implications of the Bologna Declaration for Romanian public education.

2). Deconstructing the Public Education System

Among the first important changes brought to the general education system in Romania after the instalment of democracy in 1990, and in addition to the removal of Marxist-Leninist principles and ideology from curricula and textbook iconography, were

⁵⁷ Munteanu, *Didactica Educatiei Muzicale*.

a reduction in the number of school days from six to five per week and the establishment of new schools and universities. As the Romanian education system during the 1990s aimed to become aligned with its Western counterparts, a general re-orientation of the education system along market-based principles was effected. Decentralization and deregulation were the prevalent driving principles underlying Romanian state education in the 1990s and, to some extent, continuing to the present.

The re-direction of decisional authority to county school levels was considered to alleviate some of the problems of the education system, to deepen the democratic process at the local level and to improve the quality and efficiency of the teaching/learning process.⁵⁸ Decentralization efforts were primarily supported by the World Bank and, following Romania's agreements for adherence to the EU, by European officials through the PHARE program.⁵⁹ The 1995 Law on Education, for example, was jointly financed by the Romanian government and the World Bank with the aims to revitalize and improve education in less privileged urban and rural areas with new buildings and other school facilities, to increase teachers' salaries, to change educational legislation so as schools become more empowered to determine school-based curriculum according to students' and communities' needs and to begin the process of decentralization and deregulation.⁶⁰

The major purpose of policy reforms concerned with decentralization was to offer schools

⁵⁸ Alberto Arenas, "Decentralisation of Education Policies in a Global Perspective," in Zajda, ed., *International Handbook on Globalization, Education and Policy Research*, 583.

⁵⁹ www.europa.eu (accessed February 25, 2009). The PHARE program refers to non-refundable financial agreements designed by the European Union to support Central and Eastern Europe in democratization and consolidation of capitalist markets. This is part of the Programme of Community Aid and a pre-accession strategy for Central and Eastern European countries. See also

http://www.europa.eu/legislation_summaries/enlargement/2004_and_2007_enlargement/e50004_en.htm.

The program, initially created in 1989, stands for the "Poland and Hungary: Assistance for Restructuring their Economies." In later years, the program has expanded to include other future E.U. member countries such as the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia Lithuania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Romania and Bulgaria.

⁶⁰ Fiszbein, "Decentralizing Education in Transition Societies," 92.

more leeway in hiring personnel, adopting curricular programs and financial decision making. This process, however, also rendered schools at the mercy of political forces dictated by the financial and populist interests of politicians and companies invited to support and improve the education system.⁶¹

One recent outcome of redirecting decision-making to local school authorities is the encouragement of the business sector in the public education as a purported means to enhance the education system.⁶² Proponents of the benefits of involving the private market and business entrepreneurship in public education are, obviously, of a neoliberal persuasion. This policy is not, of course, an invention of the Romanian government. Former British Prime Minister Tony Blair (May 1997 to June 2007), for example, stressed the importance of encouraging more involvement of the business sector in the state education system.⁶³ This policy, however, may serve to increase social inequality.⁶⁴ Thus far, this involvement of private business in Romanian public educational affairs has not contributed to improve either the quality or the provision of equality of educational opportunities for children.⁶⁵ As has happened in Britain and the United States, Romanian companies have sought to improve *their* image and to exploit education institutions for financial gains. This should come as no surprise given that corporations are “legally” bound to seek profit and power over all else, including the interests and welfare of

⁶¹ Ibid., 100.

⁶² Mary Compton and Lois Weiner, eds., *The Global Assault on Teaching, Teachers, and their Unions: Stories for Resistance* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 5-6.

⁶³ Anthony Seldon with Peter Snowdown and Daniel Collings, *Blair Unbound* (London: Simon & Shuster, 2007), 28-29.

⁶⁴ Woodford, “Can Democracy in Music Education Work,” 13.

⁶⁵ “Dialog cu Stakeholderii: Despre Implicarea Companiilor in Educatie.” The English version: “Dialogue with Stakeholders: About Companies’ Involvement in Education.” <http://responsabilitatesociala.ro/dialoguri/dialog-cu-stakeholder-ii-despre-implicarea-companiilor-in-educatie-6.html> (accessed May 6, 2009).

children.⁶⁶ According to Alexandru Crisan, president of the Centre for Education in Romania, corporations' interests are mostly in those areas related to education that "make them look good on television news programs."⁶⁷ Funds are provided for student scholarships, for computer equipment and for support of very talented students' participation in international competitions where they can advertise their benefactors' brands.⁶⁸ Those funds primarily benefit an elite minority. Some corporate money has been directed to the improvement of the technological base in schools through provision of computers and other equipment and connection to internet resources, but the majority of Romanian children still lack access to technology compared to other countries in the EU.⁶⁹ As Julia Eklund-Koza writes with respect to the intrusion of Disney and other corporations into education in the United States, these trends towards business-education partnerships and philanthropy are "window-dressing" as corporations are "sneaking out the back door carrying everything else in the store."⁷⁰ Corporations hope to benefit from intrusion in state schools through tax cuts and government incentives and by gaining access to what is effectively a captive market for their products.

In a sense, the Romanian situation is ironic given that deregulation and privatization of schools are in theory supposed to serve the students and their needs through wider access to better education. In Romania, as elsewhere, privatization did not bring the expected results, at any rate not to those most in need of improved educational

⁶⁶ Bakan, *The Corporation: The Pathological Pursuit of Profit and Power*, 115.

⁶⁷ "Dialog cu Stakeholderii: Despre Implicarea Companiilor in Educatie."

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ *Progress Toward the Lisbon Objectives in Education and Training*, a project commissioned by the Commission of the European Communities (2008), 44.

⁷⁰ Julia Eklund-Koza, "A Realm Without Angels: MENC's Partnerships with Disney and Other Major Corporations," *Philosophy of Music Education Review* 10, 2 (Fall, 2002), 72.

opportunities and living standards.⁷¹ For example, when the Romanian government asked corporations to provide suggestions for the improvement of the national education system, several Romanian private companies seeking partnerships with schools proposed a huge reduction in the number of public school teachers to a third of current numbers (on the grounds of unfulfilled teaching and administrative duties) and a decrease in the number of high schools to a third. These corporate leaders further justified their proposed cuts to teachers and schools on the grounds that only a few high school students actually attend courses.⁷² According to these corporate managers, stakeholders “cannot afford to lose money” on a system that is inefficient.⁷³ These managers actually regard themselves as a kind of shadow cabinet for education, and indeed, their suggestions for improvement to public education are given serious consideration by authorities. Thus far, music education has not been a target of private companies’ interest, although that may change as those corporate executives realize music education’s potential for indoctrinating children to consumer culture and, relatedly, as a captive audience for their music and technology-based entertainment production such as I-pods and video games.

Many Romanian politicians and critics apparently believe that corporate involvement in education might prompt the Minister of Education to accelerate educational reforms. Some of them even “dream of an education system surrounded by companies” which can help to raise the level of public education in Romania to European standards.⁷⁴ Multinational companies with ample financial and human resources such as

⁷¹ See Stiglitz, *Globalization and its Discontents*.

⁷² Iuliana Gatej, “Ministerul Privat al Educatiei Da Afara Jumatate din Profesori.” The English version: “The Private Ministry of Education Fired Half of the Teachers.” (17 Oct. 2008). www.cotidianul.ro/ministerul_privat_al_educatiei_da_afara_jumatate_din_profesori-61426.html (accessed May 9, 2009).

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ “Dialog cu Stakeholderii: Despre Implicarea Companiilor in Educatie.”

Vodafone, Orange and Tuborg have already offered to use their expertise and professionalism in initiating and developing programs in education.⁷⁵ Thus far, however, their proposed initiatives have yet to be accepted by government.

The partnership between business and education has provoked debate among teachers and intellectuals. Some professional educators agree that corporate involvement may be beneficial for schools. Others, however, fear that this partnership might lead to contradiction and confusion as reformers simultaneously call for freedom of choice and greater discipline and accountability.⁷⁶ There is an inconsistency in educational discourses in Romania between these two concepts, conceived in neoliberal terms of market-based accountability. Not surprisingly, given the latent authoritarian tendencies of former communist officials within the Ministry of Education, the current Ministry of Education suggests that teachers should daily evaluate each student's behaviour.⁷⁷ The irony is that both neoliberals and communists advocate for greater discipline in schools. Many Romanian intellectuals and teachers are nostalgic for the previous era of communist education and its imposed discipline that produced high academic results.

The contradictory rhetoric of Romanian educational policy is characteristic of neoliberal discourse which announces freedom of choice as a propaganda tool while also creating a "sense of crisis and a culture of fear" so as to discourage the population from

⁷⁵ The first two companies are in telecommunications. Vodafone Group is an international mobile communications company with branches in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and the United States. See www.vodafone.com (accessed May 8, 2009). Orange is also a mobile telecommunications company. See www.orange.co.uk. Tuborg, which is a brewery established in Denmark in 1895, has merged with Carlsberg Beer at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is currently part of the American Bowmont Corporation. See www.carlsberggroup.com/media/News/Pages/tuborgreturnstoheuswithbowmontcorporation (accessed May 8, 2009).

⁷⁶ "Dialog cu Stakeholderii: Despre Implicarea Companiilor in Educatie."

⁷⁷ Tania Purcaru, "Profesorii se Transforma in Paznici la Clasa." The English version: "Professors Become Guardians of Their Classrooms." www.citynews.ro/cluj/eveniment-29/profesorii-se-transforma-in-paznici-la-clasa (accessed May 9, 2009).

becoming involved in political affairs.⁷⁸ Given the strong paternalist tradition inherited from communism and the population's unwillingness to become involved in public service affairs, there is a danger that neoliberals may be successful in accomplishing their own paternalistic goal of laissez-faire democracy and managerialism whereby schools are seen as factories and the mantra of choice only masks the real educational agenda which is encapsulated in the efficiency-accountability-discipline formula.

The lack of political consensus with respect to educational policy reform provides neoliberal reformers the perfect opportunity to apply market-based principles to the state education system.⁷⁹ As government reduces funds to education while granting schools and other educational institutions financial autonomy in managing costs that most often exceed the allotted governmental budget, public schools are compelled to raise revenue to compensate for low funding through attracting private donors and sponsors and fund raising.⁸⁰ When new facilities have to be built or new materials to be bought, parents are now called on to provide financial support.

An important and arguably central goal of neoliberal educational reformers is to hasten and facilitate Romania's attempted re-integration within the Western world. These reformers wish to provide "an open and flexible education able to [meet] the most different interests, abilities and aspirations" of students.⁸¹ Education for citizenship in the sense of teaching students to behave politely and appropriately in society is another

⁷⁸ Woodford, "Can Democracy in Music Education Work," 8. See also Rick Ginsberg and Leif Frederick Lyche, "The Culture of Fear and the Politics of Education," *Educational Policy* 22, 1 (Jan., 2008), 10-27.

⁷⁹ Arenas, "Decentralisation of Education Policies in a Global Perspective," 584.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 587.

⁸¹ Catalina Ulrich, "Education and Globalization in Pseudo-Modern Romania: The Issue of Difference," in Stefan Popenici and Alin Tat, *Romanian Philosophical Culture, Globalization and Education*, Romanian Philosophical Studies, vol. VI, (Washington, D.C.: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2008), 178.

aspect of neoliberal educational agenda.⁸² Appropriate behaviour is conceived more in terms of “attitudes and social relations required by the market economy” than as public participation in local or national politics. As in other Western countries, the purpose of public education is now primarily economic.⁸³

This educational policy bears some similarity to Britain’s under Margaret Thatcher during the 1980s, who stated that universities should be run as corporate institutions in order to maintain a “competitive position in the global market.”⁸⁴ The same rhetoric about the need for global competitiveness and efficiency in producing “knowledge workers” also permeates educational discourses throughout the Western democracies.⁸⁵ In Romania, too, there has been an increased emphasis since the 1990s on disciplines such as math, science and language arts in secondary school curricula and university specializations. This rather technocratic view that considers schools as training grounds for future employees is thought to promote economic growth. This form of education, however, is undemocratic in that, as Michael Apple observes, it restricts the potential role of education in promoting and strengthening democracy and community life.⁸⁶ This educational framework eventually promotes “the interests of private enterprise and macroeconomic indicators over other, more community-oriented concerns, such as human rights education or environmental education.”⁸⁷ While neoliberal proponents claim that their goal is to instil in students democratic and community values, the curriculum

⁸² Ibid. See also Woodford, *Democracy and Music Education* and Klas Roth and Nicholas C. Burbules, eds., *Changing Notion of Citizenship Education in Contemporary Nation-States* (The Netherlands, Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2007).

⁸³ Woodford, “Fear and Loathing in Music Education? Beyond Democracy and Music Education,” *Action, Criticism and Theory for Music Education* 7, 1 (Jan. 2008). <http://act.maydaygroup.org>.

⁸⁴ Lord Bhikhu Parekh, “Fighting the War on Dogma,” *CAUT Bulletin*, vol. 53, no. 9, (November 2006).

⁸⁵ Axelrod, *Values in Conflict*, 4.

⁸⁶ Apple, *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2000), 200.

⁸⁷ Arenas, “Decentralization of Education Policies,” 594.

becomes more homogenised and centralized on math, science and language arts while the market determines the content and quality of education that is offered. These strategies arguably “curtail the democratic mandate of public education.”⁸⁸

The shift toward a technocratic view and a re-conceptualizing of education as job training in Romania may have also been a result of a transfer of power from the Left to the Right in Romanian government following the victory of the liberal Romanian Democratic Convention in 1996 and the consequent political shift from social democracy to neoliberalism. For the then new government, educational issues became a priority insomuch as educational reform was conceived as promoting more access to education and better programs. These new reforms have also given rise to major conflicts and compromises among groups with competing visions of “‘legitimate’ knowledge, what counts as ‘good’ teaching and learning, and what is a ‘just’ society.”⁸⁹ These goals soon became means toward gaining and consolidating political power. With the appointment of a new Minister of Education in 1997, individuals, as well as school inspectors with overt loyalties to the government, were promoted to leadership positions within the Ministry of Education and County Inspectorates.⁹⁰ As was the case during communism, these individuals had little if any knowledge of the operation of schools or of the entire education system.⁹¹ Quite possibly, they were more interested in pleasing the Minister than in truly improving the school system. As the new Minister strived to increase and consolidate his political power by gaining a higher percentage of the popular vote, previous reforms initiated by former ministers, which were ready to be implemented,

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Apple, “Creating Difference,” 14.

⁹⁰ www.cdep.ro (accessed February 27, 2009). This information has been obtained from a press declaration by MP Monalisa Galateanu on changes in the leadership of school heads based on political pressures.

⁹¹ Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. III, 310.

were stalled. Similar developments occurred in 2004, when the election of Traian Basescu and his liberal government that same year brought about the removal from office of school inspectors and school directors who had been loyal to the previous government (see chapter 4 for more information). Key positions were re-occupied by partisans of the newly installed political regime.⁹² This situation obviously affected the education system and its teachers and continues to do so to the present day. Education officials' attention continues to be diverted away from educational matters toward serving personal political and financial interests.

Political manoeuvring by educational authorities is met by some teachers with passivity as the small salary and few incentives for personal professional growth provide little stimulus to contest the system and to attempt changes and improvements. Unfortunately, this passivity is damaging to the education system because in the absence of protest and resistance, officials can only assume that they enjoy the support of the majority of teachers and of the public.⁹³

Another negative impact of political manoeuvring on the evolution of Romanian public education system has been the lack of cooperation among reformers and even government bodies involved in education (e.g., curriculum development, management, teacher training). For example, reformers are said to have reported directly and individually to the secretary of state about the activities conducted at the level of their assigned components rather than discussing or debating with the other members of the

⁹² <http://www.gardianul.ro/Invatamant-politic-pe-fata.-Inspectori-scolari,-instalati-numai-la-propunerea-consiliilor-locale-s135778.html> (accessed May 28, 2009). Alexandru Calmacu, "Invatamant Politic pe Fata: Inspectori Scolari Instalati Numai la Propunerea Consiliilor Locale." The English version: "Education Becomes Political: School Inspectors Appointed Only at the Suggestion of Local Councils" (May 26, 2009).

⁹³ A high school teacher with five years experience in the Romanian public education system earns 300 Euros a month. Personal correspondence with Elena Mitrofan, currently voice music teacher at the "Sigismund Toduta" Music and Arts High School in Deva, Hunedoara, Romania (May, 2009).

committee the problems in implementing reform objectives.⁹⁴ Prominent among these objectives were “making lifelong learning a reality, developing school education, developing vocational education and training, developing higher education, key competencies for lifelong learning, employability and investment in education and training” and a decrease in the rate of “early school leavers.”⁹⁵ Because of the lack of dialogue among officials and a more holistic approach to educational reform, many reform proposals were never or only partially implemented. Even World Bank officials who came to Romania to assist with reform efforts did not consult with all Romanian officials involved in the educational reform process. Nor were World Bank reports on the status of education translated for, and made available to, the public.⁹⁶ As Mihaela Singer and other Romanian teachers and intellectuals argue, today “we [can] see that the reform failed in its most important goals because the *tacit aspects* of a post communist culture [e.g., lack of dialogue and cooperation] were neglected.”⁹⁷ Educational reforms intended and designed to benefit both students and teachers should hinge on “the creation and attainment of a shared vision and a trust, collaboration, and consultation between policy makers and teachers.”⁹⁸ Because of the lack of a coherent and consensual reform program decided upon by all political and educational forces, any attempted reforms “evolved chaotically.”⁹⁹ The previously mentioned frequent changes in the leadership of the Ministry of Education and the subsequent cancellation of previous reform efforts also contributed to the unsystematic and disorganized evolution of the Romanian education

⁹⁴ Singer, “Balancing Globalisation and Local Identity . . . in Romania,” 372.

⁹⁵ *Progress Towards the Lisbon Objectives in Education and Training*, 3.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Manny Brand, “Exhausted from Educational Reform,” *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education* 180 (Spring, 2009), 87.

⁹⁹ Singer, “Balancing Globalisation and Local Identity . . . in Romania,” 372.

system.

The haphazard development of educational reforms has further led to the low ranking of Romanian education in comparison with other Western and East European countries. This low ranking is based on the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) designed and supervised by EU education officials.¹⁰⁰ The PISA tests, which were introduced in 2000 and created for 15 year-old students in the public education system, were designed to evaluate their knowledge at the end of one academic year on math, reading and analytical thinking.¹⁰¹ Analyses of these test answers further provide criteria for evaluation of students' preparedness for adult life and of their capacity of using information to serve them in problem-solving situations.¹⁰² The 2006 PISA evaluation test given to a group of 5000 students showed that, of the 57 countries that participated in this evaluation, Romanians ranked 47th in science, 48th in reading and 45th in math.¹⁰³ This result placed Romania lower than Bulgaria.¹⁰⁴ When compared to other EU countries in terms of EU benchmarks such as "school drop-out, percentage of youth graduating upper secondary education, [and] participation in life-long learning (25-64 old)," Romania also ranks poorly.¹⁰⁵ All of the factors against which Romanian education has been and continues to be assessed are directly related to the EU goals for the

¹⁰⁰ Hatos, *Sociologia Educatiei*, 200.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. The PISA test is offered every three years.

¹⁰² Marilena Stancu, "Invatamantul Preuniversitar: Lungul Drum catre Performanta." The English version: "Pre-university Education: The Long Road to Excellence" (December 12, 2007) <http://www.revista22.ro/invatamantul-preuniversitar-4187.html> (accessed July 13, 2009).

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. See also

http://www.oecd.org/document/2/0,3343,en_32252351_32236191_39718850_1_1_1_1,00.html (accessed July 13, 2009).

¹⁰⁵ <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTROMANIA/Resources/EducationPolicyNote.pdf> (accessed July 16, 2009). For example, the Romanian school drop-out rate in 2003 was 11 percent, as compared 10 percent for the EU; the percentage of Romanian youth graduating secondary institutions was only 66.5 percent, as compared to 85 percent for the EU; and only 1.6 percent of Romanian adults participated in life long learning programs as compared to 12.5 percent for the EU.

strengthening of higher education within the European Community as set out in the Bologna Declaration.¹⁰⁶

3). Implications of the Bologna Declaration for the Romanian Education System

The Bologna Declaration resulted from a meeting of European university leaders just before the turn of the century to address a mass emigration of students to North-America in search of better higher education opportunities. The ensuing document of this 1999 meeting aimed to “make higher education in Europe more competitive; . . . [to] increase academic mobility; [to] reform the degree system; [to better adapt] higher education programmes and qualification to the labour market [and to] improve recognition of qualifications.”¹⁰⁷ This conception of education as job training is to be expected given that the initial impetus for the establishment of the European Community was primarily economic (see chapter 3). For the Romanian public education system, the implications of the Bologna Declaration are numerous with potentially far-reaching consequences for higher education.

One major outcome of the Bologna Declaration was the re-adjustment of university education in accordance with the European triad of values: tradition, socio-economic factors and culture. This included reduction in undergraduate education from five to four and three years (depending on the program); flexibility of curricula to allow students more opportunities to study anywhere within the EU while also maintaining consistent educational outcomes; emphasis on the role of post-university studies such as

¹⁰⁶ Velea and Istrate, “Itinerarul Pro Bologna al Invatamantului Superior din Romania din Perspectiva Opiniei Publice.”

¹⁰⁷ Sjur Bergan, “The European Higher Education Area and Recognition of Qualifications in the Context of Globalization,” in Stamenka Uvalic-Trunbic, ed., *Globalization and the Market in Higher Education: Quality, Accreditation and Qualifications* (UNESCO Publishing, 2002), 63.

master's and doctoral programs; encouragement of inter-university competition; consolidation of university autonomy; and upgrading of computer and technological networks in elementary and secondary schools and universities.¹⁰⁸ Implementation of these changes required that an Educational Plan (EP) be established for the higher educational level to offer students internationally recognized diplomas and degrees and that the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) be introduced in 2004. As already discussed in chapter 3, the latter was initiated to ensure that students can transfer to any other European university without the inconvenience of having to apply for course equivalencies.¹⁰⁹ The negative aspect of this credit transfer system, however, is that it only quantifies students' workload but not the quality of individual performance.

The introduction of a common degree cycle has also negatively impacted higher education insomuch as universities were, and continue to be, required to change their institutional structure and to document changes in "literally tens of thousands of pages of mind-numbing reports and papers."¹¹⁰ As the new changes are implemented, students already enrolled in undergraduate studies are particularly affected by the reduction of studies to three years, as their curriculum and evaluation procedures have to be restructured so as to correspond with the new changes.¹¹¹ As in other parts of the world, professors also find themselves "exhausted" by the continuous, "unsettling and boundless" changes in curriculum and institutional structure coupled with an intense

¹⁰⁸ *Strategia Invatamantului Romanesc pe Perioada 2002–2010*. The English version: *Strategy of the Romanian Education System for the Period between 2002 and 2010*. www.edu.ro/index.php/articles/2884 (accessed March 12, 2009).

¹⁰⁹ *2001–2002 Calendar of the National University of Music in Bucharest*, 4. See also the National Music University's website at www.unmb.ro.

¹¹⁰ David Robinson, "Bologna Process Poses Dangers and an Opportunity," *CAUT Bulletin* (April, 2009), A5. http://www.cautbulletin.ca.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca:2048/en_article.asp?articleid=2828 (accessed July 16, 2009).

¹¹¹ Singer and Sarivan, eds., *Quo Vadis, Academia*, 21.

bureaucratic control.¹¹² As Many Brand writes with respect to Hong Kong, teachers complain that “educational reforms made their jobs more complex, difficult, and fraught with multiple and non-negotiable demands.”¹¹³ In effect, educational reforms in Romania and elsewhere can potentially impede the educational process rather than contribute to its improvement. A good example of the former situation is the recent introduction in Romanian universities of the Diploma Supplement (DS) as an explanatory document attached to the graduation diploma.

The Diploma Supplement was initiated in 2005 as part of an EU educational project entitled the European Framework for the Transparency of Qualifications and Competencies. Its purpose is to offer more detailed information with respect to students’ educational achievements and to ensure international acknowledgement and recognition of students’ evaluation results.¹¹⁴ The DS is designed to offer information on 1) student identification; 2) student qualification; 3) level of qualification; 4) marks; and 5) information on the national (Romanian) system of education.¹¹⁵ Despite its intended aim to contribute to greater transparency, however, students complain that the detailed listing of marks does not facilitate the employment process because marks “say nothing about the graduate’s competence.”¹¹⁶ More than fifty percent of students surveyed (n=792 in one study) consider that the DS should also include a list of specific “competencies obtained, the level[s] of performance, recommendations [from] teachers, the fields for which the graduate is recommended . . . [and] participation in scientific and cultural

¹¹² Brand, “Exhausted from Educational Reform,” 88.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Singer and Sarivan, *Quo Vadis, Academia*, 27, 394.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 394.

events.”¹¹⁷ Thus far, the DS, much like other reform objectives, remains a promise in the form of a written project.

University professors also complain that the implementation of the DS and other policy reforms attributable to the Bologna Declaration has only been realized at the structural level and that few significant changes have actually been effected. They argue, for example, that a new and better curriculum model is required to accommodate all of the proposed changes. Of the 426 professors (no specialization provided) who completed a questionnaire in 2005 on the effects of the Bologna Declaration on the Romanian higher education system and the benefits of reform efforts to higher education, 91 percent responded that curriculum has to be “competence-based and labour market-orientated” if students are to be prepared to work on the global market.¹¹⁸ Unfortunately, there is no information available with respect to these professors’ areas of concentration, so it is possible that the results of the project for which the questionnaire was created may be skewed. There can be no doubt, however, that most professors would say, in accordance with these 426 interviewees, that “very little attention, if any, is given to promoting individualized routes for students and to involving the latter in the quality assurance process.”¹¹⁹ Further, students are ill-informed of the consequences of the implementation of the Bologna Declaration principles for the Romanian education system and their opinion is little appreciated. Unlike other European countries such as the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary where students are involved in decision-making activities related

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 395. These surveyed students are part of the same research project mentioned earlier in this chapter.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 393, 396. Of the total number of interviewed professors, 45 were novice assistants, 120 were assistants, 122 were lecturers, 65 were senior lecturers, and 74 were full professors. These statistics correspond with the hierarchy of faculty positions in Romanian universities. The population of Romanian academics is 30,857. The authors of the questionnaire were a team of teachers and members of the National Curriculum Department.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 396.

to the implementation of the Bologna Declaration to their national education systems, Romanian students are not represented in university Senate discussions.¹²⁰ One possible explanation for this exclusion of students from dialogues that affect them directly may be that debates on the implementation and results of the Bologna Declaration for the Romanian higher education system are still shaping the terrain of education in Romania. As is discussed in chapter 7, the implications of the Bologna directives for music universities are many and have potentially far-reaching effects.

Another outcome of the implementation of the Bologna Declaration to the Romanian education system was the introduction of an extended network of bursaries, research grants, performance scholarships, merit and excellence scholarships and subsidized accommodation and meals for talented Romanian students and those in financial need to help with living and learning expenses.¹²¹ Study scholarships for students living in rural areas have also been initiated to help them achieve university education. Requirements for receiving these scholarships include commitment to return as teachers or professionals in needed domains in rural areas for a period of time equal with the minimum length of studies.¹²² Although this initiative may limit students' opportunities with respect to choosing their own work place, financial incentives may contribute to the development of rural education which is in great need of professionally trained teachers, including music educators.

One reason for the lack of professional training of teachers in both rural and urban

¹²⁰ Ibid., 60. Information obtained from the *Black Book of the Bologna Process*, 2005.

¹²¹ *National Reports, 2004–2005*. www.cnfis.ro (accessed March 11, 2009).

¹²² www.cnfis.ro (accessed March 12, 2009).

schools is the decrease in standards in entrance exams for university studies.¹²³ This lowering in entrance exam standards is attributable to a government regulation that bases university funding on enrolment figures. This regulation forces professors to lower admission and evaluation standards so as to make universities more accessible to the masses.¹²⁴ Professors argue that, although they are aware of the low quality of university education, standards cannot be raised if universities want to attract more students.¹²⁵ Large enrolment figures also bring positive assessment reports by government assurance agencies upon which the operation of a university is greatly dependent.

Quality Assurance Agencies and their Effects on Romanian Public Education

One of the most potent tools used by neoliberals to control teachers and compel them to yield to government regulations are Quality Assurance Agencies.¹²⁶ These are established to assess the efficiency of schools and universities by numerical standards. Unlike other educational reforms such as curriculum development, a quality assurance regimen has been more thoroughly implemented within the Romanian education system as a means of improving results in international educational evaluations (see the PISA test results). Obviously, given their emphases on performance indicators such as graduation rates and rates of employment of graduating students, these agencies' agenda is consistent

¹²³ <http://www.ziaruldeiasi.ro/local/jumatate-dintre-studenti-vor-ajunge-catastrofe-cu-diploma~ni419f> (accessed July 24, 2009).

¹²⁴ Nicoleta Vieru, "Jumatate din Studenti vor Ajunge Catastrofe cu Diploma." The English version: "Half of the Students will Become Catastrophes with Diplomas." <http://www.ziaruldeiasi.ro/local/jumatate-dintre-studenti-vor-ajunge-catastrofe-cu-diploma~ni419f> (accessed July 24, 2009).

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ See Terry Wrigley, "Is School Effectiveness Anti-Democratic?" *British Journal of Educational Studies* 51, 2 (June, 2003).

with the neoliberals' emphasis on managerialism and accountability in education.¹²⁷ The same neoliberal drive behind the operation of these bodies is found in other countries where Quality Assurance Agencies have been established (see for example, the Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education in the United Kingdom, the Association of Accrediting Agencies of Canada, the Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario and *L'agence d'évaluation de la recherche et de l'enseignement supérieur* in France).¹²⁸

In Romania, the establishment of educational assurance agencies was prompted by mass student application to universities in the past decade and the concern for assuring the effectiveness of the educational process on the parts of academia and officials involved in the EU membership process.¹²⁹ It was mostly generated by, and applied to, the growing number of private universities in order to ensure that their operation was consistent with the Ministry of Education and public higher education institutions' standards.

The quality of Romania's entire education system is measured by two educational assurance agencies: one for elementary and secondary schools and another for university. Quality standards for elementary and secondary schools are established by the Ministry of Education in collaboration with regional representatives of the Ministry. At the university level, the Ministry of Education collaborates with management teams to assess

¹²⁷ William Bruneau and Donald C. Savage, *Counting out the Scholars: The Case Against Performance Indicators in Higher Education* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company Ltd., Publishers, 2002). See the chapter on the United Kingdom, "The United Kingdom: Assessment Without End . . . Amen."

¹²⁸ <http://www.qaa.ac.uk> (accessed July 16, 2009), <http://www.heqco.ca/Pages/wel.aspx> (accessed July 16, 2009) and <http://www.aaac.ca/> (accessed July 16, 2009). See also www.cicic.ca and <http://www.aeres-evaluation.fr/Le-College-de-France> (accessed September 1, 2009).

¹²⁹ Ana-Maria Dima, "Quality Assurance Mechanisms and Accreditation Processes in Private Higher Education in Romania," in Uvalic-Trunbic, ed., *Globalization and the Market in Higher Education*, 145.

educational quality.¹³⁰ University evaluation and quality assurance are controlled by the Law Concerning the Accreditation of Higher Education Institutions and the Recognition of Diplomas (Law 88/1993), modified by Government Decision 535/1999.¹³¹ Quality assurance and accreditation are evaluated by the National Council for Academic Assessment and Accreditation (NCAAA) based on performance indicators (see below).¹³²

The accreditation process has two major objectives: to obtain “authorization for provisional functioning” which allows universities to organize entrance exams, to conduct research and other educational activities, and to hire teaching and auxiliary personnel, and to acquire “accreditation that confers upon [authorized] higher education institutions the right to organize [graduation] examinations, to award diplomas, and to operate autonomously.”¹³³ Authorization is granted provided that certain criteria such as appropriate course content, levels of qualification and competencies of faculty, quality of research and material and financial resources are met.¹³⁴ Accreditation is further conferred if a minimum of 51 percent of private university students pass the graduation examinations at a public university.¹³⁵ This process is supported by a government regulation which states that private university students have to take similar exams with students registered in public universities and that their graduation diplomas have to be recognized by the Ministry of Education.¹³⁶ Following these assessments, the NCAAA

¹³⁰ www.edu.ro (accessed July 2, 2009). Law of July 12, 2005 regarding the assurance of the quality of education. According to the website of the Romanian Agency for Quality Assurance, at the university level (www.aracis.ro), quality standards include building and technological infrastructure, teaching strategies leading toward high graduation rates and evaluation of students based on the rates of employment after graduation.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid., 149. See also http://www.mct.ro/img/files_up/1220860961img045.pdf (accessed July 7, 2009). The NCAAA was established in 2000.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 150.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php?module=uploads&func=download&fileId=1313> (accessed July 28, 2009).

writes a report on the educational institution's operational and educational activities and its self-evaluation statement and compares it with pre-established standards. Following the Council's assessment, the government and the Ministry of National Education grant or deny accreditation.¹³⁷

Ironically, and while government claims to be interested in deregulation, the imposition of performance indicators and other accountability measures ultimately contributes to the centralized control of education under an increased educational bureaucracy, much as it was under communism.¹³⁸ Since Romania has a National Curriculum Council, government control over education is easily accomplished. One outcome of renewed government control is a modification of curriculum structures for elementary and secondary schools so as to include more courses in languages at the expense of music courses (see chapter 7).¹³⁹ This is also a result of the increased interest of Romanian government in demonstrating to the EU officials that Europeanization processes are at work in Romanian education, particularly following the 2007 enlargement of the EU. Ironically, however, and while Romanian authorities declare their interest in, and make promises with respect to, economic growth and better educational and job opportunities, many students and intellectuals decide to emigrate to Europe and North-America in search of better education and employment. This threatens to impede economic, social, cultural and educational development.¹⁴⁰

In the past decade, Romania has been seriously depleted in human capital as workers and intellectuals were offered better remunerated opportunities in EU countries

¹³⁷ Ibid., 149.

¹³⁸ Carol Taylor Fitz-Gibbon, *Monitoring Education: Indicators, Quality and Effectiveness* (London: Cassell, 2006). See also Bruneau and Savage, *Counting out the Scholars*.

¹³⁹ www.chfis.ro (accessed March 12, 2009).

¹⁴⁰ Catalina Andreea Panescu, "Brain Drain and Brain Gain: A New Perspective on Highly Skilled Migration." *Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, Bucharest, 3.

(Spain) as seasonal employees in strawberry fields, construction, or teaching.¹⁴¹ Many emigrants discovered, however, that language and cultural barriers prevented them from becoming integrated into the educational and cultural structures of their adopting countries. Financial problems and lack of access to health services and relevant work experience have also constituted serious challenges for emigrant Romanians.¹⁴² The recent economic depression has unfortunately increased the exposure of immigrants within the EU to “unemployment, discrimination and xenophobia.”¹⁴³ The Spanish government, for example, has decided as of late to financially support Romanians and other immigrants to return to their native countries.¹⁴⁴

The academic population has enjoyed greater mobility as a result of the EU enlargement. A “highly competitive international market of researchers [and professionals] is emerging” and is encouraging the organized migration of researchers.¹⁴⁵ In the past few decades, 116 university professors have immigrated to Canada with the intention of building new lives and careers.¹⁴⁶ The United States has also been a destination for many Romanian intellectuals (e.g., professor Emil Palade, recipient of the Nobel Prize in 1974 for discoveries in the organization, structure and functions of the cell; historians George Ursu and Stephen Fisher-Galati, philosopher Matei Calinescu, and

¹⁴¹ http://www.zf.ro/articol_146631/romanii_principala_fora_de_munca_pentru_culesul_capsunilor_in_spanya.html (accessed November 3, 2007).

¹⁴² Singer and Sarivan, eds., *Quo Vadis, Academia*, 84.

¹⁴³ CBS News, “Immigrants More Vulnerable to Global Recession, OECD Says” (July 1, 2009). <http://www.adevarul.ro/articole/muncitorii-romani-din-spania-alungati-de-criza.html> (accessed July 16, 2009).

¹⁴⁴ Matei Dobrovie, “Muncitorii Romani din Spania, Alungati de Criza?” (July, 2009). <http://www.adevarul.ro/articole/muncitorii-romani-din-spania-alungati-de-criza.html> (accessed July 16, 2009). This decision has been prompted by a doubling of unemployment rate (18 percent, the highest in the EU).

¹⁴⁵ Dirk Van Damme, “Higher Education in the Age of Globalization,” in Uvalic-Trunbic, ed., *Globalization and the Market in Higher Education*, 22-23.

¹⁴⁶ “Romanii din Diaspora.” <http://www.romanii.ro/romanii%20din%20diaspora/index%20diaspora.htm> (accessed July 16, 2009).

others).¹⁴⁷ Many Romanian communities have recently been created in countries of the EU and are growing (e.g., Germany, Austria, Spain, and Italy).

4). *Teacher Training*

Although educational reforms have mostly affected post-secondary education, one potentially powerful way that EU integration may eventually affect elementary and secondary education is through the regulation of teacher training. According to the Education law of 1995 and 2005, aspiring teachers must be “trained in public or private universities (4-6 years studies) and their compulsory continuous training takes place every 5 years or on demand.”¹⁴⁸ Each university has a Department for Teacher Training (DTT) which represents educational branches of the Faculties of Psychology and Educational Science (in Bucharest, Iasi, etc). To the core courses in Psychology and Pedagogy offered by DTT, each Faculty adds its own speciality courses (a Music University, for example, adds Vocal and Instrumental Teaching Methods). Until 1994, the DTT was known as the University Pedagogic Seminary. Despite the change in name, the roles and operations of all educational branches were not altered.¹⁴⁹ These include training pre-service students to develop and structure curriculum according to students’ capacities and needs, to work with syllabi and textbooks and to take the appropriate measures when addressing students with behavioural problems.¹⁵⁰ In addition to theoretical training, there are practical units organized in schools with groups of 10 to 12

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ See www.oecd.org/document. See also Lucia Constantinescu, “Overview of Music Teacher Training System in Romania,” *European Forum for Music Education and Training; Association Europeenne des Conservatoires, Academies de Musique et Musikhochschulen (AEC)* (N.D.).
www.aecsite.cramgo.nl/DownloadView.aspx?ses=3962 (accessed July 3, 2008).

¹⁴⁹ http://www.psih.uaic.ro/prezentare/documente/docs/Regulament_DPPD_18dec08.pdf (accessed July 7, 2009).

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

pre-service students for practice teaching. These schools can be general or vocational. The latter are designated for students who wish to become teachers of music, religion or physical education in specialized schools and high schools.¹⁵¹ All students, however, wishing to become teachers have to attend courses within the DTT.

Departments of Teacher Training in each university are also accredited to organize courses for the continuous education of school teachers. These courses are designed to keep teachers informed of the most recent developments in educational science, research and methodology and in each area of specialization.¹⁵² Exams for *definitivat* and category I and II teachers are also organized by each university's DTT.

Until 2005, the teacher training program followed to a certain extent its old structure used during communism. Teacher training was part of undergraduate education and took place throughout the last two years of university. It consisted of a theoretical unit followed by practice in application schools under professional supervision. Since the reduction in undergraduate education to four and then three years initiated in 2005, the teacher training program was compacted in the last year of university. Graduates of this program receive a certificate that allows them to teach in the public education system.¹⁵³

Beginning with 2007 and as a result of the restructuring of undergraduate education to three years, the teacher training program is structured in two modules. Module I is an integral part of undergraduate education and is mostly based on courses in pedagogy, psychology and specialty methods. At the end of this program, graduates receive a certificate that allows them to teach in the public education system only temporarily and until they pass the *definitivat* exam. As already mentioned, the latter

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

exam offers teachers permanent appointment to the education system.¹⁵⁴ Module I is tuition free for students who obtained high marks at their entrance university exam. Module II is optional and is available to master's students seeking more focus on specialization courses.¹⁵⁵ It can be attended prior to taking the *definitivat* exam, during master studies. Module II is no longer tuition free. The module II graduation diploma replaces the first certificate and allows teachers unrestricted practice in the education system.¹⁵⁶ Music teachers also have to follow the same regulations if they wish to become teachers in the public system.

The restructuring of teacher training in two modules is a response to numerous European calls for considering education and training as “critical . . . to develop[ing] the EU’s long-term potential for competitiveness as well as for school cohesion.”¹⁵⁷ This new re-conceptualization of teacher programs throughout the Union is also consistent with EU educational policies and objectives which include social inclusion, development of innovation spirit, promotion of the value of multilingualism and recognition of professional qualifications.¹⁵⁸ In keeping with the Union’s goal “to increase its competitiveness in the globalised world” and in accordance with the aforementioned objectives, new common educational outcomes for teachers have been created in 2006 by European educational bodies.¹⁵⁹ The former include teaching students how “to become

¹⁵⁴ http://www.uab.ro/reviste_recunoscute/philologica/philologica_2008_tom2/34.curta_adina.doc (accessed July 7, 2009).

¹⁵⁵ No information is available with respect to the length of these modules except that each is worth 30 credits. It can be assumed, perhaps, that Module I courses are offered during the last year of studies while Module II, which is offered during Master’s studies—a one-year program—can only last for one year.

¹⁵⁶ http://www.uab.ro/reviste_recunoscute/philologica/philologica_2008_tom2/34.curta_adina.doc (accessed July 7, 2009).

¹⁵⁷ *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament: Improving the Quality of Teacher Education*, Commission of the European Communities (Brussels, August 2007), 3.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

fully autonomous learners by acquiring key skills, rather than memorizing information . . . to develop more collaborative and constructive approaches to learning and . . . to be facilitators and classroom managers” rather than authoritarians.¹⁶⁰ Future teachers are also required to expand personal cultural horizons through “reflective practice,” research and “a systematic engagement in continuous professional development.”¹⁶¹ The latter requirement is expected given that in Romania and other European countries the pace of educational changes is very fast.

Unfortunately, and as a recent OECD report reveals, teacher training in Romania “is lagging behind EU and local level proposals of] policy developments.”¹⁶² As this and other reports show, Romanian teacher education has made little progress toward accomplishment of EU objectives such as individualized learning and teaching students to become autonomous learners, among others.¹⁶³ Thus far, teacher training programs still hinge on former communist regulations that placed emphasis on theory and acquirement of information with little relevance to practice.¹⁶⁴ Pre-service students find that pedagogical and methodological courses do not bring anything new, that they have little access to recent developments in the area of educational policy reforms and that there is little encouragement for personal reflective thinking, while the mechanical regurgitation of information inherited from communism is still maintained.¹⁶⁵ Unless concrete changes are made to teacher education programs, then little will improve music education programs (curriculum content and practice) in schools. As expected, current teaching

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 3.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 4.

¹⁶² *Implementation of “Education and Training 2010” Work Programme*, 9. A project designed by the European Commission, Directorate-General for Education and Culture (November, 2004). <http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/2010/doc/basicnational2004.pdf> (accessed July 16, 2009).

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Singer and Sarivan, eds., *Quo Vadis, Academia*, 239-246.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

practice in the public education system is a faithful replica of the structures of university teacher training programs. There is still much to be done in the Romanian teacher training programs if Romanian education is to fully become integrated into EU educational structures and if the desired mobility of teachers and the academic within the Union is to actually benefit Romanian educators and their students.

Having described the structure of the public education system as a means of placing into a larger perspective the changes underwent by the public music education system in the last two decades, we can now address the structure, content and development of the public music education curriculum and structure since the Revolution in 1989 and until the present day.

CHAPTER VII
IMPLICATIONS OF DEMOCRATIZATION, NEOLIBERALISM AND EUROPEAN
INTEGRATION FOR THE MUSIC EDUCATION SYSTEM IN
POST-REVOLUTIONARY ROMANIA, 1990 – 2009

As with education in general, the instalment of a democratic government in December 1989 and the subsequent exposure of Romania's economy, society, culture and musical life to the forces of democratization, globalization and European integration brought many significant changes to the public music education system. Because these concepts (of democratization, globalization and Europeanization) all overlap, it makes organizational sense to think of them as lenses through which we can examine educational reforms affecting music education since the 1989 Revolution and until the present day. These reforms are mostly related to changes to curriculum, educational deregulation and teacher training. To be more precise, the following discussion concerning the effects and implications of these concepts and the political developments that have contributed to the reform of the public music education system in Romania is approached under four major headings: 1) the National School Music Education Curriculum (K-XII); 2) Music University Curriculum and Practice; 3) Private Music Education; and 4) Music Teacher Training. This way, readers will obtain a better understanding of, for example, the cumulative effects of political initiatives and changes to structural components of music education reform in Romania. As a preamble to addressing these four sections, a brief documentation of several major changes to the music education system brought about by the introduction of democracy in 1989 is first presented as a means of establishing a necessary framework for discussion. Most of the

reforms to be discussed throughout this chapter were only made possible by the Revolution in 1989 and the establishment of a government committed, at least in theory, to creating a democratic society.

Among the first political acts implemented in the early 1990s as a celebration of democracy was a greater access to the study of music for all. Many music schools and music high schools, both public and private, were established in the early 1990s (e.g., in Brasov, Constanta, Oradea, Timisoara and Braila) to accommodate the expected growth in the number of students (e.g., in the early 1990s, each public music school had approximately 20 students enrolled; this number increased by 2007 to over a hundred in each school).¹ Music universities also opened their doors to all who were interested in musical academics and performance. For example, at the National University of Music in Bucharest, the number of students enrolled in the Faculty of Pedagogy increased from 10 in 1989 to 70 in 2003.² A more impressive growth in student numbers, however, was experienced by the Faculty of Performance Studies at the National University of Music in Bucharest where, in 2007, there were 468 students enrolled (including all years of study, instruments and voice) as compared to only 10 in 1989.³ As was discussed in chapter 5, the low number of university students registered in the second half of the 1980s was a result of President Nicolae Ceausescu's economic policy aiming to pay off Romania's foreign debt and the subsequent re-direction of funds to debt reduction.

Another significant change brought about by democratization to the Romanian music education system was the elimination of the aforementioned communist music

¹ See Vasile, *Metodica Educatiei Muzicale*.

² See my Master's Thesis, *A History of the National University of Music in Bucharest, Romania, 1864-2004*, 119.

³ <http://www.optiuni.ro/index.php?page=site/college&cid=62> (accessed August 2, 2009).

festival *Cantarea Romaniei* (see chapter 5) that had been established in 1977 during the Ceausescu era to contribute to the President's cult of personality. As was previously explained, participation in this festival was mandatory for all schools given that the major goal of music and art education, as conceived by Party officials and following the implementation of Soviet Socialist Realism, was to contribute to the cause of socialism and to the praise of the country's President.⁴ The music selected for this festival became a part of the *de facto* curriculum. Composers were required to write works celebrating the state and the President and all performers and ensembles had to perform Romanian compositions.⁵ After the Revolution, all of these imposed requirements were removed.

Other changes introduced after 1989 were a reduction in the duration of music education classes in elementary schools and gymnasiums from two to one hour per week to decrease students' workload and to make it consistent with other EU countries, and a concentration of schooling in five days a week (from Monday to Friday, as opposed to six days as had previously been the case). The latter was purportedly also initiated so that teachers and students could have more opportunities to attend and participate in cultural and musical events.⁶ Immediately following the 1989 Revolution, there was an increase in the broadcasting of concerts, recitals and music programs on television and radio and a growth in the number of classical music festivals such as "Saptamana Internationala a Muzicii Noi" [The International Week of New Music] and the International Festival of New Music as government attempted to revitalize the country's culture.⁷ As the population's interest in state-sanctioned music and the arts is generally cultivated in

⁴ Troncota, *Romania Comunista*, 34-35.

⁵ See Sandu-Dediu, *Muzica Romaneasca*.

⁶ Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. III, 35.

⁷ Sandu-Dediu, *Muzica Romanesca*, 43, 45.

school, the national music curriculum was also re-conceptualized so as to reflect the new transformations of post-revolutionary Romania, to contribute to the cultural development of the country and to enhance the process of integration into the Western European educational culture. Given that public schools should serve and support the implementation of state policies, changes to the music curriculum were among the first educational reform acts initiated by the Romanian government and Ministry of Education.⁸

1). The National School Music Education Curriculum (K-XII)

Signs of Democratization in the National Music Education Curriculum

The current National Music Curriculum is a revised and improved version of previous drafts created in 1995 and 1998, respectively, by a music education committee consisting of music teachers and government officials. As of 2007, this committee is part of the National Center for Curriculum and Evaluation in General School Education. The role of the committee was, and continues to be, to oversee and approve drafting of curriculum, textbook conceptualization and publishing and the general development of the music education system, including expansion of music education classes to all levels of the school education system and all specializations. At least in theory, music education was to be available to all children, and regardless of school type. These were all signs that the Romanian government was making efforts to democratize the country and its education system. Immediately after the Revolution, courses in “Historical Materialism” and “Scientific Socialism” were removed by the aforementioned committee from school syllabi (and also from music university curricula) and communist iconography was

⁸ http://www.isjcta.ro/isj/media/rapoarte/analiza_activ_manag_1301.pdf (accessed August 11, 2009).

eliminated from textbooks.⁹ In 1994 and 1995 respectively, the music education committee also mandated that music education be introduced to kindergarten and the humanities high school curricula.¹⁰ In 2000, music education became part of the curricula of all high school types (e.g., humanities, computer-science and social science schools) and that same year the music curriculum was also re-conceptualized to incorporate more sophisticated musical concepts as appropriate for high school students.¹¹

The National Music Curriculum (as of 2000) represents efforts made by Romanian music educators and professors not only to include all children in the study of music but to help improve the national music education system so as to meet and be consistent with Western world standards and practice (e.g., reduction in the number of early school leavers, increased access to information, technological upgrading and recognition of diplomas and mobility within the EU). After 1989, when the introduction of democracy made possible travel to the West and access to foreign academic journals and other music education materials, Romanian music professors “took everything [from the West that was] considered appropriate for . . . courses, [and were] concerned to read as much as [they could], to study, to catch up with the latest news and publications, to meet and talk with other professors in conservatories worldwide.”¹² Accordingly, the current music curriculum reveals a shift in performance from patriotic marches to songs more appropriate to students’ ages, vocal ranges, musical understanding and musical

⁹ Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. III, 26.

¹⁰ http://www.curriculum2008.edu.ro/Educatie_timpurie/ (accessed July 24, 2009). The kindergarten music curriculum primarily concentrates on musical games, on learning of songs by rote and on helping children distinguish musical from spoken sounds.

¹¹ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php/articles/curriculum/c556+590/?startnum=21> (accessed July 9, 2009). The structure of the Romanian curriculum provides 1 hour for each school subject. Music education and drawing, however, both have to share 1 hour. Because of this provision, each subject is taught for 1 hour every two weeks. See also Vasile, *Metodica Educatiei Muzicale*.

¹² Personal correspondence with Lavinia Coman, currently Head of the Department for the Training of Music Teachers, the National University of Music in Bucharest, (May 2003).

preferences. Changes to curriculum were made so as to offer students more opportunities for the study of a wider range of music (see Appendices). The new music curriculum was also intended to provide an intellectual underpinning for a shift in focus from a skill-based system through solfege and dictation to developing aesthetic sensibility, perception and interpretation of musical works.¹³ This re-conceptualization of music education curriculum and practice is, in several key respects, consistent with American and British music education philosophies during the 1980s and 1990s, when the purpose of music education was understood as contributing to the development of all students' capacities for aesthetic perception and experience.¹⁴ As American music education philosopher Bennett Reimer wrote throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the development of all children's abilities to perceive music and the arts aesthetically should be an important educational goal in a democracy.¹⁵ Although an important step toward a democratic purpose for music education, however, the new Romanian music curriculum was very conservative in conception (e.g., what counts as music). This, though, is perhaps only to be expected given that most Romanian music professors, including members of the curriculum drafting committee, were educated during communism. Communists were very conservative (high standards, discipline and high-quality results) but they also believed in social equality, albeit only in theory, and promoted the idea that all children had to have access to the study of music. There is no surprise, then, that the aforementioned committee members, who had been trained under the communist education system, were

¹³ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php?module=uploads&func=download&fileId=5266> and <http://www.edu.ro/index.php/articles/curriculum/c556+590/?startnum=21> (accessed July 9, 2009). See also Vasile, *Metodica Educatiei Muzicale*, 135-137.

¹⁴ Reimer, "Essential and Non-Essential Characteristics of Aesthetic Education," *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 25, 3 (Autumn 1991). See also Reimer, *A Philosophy of Music Education: Advancing the Vision*, 3rd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003).

¹⁵ Ibid.

enthusiastic about implementing the “music for all” principle and placed emphasis on students’ development of aesthetic sensibility. The educational outcome that focuses on music education as aesthetic education, although now deemed obsolete by many critics in the West (David Elliott, Julia Eklund-Koza, Wayne Bowman and Philip Alperson), reveals Romania’s first step toward democratization of the music education system through the provision of music education for all children.¹⁶ This, of course, had also been an important educational goal for the previous communist government which, similarly to the first democratic government after 1989, offered many children and particularly those underprivileged opportunities to study music and other subjects. The emphasis was on development of skills (and of communist character), as is currently the case despite the recent intended orientation toward the development of aesthetic sensibility.

The current Music Curriculum is a combination of specific foreign and Romanian teaching materials first introduced in 1993. The former materials include various instructional manuals such as *Education artistique, Horaires, Objectifs, Programmes, Instruction* (Paris, 1989); *Programmes et Instructions* (Paris, 1985); *Essential Skills for Music* (Arizona, 1985); *La Musica nelli Scuolo Elementare* (1986); *Music for ages 5-14, Welsh Office*, (1991); *Expressive Arts 5-14, Scotland*, (1991); and *Scope and sequence of*

¹⁶ Constantijn Koopman, “Music Education Aesthetic or ‘Praxial?’” *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 32, 3 (Autumn 1998), 2. In his book *Music Matters*, David Elliott, for example, criticizes Reimer’s conception of music education as aesthetic perception and experience (referred to by Elliott as MEAE) on two major grounds. His first criticism addresses the exclusive concentration of music education on musical works independently of musical performances. Relatedly, Elliott contends that MEAE does not take into consideration the nature of music making. The second criticism addresses the narrow conception of MEAE in terms of mainly perception while disregarding other dimensions of the musical phenomenon such as traditions of practice, emotions and cultural and ideological perspectives. Margaret Barrett, “Toward a ‘Situated’ View of the Aesthetic in Music Education,” *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 36, 3 9 (Autumn 2002), 69. Bowman, too, rejects music education as aesthetic perception as being “nonmusical” (i.e., mostly philosophical or political).

the Kodaly method, (1989).¹⁷ Romanian music pedagogical material utilizes teaching and learning methods based on the work of George Breazul, Constantin Brailoiu, Dimitrie Cuclin, Nicolae Lungu, Ion Serfezi and Ana Motora-Ionescu.¹⁸ Emphasis is placed on Romanian artistic traditions, cultivation of aptitudes for understanding art and for developing creative and interpretative abilities, development of performance skills and understanding of basic concepts of musical grammar as the country seeks to retain a sense

¹⁷ Vasile, *Metodica Educatiei Muzicale*, 135. The foreign methods most sympathetic to the Romanian structure of education were French. No information is available with respect to why an Arizona's music education method book was chosen as model for the Romanian system. These instructional manuals are published textbooks: *Education artistique, Horaires, Obiectifs, Programmes, Instructions* (Paris, 1989), *Programmes et Instructions* (Paris, 1985), *Scope and Sequence of the Kodaly Method* (1989), *La Musica nelli Scuolo Elementare* (1986), *Essential Skills for Music* (Arizona, 1985), *Music for ages 5-14* (Welsh Office, 1991), and *Expressive Arts 5-14*, Scotland, 1991.

¹⁸ Vasile, *Pagini Nescrie din Istoria Pedagogiei si a Culturii Romanesti.*, 182-188. George Breazul (1887-1961) is said to be the founder of a Romanian music education system based on national folkloric and Western European components. His philosophy of music education was developed over the course of several years and during his education in Berlin in early 1920s with Carl Stumpf, Curt Sachs and Eduard Sprager, among others. Breazul based and developed his music education system, discussed in part in his work *Patrium Carmen*, on his activity as professor and coordinator of pedagogical and methodological training of pre-service music teachers and as general inspector of the music education system. The main goals of music education, as envisaged by Breazul, were to integrate musical Western and Romanian masterpieces with personal life and to help the study of music education through instrumental performance. The core of his music education system was published in 1928 in the article "Arta muzicala in cultural romaneasca" [Musical art in Romanian culture] (see Vasile, *Pagini Nescrie din Istoria Pedagogiei si Culturii Romanesti*). Some of the main ideas developed in this article and reiterated in subsequent publications were the introduction of instrumental music to all levels of the public music education system as an elective course, strengthening of school music life through establishment of choirs and orchestras, emphasis on Romanian folk songs in schools, establishment of pedagogical seminaries for the training of music teachers, and publication of theoretical music works, including song books for children, the Church, army and choral societies. This musical system is in part a precursor of the current music education system. Constantin Brailoiu (1893-1958) was a Romanian composer, conductor, musicologist and music critic, collector of Romanian folk songs and the founder of Romanian ethnomusicology. As a member of a musical committee charged with creating and developing music curriculum and concerned with improving the cultural level of his nation, Brailoiu also authored music textbooks which focused on Romanian folk songs. One of his most famous music articles contributive to the development of Romanian musical pedagogy and further introduced to music textbooks is "La musique populaire dans l'enseignement musical," presented in 1948 at the first conference of the International Council of Folk Music in Bâle or Basel, Switzerland. Dimitrie Cuclin (1885-1978) was a Romanian composer, musicologist, philosopher and university professor of music history, musical forms and musical aesthetics. He is the author of the first Romanian *Treatise of Musical Aesthetics* published by the Romanian Academy in 1933. In 1935, Cuclin published in co-authorship with other Romanian music teachers a report on "the actual state of secondary music education." Authors criticize the intrusion of political affairs into music education and draw attention to the apparent discrepancy resulting from the imposition of Western music theory based on tonal concepts onto the modal character of Romanian folk music. Ion Serfezi and Ana Motora-Ionescu were authors of the music textbooks and of songs books for elementary and gymnasium schools during communism. Some of these textbooks are, in part, currently in use. See also <http://bibliophil.bibliotecamm.ro/?s=catalog&f=3&ca%5Bc1%5D=4&ca%5Bc1t%5D=3&ca%5Bc1v%5D=Motora-Ionescu.%20Ana> (accessed July 9, 2009).

of national cultural and musical identity (based on a long tradition of solfege, training of performance skills and Romanian folk song repertoire) in the face of the forces of globalization and European integration.¹⁹ This was one of the reasons why the Ministry of Education divided the general National Curriculum into the aforementioned core and schools-based curriculum, so that principals could have some degree of curricular flexibility and exercise their democratic prerogative of the right to choose in addressing themes relating to Romania's society and culture (see chapter 6).²⁰ This arrangement also allows music teachers to create and conduct their own school choirs if the individual principals wish to create a musical environment in the school. No North-American-style instrumental bands exist in Romanian elementary, gymnasium and general secondary schools, possibly because there is no musical tradition of band ensembles. Only music high schools have instrumental ensembles (orchestras) and choirs as parts of their curriculum.²¹ Pedagogical materials suggest that popular music genres are also less represented in music classes at both elementary and secondary levels.

Perhaps owing to the conservatism of Romanian music educators, some of whom served on the curriculum committee, the music curriculum limits the study of popular music genres to popular classics such as ABBA or the Beatles. As Lucy Green explains, these kinds of popular music classics “tend to reproduce traditional, accepted notions of musical values, and with those, of what counts as musical ability.”²² Even then, music teachers emphasize notation and rhythmic patterns in the study of these genres at the

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Singer, “Balancing Globalisation and Local Identity in the Reform of Education in Romania,” in Bill Atweh, ed., *Internationalisation and Globalization in Mathematics and Science Education*, 371. See also Ciolan et al, *The New National Curriculum*, 6. http://www.see-educoop.net/education_in/pdf/new_nation_curric_rom-rom-enl-t06.pdf (accessed July 8, 2009).

²¹ <http://liceuldinulipatti.ro/istoric.php> (accessed July 9, 2009).

²² Lucy Green, *Music, Informal Learning and the School: A New Classroom Pedagogy* (Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), 13.

expense of discussing their cultural and social contexts. There is no discussion of Romanian rap music, for example, and of its underlying political message against poverty and social inequalities.²³ Nor is other heavily commercialized music such as the genre known as pan-Balkan music that is popular among people of all ages given much, if any, attention in schools. One important reason for ignoring a more comprehensive study of popular music genres may be teachers' lack of knowledge and appreciation of this music, their fear of addressing and having to explain to students the colloquial language (i.e., the invective, as well as racist, sexist and obscene expressions therein) and, ultimately, their wariness of democratic methods (in this context understood as the introduction of popular music courses to school curricula). Like many of their counterparts in the West, many Romanian music teachers view popular music as "potentially dangerous to practice in that it can undermine their authority while contributing to the degradation of musical and other standards."²⁴ Reasons for music teachers' caution with respect to teaching and discussing contemporary popular music relate to its physicality and sexuality, repetitive melodic and rhythmic nature and promotion of instant gratification to the population.²⁵ However, and as Mark Sheridan and others observe, popular music may be valuable to students' education because of the "wealth and richness of many thousands of artists that have contributed to a cultural revolution in the last fifty years."²⁶ Further, and to paraphrase Wayne Bowman, the more this music is said to be lacking in intellectual effort

²³ Denise Roman, *Fragmented Identities: Popular Culture, Sex and Everyday Life in Postcommunist Romania* (New York: Lexington Books, 2003).

²⁴ Woodford, *Democracy and Music Education*, 69. See also Mark Sheridan, review of "Music Education: Cultural Values, Social Change and Innovation," by Robert Walker (Springfield, IL: Charles Thomas, 2007), published in *British Journal of Music Education* 26, 2 (July 2009), 231. Some Western music teachers and academics consider that inclusion of popular music in curriculum as undermining "the essential value of classical music in the general plan of the education curriculum."

²⁵ See Walker, *Music Education: Cultural Values, Social Change and Innovation*.

²⁶ Sheridan, review of "Music Education: Cultural Values, Social Change and Innovation," 231.

while catering more toward bodily sensations, the more it needs to be discussed so as to help students to develop the kind of critical awareness needed to make them less vulnerable to “capitalism’s voracious need for willing consumers, or to the potent semiotic forces at work in music that now pervade almost every aspect of everyday life.”²⁷ Studying popular music genres with their socio-cultural and political constructs may also help “draw into the educational realm many students who are traditionally and currently excluded,” such as the Rroma [*sic*].²⁸ Including popular music in the curriculum as a subject of serious study can thereby contribute in important ways to the democratic process, if nothing else by appealing to the masses of children otherwise disinterested in school music.²⁹ Thus far, however, Romanian teachers continue to abide by the Western classical tradition and to train students as performers while, for the most part, ignoring popular music culture.

For kindergarten and elementary students, the music education curriculum is geared toward concrete, movement-oriented activities and improvisation on instruments that produce distinctive, loud sounds (i.e., xylophone). Music is learned primarily by ear through listening to and repeating songs, movement and rhythmic accompaniment to recordings or live performances of songs with percussion instruments and rhythmic instruments (e.g., shakers). After experimenting with sounds and rhythms, students in grade II and up to grade IV learn fundamental elements of musical reading and writing

²⁷ Wayne D. Bowman, “Pop’ Goes . . . ? Taking Popular Music Seriously,” in Carlos Xavier Rodriguez, ed., *Bridging the Gap: Popular Music and Music Education* (Reston: MENC, 2004), 39.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 43. See also <http://ioniliescu.wordpress.com/2008/05/21/europarlamentarii/> (accessed August 3, 2009).

²⁹ *Ibid.*

(e.g., solfège and basic note values and dynamics).³⁰ The musical repertoire suggested for learning in class is entirely based on Romanian folklore, whereas the music appreciation repertoire includes the classics (e.g., A. Vivaldi, W. A. Mozart, J. Haydn, and G. Enescu; see Appendix A). Some textbooks also include popular music songs with Compact Discs (CD).

For gymnasium students, musical concepts increase in difficulty and include major and minor keys with one and two accidentals, modal scales, durations (e.g., the sixteen note and dotted notes), key signatures from 2/4, 3/4 and 4/4 to 2/8, 3/8, compound meters (5/8), the triplet and the duplet, rhythmic combinations with previously learned durations such as syncopation, tempi, expressive markings such as *p*, *f*, *mf*, *mp*, *accelerando* and *rallentando*, and song structure (e.g., verse, refrain, AB structure).³¹ Development of musical culture (i.e., students' knowledge of musical works and composers), which is another educational goal, is to be attained through discussions and analyses of musical programs on radio or television and participation at live classical music concerts.³² The repertoire of songs suggested for learning in class includes Romanian folk songs and Orthodox-based church music, a small collection of Western classical songs and several jazz, Romanian and Western-imported popular music songs performed by groups such as the aforementioned ABBA and the Beatles, and also by heavy-metal and other rock groups (the latter are included in curriculum but, as already explained, music teachers are reluctant to use them in their music classes).³³ The

³⁰ www.calificativ.ro/didactic/PROGRAMA_SCOLARA_MUZICA_CLASA_I-Programe_scolare-Muzica/Clasa_1-m1861-2-7-1.html (accessed May 5, 2009). Solfège is based on the fixed-Do concept and is similar with other European music systems, such as the French.

³¹ http://www.edu.ro/index.php?module=uploades&func=download*fileId=5266 (accessed July 9, 2009).

³² <http://www.edu.ro/index.php/articles/curriculum/c543+590+/> (accessed July 9, 2009).

³³ Personal correspondence with Silvia Muntean, former music education teacher at the general elementary school in Orastie, Hunedoara, Romania, (May 2009).

repertoire for music appreciation includes a large variety of Western musical works (e.g., by J. S. Bach, W. A. Mozart, F. Chopin, P. Tchaikovsky, G. Rossini, etc.), a smaller collection of Romanian folk songs, many of which have been composed by well-known folk song and church music composer Ion Vidu, and some popular songs accompanied by recorded CDs or audio cassettes (see Appendix B).³⁴ Ironically, and despite the government's stated interest in supporting Romanian cultural national identity, the works of George Enescu, acknowledged as Romania's greatest composer, are hardly mentioned. In response to this omission, some textbook authors have gone to the opposite extreme of suggesting that only the music of composers such as Enescu and Ciprian Porumbescu should be studied.³⁵ This, too, can have a damaging effect on students' musical growth, since it implies that they should be denied access to the wider range of Western and Romanian works. At the same time, and as will be shortly discussed, music textbooks, which are available for all grades in a large variety, can suggest different songs and musical works according to their authors' personal musical preferences and musical cultures. Schools teaching in the minority languages, however, can protect their own cultural song collections, albeit only with the permission of government.³⁶ Other curricular provisions for these schools, however, must be the same as those for all Romanian students.

The music curriculum for high school students offers two different types of music

³⁴ See Sandu-Dediu, *Muzica Romaneasca intre 1944-2000*, 139. Ion Vidu (1863-1931) was composer of church music and choral works with revolutionary character such as *Rasunetul Ardealului* [*The Voice of Ardeal*]. Ardeal was a Romanian province under the Habsburgs' domination at the time when Vidu was mostly prolific.

³⁵ "Desi isi Pune Semnatura pe Programe, Pentru Adomnitei nu Exista Disciplina Educatie Muzicala." The English version: "Although Adomnitei [former Minister of Education] Approves School Curricula, He Does Not Consider Music Education as a Worthy School Subject" (July 16, 2007). <http://stiri.ro1.ro/content/view/full/102539/2/> (accessed July 9, 2009).

³⁶ http://www.didactic.ro/files/curriculum/11/ed-muz7-8_reviz.doc (accessed July 9, 2009).

programmes: one for general high schools and a curriculum for vocational music high schools. The former programme allows for a half an hour a week of musical instruction (or one hour every two weeks). The latter offers more specialized professional training in that it prepares students for their entrance exams to music universities. It includes the teaching of harmony, voice, music history, musical forms and ethnography and folklore, each for one hour a week and theory-solfege-dictation for two hours a week. The purpose of these courses is to introduce students to musical analysis (e.g., books, recordings and essays on the lives and works of major composers).³⁷ For all of these courses, with the exception of music history, the educational process is primarily skill-based (e.g., the study of harmony, for example, seeks to help students recognize musical intervals and chords and to harmonize given musical themes while learning basic principles and theories of harmony).³⁸ The music history course is intended to familiarize students with the large repertoire of the Western and Romanian canons (including aural recognition of musical works and their composers) and to help them develop critical thinking skills when analyzing and interpreting musical works. The final aim is to train students to develop personal opinions on the musical works listened to and studied in class.³⁹

Since the re-introduction of music education to grades IX and X high school students in 1994, the country's high school music curriculum has undergone more changes than that for elementary and gymnasium schools. For example, from that year and until 1999, music education was only introduced to humanities-based high schools provided that, much like elementary school heads, principals considered music as a valuable component of students' education (in many high schools, however, music

³⁷ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php/articles/curriculum/c556+590++583/> (accessed July 25, 2009).

³⁸ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php?module=uploads&func=download&fileId=4828> (accessed July 25, 2009).

³⁹ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php?module=upload&func=download&fileId=5052> (accessed July 25, 2009).

education was not included in the curriculum). Even when music was part of the curriculum, though, the syllabus was concentrated on music history at the expense of performance classes or other music concepts.⁴⁰ Beginning with 2000, the study of music education was officially mandated for grades XI and XII in humanist high schools and for grades IX and X for the other two types of high schools (i.e., social sciences and computer-based schools). That same year, a new curriculum was also supposed to have been introduced to high school grades from IX through XII, although a curriculum for the latter grade has yet to become a reality.⁴¹ The thrust of this new high school curriculum is to help students experiment with musical concepts and to improve and broaden their musical and cultural horizons. In keeping with this goal, a greater emphasis is now placed on vocal and instrumental performances and historical fundamentals of music such as music history and musical forms (see Appendix C).⁴² As for grade XII curriculum, music teachers complain that they lack guidance in teaching music to these students and that all of their requests to school inspectorates or to the Ministry of Education for a curriculum are unanswered.⁴³ No official explanation has been offered for this oversight. Music teachers are thus compelled to create their own syllabi based on personal knowledge and access to information.⁴⁴ They may, however, use the curriculum for artistic education that had been introduced in 2006 for grades XI and XII for guidance when addressing general artistic culture (paintings, musical and cultural events).⁴⁵ But although this course is doubtless helpful in developing students' cultural awareness with respect to musical and other cultural phenomena currently taking place in Romania, the concern is that the lack

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ The website of the Ministry of Education does not offer any information with respect to this oversight.

⁴² <http://www.edu.ro/index.php?module=uploads&func=download&fileId=4555> (accessed July 9, 2009).

⁴³ <http://www.didactic.ro/forum/viewtopic.php?t=3064> (accessed July 12, 2009).

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php?module=uploads&func=download&fileId=4606> (accessed July 25, 2009).

of a music education curriculum for this grade level may suggest a devaluing of music education (more about this shortly). If so, then Romanian music teachers will need to develop and communicate to government rationales and arguments that can legitimize music education for all grade levels by revealing music's importance to children's growth and preparation for life in the Western democracies. Thus far, and aside from the aforementioned and somewhat outdated aesthetic philosophy, Romanian music educators need a philosophy that will convince government of the importance of music education's potential contributions to democratic culture. They will also have to draft textbooks that are meaningful to children's musical education.

Music Textbooks

Another outcome of the country's re-integration with Western democracies and of the re-conceptualization of the national music curriculum has been the introduction of numerous offers of music textbooks, including music materials (i.e., student notebooks and teacher guides) approved by the Ministry of Education.⁴⁶ This effort is worth mentioning as it may be seen as an expression of a democratic interest on the part of professors and teachers, although as indicated in the previous section, the curriculum remains relatively conservative in outlook. Nevertheless, the impressive offer of textbooks can be seen as representing greater diversity, creativity and choice which are characteristic of Western and European music educational institutions.⁴⁷ The music education textbook offer for 2009 – 2010 includes eight different textbooks for grade III, seven textbooks for grade IV, six for grade VI, seven for grade X, and one textbook for

⁴⁶ Vasile, *Metodica Educatiei Muzicale*, 148.

⁴⁷ Tudorica, *Dimensiunea Europeana a Invatamantului Romanesc*, 102-103.

grade I.⁴⁸ Some textbooks are new editions while others are older publications. Many of these textbooks are created by music university professors (e.g., Gabriela Munteanu) in collaboration with general school teachers (e.g., Valentin Moraru, Jean Lupu).⁴⁹ School music teachers can choose one textbook for each grade from among the impressive offer.

Music textbooks are designed for vocal music teaching at all levels and include definitions of musical concepts, examples of solfege exercises and song repertoires. A few of these textbooks, in accordance with curricular provisions, are modelled after the Orff instrumental method. Unfortunately, few schools have the financial means to purchase Orff or other instruments.⁵⁰ Other shortfalls of some of the textbooks reside in the lack of definitions appropriate for children and in the sophisticated musical examples suggested for listening and music appreciation classes. According to music teacher Silvia Muntean, criteria for textbook selection should include “clear and simple definitions, musical examples for solfege and an accompanying CD with musical examples and excerpts.”⁵¹ As was mentioned previously, this recommendation is consistent with government’s intention to include all children into the process of teaching and learning music.

⁴⁸ www.librarie.net.com (accessed May 5, 2009). Some of these textbooks are accompanied by CDs or audio cassettes, student notebooks (these include various melodic and rhythmic exercises) and teacher guides with respect to teaching methodologies. Some of these textbooks’ authors, such as Valentin Moraru and Anca Toader, have a long experience in creating teaching materials for students. For example, Anca Toader and Valentin Moraru, *Educatie Muzicala Clasa a X-a*. The English version: *Music Education for Grade X* (Bucuresti: Editura Didactica si Pedagogica, 2005). Anca Toader and Valentin Moraru, *Educatie Muzicala Clasa a III-a*. The English version: *Music Education for Grade III* (Bucuresti: Editura Teora, 2006). See also *Catalogul Manualelor Scolare Valabile in Anul Scolar 2009 – 2010*. The English version: *Catalogue of Textbooks Available for 2009 – 2010*. <http://www.edu.ro/index.php/articles/c878/> (accessed August 28, 2009).

⁴⁹ Dr. Gabriela Munteanu is currently vocal methods professor and chair of the Department for Musical Pedagogy, Faculty of Music, The Spiru Haret Music University, Bucharest. <http://www.spiruharet.ro/facultati/facultate.php?id=27> (accessed July 10, 2009).

⁵⁰ Munteanu, *Didactica Educatiei Muzicale*.

⁵¹ Personal correspondence with Silvia Muntean, former music education teacher at the general elementary school in Orastie, Hunedoara, Romania (May, 2009).

The abundance of music teaching materials may be a result of rapid changes in the leadership of the Ministry of Education and concomitant amendments to educational policies, including funding for textbook publishing. Currently, the Ministry of Education makes available 8 million Euros per year for textbook publication by small and inexpensive publishing houses.⁵² Textbook authors' quest for professional recognition has also contributed to the avalanche of alternative music textbooks, many of which, however, differ significantly with respect to definitions, methodology and presentation of topics and musical repertoires.⁵³ This is inconsistent with official regulations that all textbooks must respect the National Curriculum, implement the same objectives and contribute to develop similar competencies. These differences are said to render the teaching-learning process unnecessarily complex, hamper the fair evaluation of all students and generate administrative chaos. Although appreciative of the right to choose what they consider best for their students' musical development, some teachers find it difficult to select the "right" textbook and believe that the large textbook offer hampers the teaching-learning process, is "a needless expense on the part of the Ministry of Education" and is suggestive of a lack of political responsibility (choice is not always efficient or good).⁵⁴ It is also an inconvenience, particularly for students who transfer from other schools where different textbooks are in use, and thus also a problem for the teachers.⁵⁵

Quite probably, and as already suggested, the variety of textbooks may be

⁵² See also

http://www.sfin.ro/articol_13723/pregatirea_pentru_scoala_genereaza_o_piata_de_peste_300_de_milioane_de_euro.html (accessed August 28, 2009).

⁵³ Sorana Macovei, "Ministerul Educatiei: Nu Va Luati dupa Manuale." The English version: "The Ministry of Education: Do Not Take Textbooks as Guides to Teaching." <http://www.infonews.ro/article61091.html> (accessed August 28, 2009).

⁵⁴ Personal correspondence with Silvia Muntean, former music teacher at the general elementary school in Orastie, Hunedoara, Romania (May 2009).

⁵⁵ Ibid.

perceived as legitimizing the current democratic process and as a rejection of the common music textbook used during communism, which was said to be rigid and narrowly conceived.⁵⁶ The merit of alternative textbooks resides in their flexibility and stems from the new found belief in individualism and the corresponding realization that students may have different learning styles. New music teachers, however, need “a lot of critical sense” if they are to make intelligent and informed decisions about what teaching and learning are to be.⁵⁷ This also implies that they need to execute their democratic prerogatives by engaging in debates about educational reform and thereby becoming better informed so that they understand political, social, cultural and other changes that are currently shaping the terrain of music education in Romania. Participation in those professional and public debates can also provide music educators a voice in the shaping of public policy affecting them. Among topics about which music educators need to be informed and that this study seeks to address are the implications of neoliberalism and globalization on the country and its cultural sovereignty.

Neoliberalism and School Music Curriculum and Practice

i). Objectives and Competencies

The neoliberal educational agenda has severe implications for music education curriculum insomuch as the purpose of education becomes primarily economic and virtually synonymous with job training. Educational quality is accordingly assessed in market-related terms and using business management techniques and practices (i.e., performance indicators). Educational competition is also an important goal in that it is

⁵⁶ Vasile, *Didactica Educatiei Muzicale*.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

thought to drive up standards while achieving educational efficiency. The Romanian Minister of Education has recently addressed this perceived need to increase competition among schools by seeking to offer students more and purportedly better schooling choices so as to better prepare them for the global market.⁵⁸ One of the primary ways that government seeks to accomplish this goal is through a re-conceptualization of educational outcomes in terms of objectives (for grades I to VIII) and competencies (for grades IX to XII), as means of assessing schools' efficiency and students' knowledge based on supposed objective measurement. This policy, however, may be detrimental to children's musical education as school funding and functioning now depend on performance indicators that most often measure efficiency by numerical standards such as fixed graduation rates or rates of employment of graduating students, rather than by quality of education.⁵⁹ Another danger of this policy is that the emphasis on standardized testing may encourage the emergence of a "selective educational market" dominated by elite students and schools while the less advantaged (financially and socially) are narrowly served because they are relegated to the low-ranking schools where financial and other resources are scarce.⁶⁰ Yet another potential outcome of this policy is that it can undermine the subjective component of musical performances by assessing them against a rigid, standardized framework of student assessment and evaluation.⁶¹ As Michael Apple and others observe, it remains to be seen whether the use of formulas to generate

⁵⁸ Marilena Stancu, "Invatamantul Preuniversitar: Lungul Drum catre Reforma." The English version: "Pre-university Education: The Long Road to Reform," (December 12, 2009) <http://www.revista22.ro/invatamantul-preuniversitar-4187.html> (accessed July 13, 2009).

⁵⁹ This also happened in Ontario under the Harris government. See William Bruneau, "Now What Will They Do?," *CAUT Bulletin* (June 1996). See also Bruneau and Donald C. Savage, *Counting Out the Scholars: The Case Against Performance Indicators in Higher Education* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company Ltd., Publishers, 2002). See chapter on UK: "The United Kingdom: Assessment Without End . . . Amen."

⁶⁰ Apple, "Competition, Knowledge and the Loss of Educational Vision," 15.

⁶¹ Compton and Werner, eds., *The Global Assault on Teaching, Teachers and their Unions*, 11-25.

“evidence of performance” can work for music given the latter’s resistance to measurement.⁶²

For elementary and gymnasium music school students, achievement of musical concepts is conceived in terms of three sets of educational objectives. These are framework, reference and operational objectives. Framework objectives such as development of vocal and instrumental performance abilities and of musical perception and musical culture aim to form knowledge and develop skills that are generally similar for all subjects in one curricular area (e.g., for the curricular area *arts*, these objectives include cultivation of sensibility, imagination and creativity).⁶³ Reference objectives, which are derived from the framework objectives, are tasks to be achieved annually with respect to knowledge acquisition, behaviour and attitudes toward music and the arts (e.g., music appreciation). Operational objectives are quantifiable goals proposed for each class and are usually measured through evaluation procedures (e.g., singing a song learned in class, demonstrated knowledge of rhythmic formulas, dynamics, etc.).⁶⁴

For students in grades IX through XI, for whom there is a music education curriculum, music competencies are grafted onto a three-dimensional educational framework which includes common, general and specific competencies. The first type of competencies refer to achievement of knowledge and skills that allow for complex problem-solving involved when students learn to perceive the place and role of music education in the context of changing social, economic, political and educational values. Understanding the role of music education in current Romanian society is, however, only

⁶² Apple, “Competition, Knowledge and the Loss of Educational Vision,” 7.

⁶³ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php/articles/curriculum/c543+590++/> (accessed July 9, 2009). The development of musical culture refers to expansion of students’ knowledge of musical works and composers of the Western and Romanian canons.

⁶⁴ Munteanu, *Didactica Educatiei Muzicale*, 31.

a tendency recently observed in Romanian curricular provisions and government educational policy. There is no information to support as to whether this educational directive has been implemented in music education classes. Quite possibly, it may be an example of government paying lip service to the public in the form of populist policies much used in Romania, and particularly prior to elections.⁶⁵ If the reader may recall from chapter 4, the year 2000, when the music curriculum for grade XI was implemented, was also an electoral year that returned former President Ion Iliescu to the country's governance. As was the case with other elections, after investiture in power, the newly appointed officials did not always follow through on their electoral agendas. This may help explain why the intended emphasis on the place and role of music in society in school curriculum remains, like other reform projects, a promise and why Romanian music education continues to be in certain aspects skill-based and conservative.

As a result of officials' oversight with respect to implementing educational reforms, general competencies aim, much as before, to develop skills (solfege) and to enhance musical expression through personal creative and aesthetic decision-making. Specific competencies are directed toward knowledge attainment throughout one school year and are similar to gymnasium reference objectives (e.g., practical application of a learned concept of idea at the end of class).⁶⁶ The only difference between these two sets of educational goals (i.e., specific competencies and reference objectives) resides in the complexity of tasks presented to gymnasium and secondary students. For example, high school students are required to learn all of the keys of the tonal system, modal scales, complex metres and time signatures (e.g., 5/4, 7/8). They have also to be familiar with

⁶⁵ See Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern* and Teodorescu and Sultanescu, *Epoca Basescu*.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

various musical forms and to associate them with specific periods in music history (e.g., motets for Renaissance, preludes for Baroque), to differentiate between homophonic and polyphonic structures, to demonstrate understanding of stylistic traits, to criticize musical works and to be able to integrate music with other arts (see Appendix C).⁶⁷ Evaluation and assessment are based on how well students attain these concepts and knowledge.

ii). Evaluation and Assessment

As was the case with educational outcomes, assessment of students' academic accomplishments has also been re-conceptualized (as of 2000) in terms of performance outcomes and performance descriptors. The former indicate "the skills and knowledge" that students are required to perform at the end of an academic year or educational stage (e.g., to sing or perform works of certain degrees of difficulty).⁶⁸ The latter are statements that indicate "how students can demonstrate the knowledge and skills they acquired" (e.g., tests, performance jury).⁶⁹ General school student evaluation is based on four performance outcomes: 1) vocal singing in choir and small groups of children of a repertoire of 10 songs; 2) musical reading and personal accompaniment of songs with body movement; 3) performance of a repertoire of simple harmonic-polyphonic arrangements with simple accompaniment; and 4) emphasis of musical components through movement.⁷⁰ Additional assessment can be completed through in-class tests on

⁶⁷ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php?module=uploads&func=download&fileId=4556> (accessed July 9, 2009).

⁶⁸ "Fine Arts Performance Descriptors," 7. http://www.isbe.state.il.us/ils/fine_arts/pdf/descriptor_1-5.pdf (accessed July 25, 2009). Joseph P. Forgas, ed. *Handbook of Affect and Social Cognition* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001), 155. Researchers distinguish between performance outcomes and performance standards. The former refer to attainment of a designated performance level while the latter denote attainment of a minimum level of performance.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php/articles/6076> (accessed July 9, 2009).

theoretical notions.⁷¹ For students in vocational music high schools where training remains primarily skill-based, student assessment is made against performance descriptors that do not differ greatly from those used during communism (e.g., performance jury, music theory exams based on aural recognition of melodic intervals and chords).

According to the perspective of neoliberals, the introduction of performance descriptors in students' evaluation procedures to assess their knowledge and performance levels allows for comparative data that can help "consumers" make informed choices with respect to school efficiency and standards.⁷² Allowing students and parents to make informed choices, however, may only appear to give everyone equal or increased educational opportunities. In reality, this policy will more likely contribute to the ghettorization of some public schools as the parents will choose to send their children to the best performing schools. Most parents, and especially the poor, will not be able to avail of that option. Alternatively, the emphasis on competition and on achieving school efficiency at all costs may also "reduce the scope of collective action to improve the quality of education for all," meaning that schools may instead focus on the least common denominator or only on a few subject areas at the expense of educational breadth.⁷³ This is because school directors may be more concerned about attaining prescribed figures and training students for the market's needs than about supervising the teaching-learning process. This economic, consumer-driven vision for all education was furthered by a decision issued by the Ministry of Education in 2000 which increased teachers and school

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Aldea and Munteanu, *Didactica Educatiei Muzicale*, 52. See also Apple, "Creating Difference: Neo-liberalism, Neo-conservatism and the Politics of Educational Reform."

⁷³ Geoff Whitty quoted in Apple, "Competition, Knowledge and the Loss of Educational Vision," 8.

principals' power to design up to 30 percent of the general school curriculum (as was mentioned previously, until 2000 principals' power in determining curriculum was very limited).⁷⁴ This freedom, however, does not necessarily support the educational and democratic principle of music for all if school principals decide to include in curriculum more courses in math and science at the expense of music and the arts. In fact, this freedom may only serve the economic purpose of education as job training if schools only concentrate on science and on training students for the job market. Principals may also now choose to outsource music education programs to private business in order to save money, such as has happened in London, England, where a private corporation currently runs music programs in more than 100 state schools.⁷⁵ As with the British situation, this policy might be favoured by the Romanian government because it can help streamline costs and undermine teacher unions' power in negotiating salaries and other benefits for teachers. The danger is that government may also lose control over public music education which might be conceived as entertainment and corporate advertising (with computers and other technology, and financial assistance) through support of the best students in the form of scholarships.⁷⁶ Corporations wish to assist high achieving students because businesses are the main beneficiaries of the best trained human capital and because association with high achievers is good advertising.⁷⁷ The great majority of students who may be most in need do not receive any assistance because they cannot serve the financial or advertising purposes of these companies (rather the opposite).⁷⁸ In

⁷⁴ Fiszbein, "Decentralizing Education in transition Societies: Case Studies from Central and Eastern Europe," 102.

⁷⁵ See Woodford, "Can Democracy in Music Education Work," 14.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ "Dialog cu stakeholderii." <http://www.responsabilitatesociala.ro/dialoguri/dialog-cu-stakeholder-ii-despre-implicarea-comaniilor-in-educatie-7.html#continut> (accessed August 20, 2009).

⁷⁸ Ibid.

Romania, as in the United States, these partnerships between the corporate world and education systems mostly benefit business through corporate branding, tax reduction and educational sales (as was also mentioned in chapter 6).⁷⁹ Although there is as yet no information with respect to the intrusion of the corporate world into Romanian public music programs, the potential outsourcing of music education to private companies may impinge on the quality of the teaching-learning process. This is because education may be transformed into a number-driven competitive race for financial survival as schools seek to achieve excellence at all costs and narrowly understood as simply skill-building or the acquisition of knowledge.⁸⁰ Koza and others are wary of business/school partnerships because, more often than not, schools suffer and the quality of education declines as school principals, who “find themselves scouring barren cupboards for sustenance, . . . turn to alternative sources of revenue” such as the corporate world which prefers to invest in first-rate schools and music programs.⁸¹ Hence, principals are compelled to emphasize excellence in their schools, to support the best students, and to possibly cut back music and the arts if the latter do not contribute to high-quality education.⁸² Given the rapid changes to Romanian national curriculum and the on-going educational and other reforms, it might be expected that the survival of music education in general schools might depend on corporate support, as government continues to curb funding to music education programs. To date, and given the recent deregulation of education in Romania, the existence of music performance in music schools is largely supported by parents who are asked to contribute money so that the school can buy instruments and continue its

⁷⁹ Eklund-Koza, “A Realm Without Angels,” 73.

⁸⁰ Woodford, “Fear and Loathing in Music Education? Beyond Democracy and Music Education,” in *Action, Criticism and Theory for Music Education* 7, 1 (2008), 115.

http://act.maydaygroup.org.proxy1.lib.uwo.ca:2048/articlesWoodford7_1.pdf.

⁸¹ Eklund-Koza, “A Realm Without Angels,” 73.

⁸² Ibid.

operation.⁸³ As local school councils now have to raise funds by any means so that schools can survive, they are vulnerable to corporate takeover. The foregoing discussion of possible corporate intrusion into public music education illustrates why students and adults need to have their consciousness raised with respect to potential issues affecting schooling. If nothing else, this suggests that the Romanian curriculum should develop students' critical thinking.

Shortfalls of the National Music Curriculum

i). The Need for Critical Awareness as a Curricular Goal

Unfortunately, the emphasis on skill development and on performance achievement alone (musical and/or general), divorced from the social and cultural contexts of music education cannot fully prepare students for life beyond music and school.⁸⁴ Children need to develop social awareness and the ability to think critically about political, social, cultural and musical phenomena currently at work in Romanian society so they can develop an appreciation of music's many uses and abuse. One would hope that school music would help to raise students' consciousness with respect to, for example, music's ubiquity, its role in the construction of identity, in entertainment and as a tool of manipulation and control. At the same time, schools should teach for musical civility so that students realize that, for example, it is inappropriate for them to inflict their music onto others. The aforementioned aims of general high school musical education may help to support the call for the development of critical awareness, as

⁸³ Raluca Munteanu, "Necazuri in Invamantul Muzical din Romania." The English version: "Problems of the Musical Education System in Romania," *Observer Cultural* (December, 2005). http://www.observatorcultural.ro/Necazuri-in-invamantul-muzical-din-Romania*articleID_14451-articles_details.html (accessed August 29, 2009).

⁸⁴ Bowman, "'Pop' Goes . . . ? Taking Popular Music Seriously."

students are supposed to develop a) understanding of the contribution of music education to the growth of cultural tradition, b) critical thinking through listening to and analyzing musical works (although as currently described in terms of teaching students to analyze musical structure apart from its social and political contexts, this conception of critical thinking is a weak one); c) the ability to reflect on the value and role of music in the life of the individual and society; and d) the capacity to expand their ability to transfer aesthetic values into social life as a means of resisting kitsch.⁸⁵ While all of these goals might simply be government rhetoric, they might also be in response to the invasion of popular music genres into Romanian society after 1989 and the observed deleterious effects of some popular music genres (e.g., rap and the pan-Balkan) on students' behaviour, including violence (e.g., disregard for teachers, physical and verbal aggression), drug addiction and rebellion against conventional school and social norms.⁸⁶ Although the escalating rate of violent behaviour in schools has prompted former Minister of Romanian Education, Calin Popescu-Tariceanu, to announce implementation of a set of measures aiming to curb violence and to restrict the broadcasting of popular music programs on television, little has been done because, as with other reform acts, governmental decisions are not clearly delineated and therefore remain promises.⁸⁷ As Theodor Adorno, Lucy Green and others long ago observed, most children identify with popular music genres and performers and learn many of their beliefs and values through

⁸⁵ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php/articles/6076> (accessed July 9, 2009).

⁸⁶ Florin Antonescu, "Violenta, o Banalitate in Orarul Scolilor." The English version: "Violence, a Banality in Schools' Timetables." http://www.tribunainvatamantului.ro/d_art.php?id=249&cat=28 (accessed May 18, 2009).

⁸⁷ http://www.gov.ro/violenta-in-scoli-este-un-fenomen-din-ce-in-ce-mai-preocupant-si-trebuie-luate-masuri-pentru-a-fi-tinuta-sub-control-a-declarat-premierul-calin_11a64114.html (accessed August 21, 2009). No explanation is available with respect to the content and type of these measures.

popular and not high culture.⁸⁸ For these reasons, because “much of [popular music] is of dubious quality” and because students need to be not just informed of popular music’s social value but also to learn how to discriminate between the “life-affirmative” and the malignant, popular music should be subjected to serious scrutiny in school.⁸⁹ Students’ violent and rebellious behaviour may, in time, prompt music teachers, professors and Romanian musicologists to undertake serious analyses of popular music in schools in order to help mitigate the perceived negative impact of some of popular music genres on children’s musical and social development. Like Bowman and others, Benjamin Barber, in his book, *Jihad vs McWorld* also calls for “sharp musicological investigations” of popular music and its uses by corporations to undermine national cultures and identities.⁹⁰ This, too, is something that children should learn about in schools as it might help them to make informed choices with respect to their musical preferences. It may also help them to appreciate the music of other cultures that are now part of Romania’s cultural tapestry (Arabs, Chinese and Turks), particularly as government purportedly encourages understanding and support of Romania’s cultural diversity.

ii). Music Multiculturalism—an Oversight of Romanian Educational Authorities?

Thus far, and as a reflection of government efforts to democratize the national music education system, Romanian curricular policies also acknowledge the importance of ensuring educational equity in times of changing demographics and immigration

⁸⁸ Green, *Music, Informal Learning and the School*. See also Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, translated by John Cumming (New York: Herder and Herder, 1972).

⁸⁹ Bowman, “‘Pop’ Goes . . . ? Taking Popular Music Seriously,” 40. See also Woodford, *Democracy and Music Education*, 19.

⁹⁰ Barber, *Jihad vs McWorld*, 111.

patterns.⁹¹ However, despite reassuring rhetoric and the introduction of a course on educating for cultural diversity that focuses on linguistic, religious and cultural dimensions in elementary and secondary school curricula, the promotion of a multicultural music education is not a primary concern of the Romanian government and Ministry of Education. An important exception, however, is made with respect to the inclusion of Hungarian and German cultures and music in public school curricula in Transylvania, but these minorities have been an integral part of Romanian culture since at least the seventeenth-century and the rule of the Habsburgs.⁹²

The lack of acknowledgement and representation of musical multiculturalism in the curriculum may be a result of bureaucratic sluggishness or just an oversight that will eventually be remedied as government continues to convert the country from communism to capitalism. It may also, however, show a possible devaluing of some music in the general school curricula in favour of science and math, as the latter are seen by neoliberals as more important to the labour market.⁹³ Curiously enough, given neoliberalism's commitment to open trade, privatization and laissez-faire democracy, this lack of an educational policy favouring musical multiculturalism is by no means unusual for governments embracing neoliberal values (in that neoliberal supporters are often suspicious of multicultural policies – see, for example, in the United States, Patrick Buchanan's book, *State of Emergency: The Third World Invasion and Conquest of*

⁹¹ <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/54/63/2488031.pdf>, 5 (accessed July 11, 2009).

⁹² See Castellan, *A History of the Romanians*.

⁹³ See “Desi isi Pune Semnatura pe Programe, Pentru Adomnitei nu Exista Disciplina Educatie Muzicala.”

America).⁹⁴ More likely, in Romania's case, however, it may be simply an oversight as the country continues to experiment with cultural and educational reforms.⁹⁵

Another possible explanation for the lack of representation of other cultures in Romanian music education, including music university curricula, is the unremitting emphasis on the Western classical canon and on Romanian folk and classical works and despite stated commitment to cultural diversity. This, too, is inconsistent with the economic purpose of music education underlined by government educational rhetoric and its commitment to open trade and free markets. A classically-based education cannot easily be aligned with the on-going developments of society, the economy, politics and business in general, including the needs of the popular music industry. There are also fewer employment opportunities in classical music. Moreover, a classically-based education is a sign of conservative attitudes (reminiscent of the communist era) of those governing the country and its education system.

In England during the rule of the conservative government of John Major (1990 – 1997) in the early 1990s, for example, early drafts of the national music education curriculum were extensively based on the Western musical canon at the expense of popular and World music genres. The emphasis on a conservative music curriculum ignored the fact that students were estranged from the Western classical masterpieces and the authoritative figure of the music teacher.⁹⁶ Concerned about the lack of popular music representation in school curriculum, for example, critics called for its inclusion in school

⁹⁴ Patrick Joseph Buchanan, *State of Emergency: The Third World Invasion and Conquest of America* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books/St. Martin's Press, 2006).

⁹⁵ See Nicholas C. Burbules and Carlos Alberto Torres, *Globalization and Education: Critical Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2000) and Enrique (Henry) T. Trueba and Lilia I. Bartolomé, eds., *Immigrant Voices: In Search of Educational Equity* (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000).

⁹⁶ John Shepherd and Graham Vulliamy, "The Struggle for Culture: a Sociological Case Study of the Development of a National Music Curriculum," *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 15, 1 (1994), 28.

music curriculum as a means of making music classes “more relevant to the cultural capital that students brought with them to the classroom” while also calling for a change in the role of the teacher from that of an authority figure to a guide and facilitator of learning.⁹⁷ Critics further argued that students’ knowledge of popular music concepts needed to be assessed according to different criteria than those applied to the evaluation of the Western classical tradition.⁹⁸ In response, Prime Minister Major’s cabinet called for a return to “time-proven” standards as a means to reverse the deleterious effects of the 1960s and to improve the quality of teaching and learning. In keeping with this goal, Major’s educational policy eventually led to the introduction of attainment targets (sets of objectives) for each education stage as a means of increasing school efficiency through competition.⁹⁹

Despite the wariness of some conservative politicians for the inclusion of multiculturalism and popular music in the curriculum in the 1980s and 1990s, the English National Curriculum was eventually revised to include them. The English government came to recognize that musical multiculturalism contributed to creating tolerant and democratic citizens who can work with diversity. Recently, however, there has been a shift from this concept to one that considers multiculturalism as an intentional use of diversity for competitive benefits in the global market place.¹⁰⁰ This re-conceptualized goal and understanding of musical multiculturalism is favoured by neoliberals and advocates of globalization who conceive the education system as training individuals to

⁹⁷ Ibid, 29.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 29-30. Currently, popular music is part of school curriculum in England.

¹⁰⁰ Katharyne Mitchell, “Educating the National Citizen in Neoliberal Times: From the Multicultural Self to the Strategic Cosmopolitan,” *Transaction of the Institute of British Geographers* 28, 4 (December, 2003), 387.

achieve performance in ever changing situations of global competition.¹⁰¹ In Romania, however, the concept of multiculturalism in music education is antiquated if it exists at all while, as happened in John Major's England, the classics continue to be favoured because they are considered universal standards that are more amenable to evaluation and assessment. Nevertheless, there are signs that multiculturalism is entering the Romanian government rhetoric of encouraging cultural diversity. It is curious, thus, that multiculturalism does not receive more consideration in Romanian music education, especially given recent neoliberal pressure on the national education system in terms of re-conceptualization of education as job training and emphasis on competition as a means of improving schooling and of providing disadvantaged students (some of whom may be immigrants) with more opportunities for improvement.

The claim that competition might offer disadvantaged children opportunities for educational development and enhance schools' efficiency "may [however] be a false hope" because neoliberal policies involving "market solutions may actually serve to reproduce—not subvert—traditional hierarchies of class and race" and may increase—not reduce—social inequalities.¹⁰² As the poor continue to get poorer and the rich wealthier, educational opportunities for the former may become fewer while the more advantaged students will continue to thrive. The development of individual capacities, after all, is dependent upon social and economic means. High achieving students may also do well in school competitions and festivals, and despite the fact that these events are supposed to promote equal opportunities for all students. The claim that competitions support meritocracy or that achievement is based on personal abilities may again be "a false

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 388.

¹⁰² Apple, "Competition, Knowledge, and the Loss of Educational Vision," 8.

hope.”¹⁰³ Yet, even EU education officials now consider training of the best students in competitions and festivals as socially desirable for the reason that the EU will benefit from the best trained human capital.¹⁰⁴ Efforts are also being contemplated, however, to improve the educational environment for rural students so that they can effectively compete with their urban counterparts (more about this shortly).

Competitive Contests

Competitive festivals among music schools (and high schools) and in nationwide academic contests (known as *Olimpiade*) have been maintained just as they were during communism. Students’ school training continues to be tested in local, regional and national competitions which reflect curricular provisions (e.g., these competitions include Romanian folk songs and composers of the Western canon). The only significant change to the structure of these contests and festivals since the advent of democracy has been the ideological framework. These contests are now freed from their former propagandistic, socialist function. Currently, however, these events’ operation is consistent with neoliberalism’s emphasis on competitiveness as a means of increasing economic growth given that through competitions the best performers are selected. Competitions are becoming highly popular, as there are incentives to student participants and more benefits such as free trips for teachers.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Hatos, *Sociologia Educatiei*, 110.

¹⁰⁴ “Masuri Educationale Specifice pentru Promovarea Tuturor Formelor de Excelenta in Scolile din Europa.” The English version: “Specific Educational Measures for the Promotion of All Forms of Excellence in European Schools” (June, 2006).
2006http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/ressources/eurydice/pdf/0_integral/082RO.pdf (accessed August 29, 2009).

¹⁰⁵ <http://isj.vs.edu.ro/download/regulament%20muz..pdf> (accessed July 10, 2009),
<http://www.isjtr.ro/downloads/Te-Deum2009/Regulament%20Tedeum2009.pdf> (accessed July 10, 2009).

Thus far, however, and as already alluded to, it is mostly urban students who participate in these contests and festivals, although the rural student population is significantly increasing thanks to efforts by the government and World Bank. The Romanian government and the World Bank combined forces in January 2005 to address the restructuring and revitalizing of the education system in rural areas, aiming to improve infrastructure (schools and facilities) and to provide more attractive incentives (e.g., higher salaries or bonuses) for educators to teach in rural schools.¹⁰⁶ However, and despite the government's efforts, the number of teachers, including music teachers, in public rural schools has not significantly increased.¹⁰⁷ Reasons for this shortfall in rural music teachers include a continuing lack of modern facilities such as restrooms (80 percent of rural schools have antiquated washrooms) and heating, shortage of teaching materials, lack of technological equipment and poor transportation infrastructure. As rural schools are fewer in number and some even remotely placed in relation to many villages, students need between one and two hours to get to school. In many villages there are no school buses, therefore many parents use personal cars or horse wagons to bring their children to school.¹⁰⁸ In some ways, then, the post-revolutionary Romanian society offers fewer educational opportunities for rural students than under communism, when the government helped village students (with money and clothes) to take part in competitions.¹⁰⁹ It was all propaganda, but for a period of time the system served the less advantaged. Despite the clamoured efforts that are being made toward improving the educational environment for rural students so that they can have equal opportunities with

¹⁰⁶ <http://proiecte.pmu.ro/web/guest/pir> (accessed July 10, 2009). See also <http://isjtl.edu.ro/fisiere/UJIP/prezentare%20proiect%20runda%202.ppt#8> (accessed July 10, 2009).

¹⁰⁷ Bogdan Voicu, *Sustenabilitatea Descentralizarii si Marketizarii Invatamantului Rural*, 10. <http://www.iccv.ro/oldiccv/romana/revista/rcalvit/pdf/cv2000.1-4.a03.pdf> (accessed July 10, 2009).

¹⁰⁸ Stancu, "Invatamantul Preuniversitar: Lungul Drum catre Reforma."

¹⁰⁹ See *A History of the National University of Music in Romania*.

urban students and enhance their school education in school contests and competitions, these reforms, like others, are still in a project phase. Education, and noticeably music education in rural schools, is provided by generalist or undereducated teachers (i.e., high school graduates unable to attend university courses) and in conditions that are unlikely to produce excellence.¹¹⁰ The fact that music universities prepare more performers than music educators through the continuous emphasis on skill training may also contribute to music teachers' reluctance to teach in village schools. This is ironic considering that performance jobs are scarce.

2) Music University Curriculum and Practice

At the music university level, changes to policy and institutional structure brought about by the introduction of democracy and Romania's transformation from communism to a market capitalist society have perhaps been more numerous and critical than in the general school system. One major change in institutional structure is that university education is no longer entirely free as had been the case during communism. Tuition fees have been introduced for the majority of students whose marks cannot secure state-supported funding.¹¹¹ The latter is only available to the best students; this is to be expected given that privileged students are likely to do well and be rewarded.

Other major changes implemented to music universities' institutional structure include the re-introduction of previously banned departments such as that of Church Music (with courses in byzantinology and palaeontology) and the establishment of new courses in artistic management and sociology at the National University of Music in

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ www.unmb.ro (accessed August 4, 2009).

Bucharest, for example. These courses were re-instituted to offer more educational opportunities to formerly marginalized groups such as priests and music religion teachers in theological seminaries.¹¹²

Popular music and jazz studies also received some consideration on the part of authorities and university music professors. However, and in keeping with the aforementioned conservative trademark of Romanian university education, the syllabi still underpin former practices such as the study of harmonic relationships at the expense of an analysis of the social and political contexts that these songs naturally illustrate. As already mentioned in this chapter when addressing the reaction of music teachers to the inclusion of popular music in the general school curriculum, university professors also seem reluctant to consider a comprehensive study of popular music genres because of their assumed low-brow quality.¹¹³ It should come as no surprise, then, that given academics' wariness of the study of popular music and their influence on determining school curriculum (some of these academics are in the music education curriculum committee mentioned at the outset of this chapter), there is little concern for the inclusion and study of popular music in schools. As already mentioned, analysis of popular music genres should be seriously approached by university professors if Romania aspires to democracy and if its professors are to help students adjust to the new world, particularly following the country's admission to the EU and the signing of the Bologna Declaration in 1999. As principles of the Bologna Declaration continue to be implemented at the level of high education policy and structure, it can be expected that popular music genres might receive the attention they warrant in schools and universities.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ See Sandu-Dediu, *Muzica Romaneasca* and Radulescu, *Peisaje Muzicale in Romania Secolului XX*.

Implications of the Bologna Declaration for Romanian Higher Music Education

Beginning in 2005 and in compliance with the Bologna Declaration provisions for the realization of a common higher education space in Europe, Romanian undergraduate music education was restructured to four years for composition, musicology, choral and orchestral conducting and three years for music education studies. That same year, graduate programs in contemporary music education and popular music studies for master's and Ph.D. students were added. There are currently three cycles of studies: undergraduate education, master's (two years) and doctorate programs (between three to five years). Courses offered by the Department of Pedagogy within the Faculty of Composition, Musicology and Musical Pedagogy of the National University of Music in Bucharest include, as before, music theory, psychology, pedagogy, didactic of specialty, piano reduction of vocal and instrumental works, evolution of consonance concepts in the main stylistic epochs, harmony, counterpoint, conducting and the study of an instrument.¹¹⁴ Courses in piano technology by string or wind instrumentalists are optional. This author, however, could find no information with respect to how course contents were restructured to meet the reduction in the duration of undergraduate education programs. The website of the National University of Music in Bucharest reveals, though, that students who wish to complete their education can continue their studies at the master's level. For example, master's students in the Faculty of Pedagogy can choose to specialize in Contemporary Music Education, thus far the only program offered for music education students at this level.¹¹⁵ Unfortunately, the website of the National University of Music in Bucharest does not provide more information with respect to the type and content of

¹¹⁴ <http://www.unmb.ro/fcmpm/unlimitpages.asp?id=257&zone=fcmpm> (accessed May 8, 2009).

¹¹⁵ <http://fim.unmb.ro/uploads/metodologia%20admitere%20master%20%20fim.pdf> (accessed July 13, 2009). No information is available with respect to course content.

courses offered within the aforementioned program. It indicates, however, that similar to other post-university programs in Western universities, both master's and doctoral programs in music education in Romanian higher education institutions are research-based.¹¹⁶

There are two types of doctoral programs offered by the National University of Music in Bucharest: scientific and so-called professional. The former, which is to a certain extent the equivalent of the North-American Ph.D., concentrates on more theoretical notions of music and is more relevant to music education students than the so-called professional program.¹¹⁷ The latter doctoral program, like the North-American Doctor of Musical Art (DMA) focuses on performance.¹¹⁸ Each program consists of two terms of studies followed by an exam and four terms of research.¹¹⁹ Development of critical thinking and the capacity to generate, synthesize and evaluate new ideas through personal work and performance are core components of doctoral programs. Similar to North-American doctoral programs, the aim of these studies is to contribute to the development of national and international musical values.¹²⁰

Upon graduation, doctoral students receive a Doctorate in Music with various specializations, depending on the preferred program of study. For the scientific type of doctoral studies, specializations include Musicology, Music History, Aesthetics, Ethnomusicology, Musical Stylistics, Music Theory and Byzantinology, but not Music Education. The professional type includes Theory of Musical Performance and Composition. As a result of the Bologna Declaration, doctoral programs can also be

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ <http://www.music.uwo.ca/programs/PhDProgram.html> (accessed August 13, 2009).

¹¹⁸ <http://fim.unmb.ro/uploads/regulament%20doctorat.pdf> (accessed July 13, 2009).

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid. See also Axelrod, *Values in Conflict*.

offered in collaboration with other European universities.¹²¹

Another important outcome of Europeanization processes for the Romanian music education system is an enhanced cooperation with international institutions to allow greater mobility for students within the EU through recognition of diplomas, common degree criteria and equivalency of university education throughout EU member countries.¹²² In keeping with these efforts, several mutual international programs were established to allow Romanian students to study abroad. Among these programmes is the Socrates-Erasmus program which was initiated in 2000 by the Romanian Ministry of Education in collaboration with other European Ministries of Education as an international exchange program.¹²³ Its main objectives include better access to European educational resources and promotion of equality of opportunity for all members of the EU, improvement in language learning, promotion of cooperation and mobility for students and teachers, and equalisation of diplomas and qualifications within the EU.¹²⁴ Since its foundation, more than one hundred students from the National University of Music in Bucharest have participated in this program.¹²⁵ Selection for participation in the program is based on music exams (depending on specialty) at both universities (in Romania and abroad) and proficiency in the language of the exchange country.¹²⁶ The duration of the program is from one term to one academic year. Music university professors wishing to improve their teaching methods and to contribute to the development of the university's curricula are also encouraged to participate in this program. These exchanges are

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Tudorica, *Dimensiunea Europeana a Invatamantului Romanesc..*

¹²³ www.wes.org. (World Education News and Reviews). See 2001-2001 *Calendar of the National University of Music in Bucharest*.

¹²⁴ <http://www.unmb.ro/unlimitpages.asp?id=30&zone=relint> (accessed March 12, 2009).

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

increasingly valuable to the Romanian music education system in that they not only allow for improvements in teaching methods, curriculum, teaching materials and in the drafting and designing of textbooks but also connect Romanian education to the wider educational and research developments in the Western academic world.¹²⁷ These musical and cultural exchanges are further intended to ensure that EU member countries develop an enhanced understanding of Europe's cultural diversity and help participants acquire professional and social skills necessary in seeking employment as teachers or for other professions within the Union.

Among implications of the implementation of the policy on student mobility, and similar to university education in general (see chapter 6), was the introduction of the European Credit Transfer System to offer more opportunities for students and university graduates to study and work within the EU and diploma and degree accreditation among members of the Union. The increased mobility of students and intellectuals has unfortunately also contributed to a brain drain phenomenon that is affecting Romanian and its music education system. Many graduates have of late been emigrating to the EU and North-America in search of better job opportunities and living standards.¹²⁸ This exodus of professionals has contributed to a decrease in the quality of music teaching as many vacant teaching positions in both general and music schools and music high schools

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Damme, "Higher Education in the Age of Globalization," in Uvalic-Trumbic, *Globalization and the Market in Higher Education*, 22-23. See www.saintbartholomew.org (accessed May 10, 2009). Bogdan Minut is currently director of music at the St. Bartholomew Catholic Parish in Columbus, Indiana. Alina Rotaru is currently in Germany, performing in various music ensembles. Pianist Toma Popovici is touring Europe and North America. The following professors are currently in Canada: Dora Cojocaru teaches part-time at McGill University in Montreal. <http://www.musiccentre.ca/influences/composer.cfm?authpeopleid=60023&themeid=3> (accessed May 10, 2009). Naina Jinga is currently in London, Ontario where she teaches piano. Other Romanian musicians in the West are soprano Cristina Radu, violinist Mihaela Martin, conductor and violinist Christian Badea. See <http://www.romaniaculturala.ro/articol.php?cod=10194> (accessed August 4, 2009).

have had to be filled with inadequately trained teachers (i.e., lacking university degrees).¹²⁹ Further, it is doubtful that many of the immigrant intellectuals will find the time or interest to contribute their knowledge or expertise to the development of the musical system of their homeland. Several of these musicians and intellectuals, when returning to Romania to perform and connect with music students and professors, have observed that, compared to the “excellent music education” from the communist period, current standards are lower and in decline (more about this shortly).¹³⁰ This is to be expected given the opening of universities to more people and the pervasiveness of neoliberal policies in Romania and throughout the Western world with their emphases on job training and marketable positions in education and society at the expense of the arts and humanities.¹³¹

Neoliberal Influences on Higher Music Education

As with general education, the neoliberal education agenda is strongly affecting higher education institutions, especially with respect to government deregulation and funding cuts.¹³² These are consequences of globalization on Romanian music education as the government, in seeking to comply with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank conditionality regimen, has had to cut funds to the public sector while encouraging privatization. As during the latter part of the communist period, when the

¹²⁹ Eugen Tomiuc, “Romania: Class Struggles – Whiz Kids Can’t Solve Education System’s Problems.” www.rferl.org/articleprintview/1100661.html (accessed March 10, 2009). Tomiuc argues that the poor quality of education in Romanian schools cannot be remedied by a small elite of students who obtain prizes at international Olimpiads. He contends that this selective group of students is far from demonstrating that Romanian education is improving in quality.

¹³⁰ Cristina Sarbu, “Interviu cu Mihaela Martin,” *Cuvantul* 4 (2008). <http://www.romaniaculturala.ro/articol.php?cod=10194> (accessed August 4, 2009).

¹³¹ See Apple, “Competition, Knowledge and the Loss of Educational Vision.”

¹³² See Fiszbein, *Decentralizing Education in Transition Societies*.

Romanian public education system suffered from severe funding cuts under President Ceausescu, Romania is once again experiencing deep cuts to school and university funding. In order to continue functioning, music universities are now dependent on enrolment numbers (see chapter 6) and on the revenue brought by the introduction of tuition fees.¹³³ Unfortunately, these policies are in some ways damaging to the quality of education in these institutions in that they have had to lower admission standards so as to attract sufficient numbers of fee-paying students.¹³⁴ This relaxation of standards and the subsequent poorer quality of musical training may have also discouraged some students from choosing a career in music and have persuaded some music teachers to renounce their careers for better financially and professionally rewarding positions.¹³⁵ In 2000, the number of teachers, including music teachers, declined by 11 per cent and continues to decrease as the latter are more discouraged by lack of equipment, a training that does not prepare them for teaching in real life (see shortly about music teacher training programs) and low salaries.¹³⁶ Currently, a beginner teacher earns only half the average national monthly wage and kindergarten educators earn even less.¹³⁷ Not only are the salaries low,

¹³³ Ion M. Popescu, "Radiografia la Rece a Invatamantului." The English version: "A True Radiography of [Romanian] Education." <http://www.ziua.ro/news.php?data=2008-03-10&id=4376> (accessed July 24, 2009).

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ "Muzica Crizei 2." The English version: "The Music of Crisis." www.patratosu.wordpress.com/2007/08/18/muzica-crizei-2 (accessed June 12, 2009). See also http://www.realitatea.net/un-profesor-debutant-castiga-in-romania-un-salariu-lunar-de-doua-ori-mai-mic-decat-venitul-mediu-national_315602.html (accessed August 15, 2009).

¹³⁶ *Progress Towards the Lisbon Objectives in Education and Training: Indicators and Benchmarks*, 2008. A project by the Commission of the European Communities, 43. No information with respect to statistics of music teachers as a percentage of the total number of teachers is available. See also "Analiza: Universitatile Romanesti Ofera Cursuri Inutile, Metode de Predare Invechite si Multa Teorie." The English version: "Analysis: Romanian Universities Offer Useless Courses, Outdated Teaching Methods While Focusing on Theory," (September 28, 2008). <http://www.ziua.ro/news.php?data=2008-09-27&id=13528> (accessed August 13, 2009).

¹³⁷ "Un Profesor Debutant Castiga in Romania un Salariu Lunar De doua ori mai mic decat Venitul Mediu National." The English version: "A Beginner Teacher Earns in Romania a Monthly Salary Twice Less Than the Average Wage." http://www.realitatea.net/un-profesor-debutant-castiga-in-romania-un-salariu-lunar-de-doua-ori-mai-mic-decat-venitul-mediu-national_315602.html (accessed August 14, 2009).

but recently (July 2009) the Minister of Education, Ecaterina Andronescu, mandated school inspectorates throughout the country to reduce the number of supply teachers (holders of high school and university degree diplomas) by 20,000 and to close a number of schools, some of which might be music schools.¹³⁸ This measure may have already affected music student enrolment at the National University of Music, Faculty of Pedagogy where, for the academic year 2009-2010, only 39 students registered as opposed to 70 in 2003.¹³⁹ A similar decline in music educators has been observed throughout the Western world where fewer students are deciding to pursue careers in music education.¹⁴⁰

The perceived decrease in the number of music students and teachers throughout the Western world and in Romania is attributed by some critics to neoliberals' devaluing of the arts and their distrust of musicians and artists who are sometimes described as not doing real work. The arts are wrongly considered frills that do not contribute to economic growth, this despite the fact that music is a vast global industry and market.¹⁴¹ This devaluing of music and the arts may in some respects be attributable to a puritan streak in social conservatives within the neoliberal camp. Puritans and Calvinists believe in intellect over feeling and emotion (i.e., the puritan Calvinist personality is "thoughtful,

¹³⁸ "Ecaterina Andronescu: Nu Dam Afara Profesorii! Vor fi Afectati doar Suplinitorii Necalificati." The English version: "Ecaterina Andronescu [Minister of Education]: We will not Fire Teachers! Only Supply Teachers Without a University Diploma will be Affected." http://www.realitatea.net/ecaterina-andronescu-nu-dam-afara-profesori-vor-fi-afectati-doar-suplinitorii-necalificati_573697.html (accessed August, 2009).

¹³⁹ www.unmb.ro (accessed August 4, 2009). Axelrod, *Values in Conflict*, 66. In Ontario, Canada, too, more and more students choose to pursue degrees in technical studies with only 3 per cent favouring a university degree in the arts because "'lots of on-the-job training' would serve [them] better in the economy of the future."

¹⁴⁰ David J. Teachout, "Incentives and Barriers for Potential Music Teacher Education Doctoral Students," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 52, 3 (Autumn 2004), 235. See also Clifford K. Madsen and Carl B. Hancock, "Support for Music Education: A Case Study of Issues Concerning Teacher Retention and Attrition," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 50, 1 (Spring 2002), 8.

¹⁴¹ Richard Peet and Elaine Hartwick, *Theories of Development: Contentions, Arguments, Alternatives*, 2nd ed. (New York: Guilford Press, 2009), 109. See also Apple, "Competition, Knowledge, and the Loss of Educational Vision," 3.

judgemental, introspective and nonemotional”).¹⁴² Calvinists also seek “to succeed economically, to assure themselves that they were among the elect destined for eternal bliss rather than everlasting pain.”¹⁴³ Music and the arts are often viewed as suspect owing to their appeal to emotion and the senses (although this is to some extent a misconception). As Reimer explains, music involves intelligence and feeling.¹⁴⁴ Educational Psychologist Howard Gardner even goes so far as to consider music as a form of intelligence onto itself.¹⁴⁵

In keeping with the neoliberal view, no less than one year ago (2008), former Romanian Minister of Education Cristian Adomnitei asserted that music education is not a worthy school subject to be part of the government’s educational reform agenda.¹⁴⁶ This kind of thinking demoralizes music teachers and thereby negatively affects the quality of music education.¹⁴⁷ This is especially the case in those music schools where new teachers lack a university degree, are less well-paid than university graduates, are hired on a temporary basis (i.e., on a limited-duties contract) and are less motivated to contribute to the musical development of their students because they are constantly in fear of dismissal from their teaching positions. Although this policy of favouring teachers with university degrees is doubtless beneficial to the “health” of the education system, there is a danger that teacher unions’ efforts to maintain adequate salaries for permanent teachers can be undermined as limited-term and part-time teachers may yield to “new government

¹⁴² Peet and Hartwick, *Theories of Development*, 109.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Reimer, *A Philosophy of Music Education*.

¹⁴⁵ Howard Gardner, *Intelligence Reframed: Multiple Intelligences for the 21st Century* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1999).

¹⁴⁶ “Desi isi Pune Semnatura pe Programe, Pentru Adomnitei nu Exista Disciplina Educatie Muzicala.”

¹⁴⁷ Constantinescu, “Overview of Music Teacher Training System in Romania.”

arrangements” and to accept lower wages in order to maintain their jobs.¹⁴⁸

It thus seems reasonable to propose that the Romanian government does not really believe in the social value of music education.¹⁴⁹ Nor does it appear that the President of the Federation of Free Unions in Education (see footnote) supports the importance of music education to the development of children.¹⁵⁰ As recently as March 2009, this individual has publicly stated that music and drawing should be removed from the high school curriculum on grounds of increased academic load.¹⁵¹ This curious statement conflicts with the aforementioned government expansion of music education to all high school grades and specializations. This position, however, may be consistent with the neoconservative agenda for education (neoconservatives and neoliberals share many social values) that calls for a return to “higher standards and common culture” which can provide the educational conditions for “increasing international competitiveness, profit and discipline.”¹⁵² This renewed interest in a common culture may help explain the emphasis of Romanian music teachers on the Western classical canon which, although diverse, can provide the students with a common cultural ground and, perhaps, with a

¹⁴⁸ Susan L. Robertson, “‘Remaking the World’: Neoliberalism and the Transformation of Education and Teachers’ Labour,” in Compton and Weiner, eds., *The Global Assault on Teaching, Teachers, and Their Unions*, 20.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ “FSLI: Religia sa fie Optionala, Muzica si Desenul sa Dispara de la Liceu.” The English version: “The Federation of Free Unions in Education: Religion to be Optional, Music and Drawing to be Removed from the High School Curriculum.” <http://www.mediafax.ro/social/fsli-religia-sa-fie-optionala-muzica-si-desenul-sa-dispara-de-la-liceu.html?1688:4037344>. See also <http://www.fsli.ro/index.php?pg=istoric.php> (accessed August 13, 2009). This Federation was founded in 1990 and includes all categories of teachers (and professors) from all levels of the national education system. At the time of its foundation, the Federation consisted of 9 unions and 14,000 members. Currently, the Federation continues to include all categories of teachers and professors of all levels of the education system but the number of unions has increased to 58 while its members amount to 184,862. The Federation collaborates with government to draft regulatory policies for the functioning and operation of the national education system.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Apple, “Competition, Knowledge and the Loss of Educational Vision,” 4.

shared set of values.¹⁵³ The irony is that while music and art can contribute to improve and enhance the consolidation of this common culture that many neoconservative and neoliberals embrace, they are undermining their social and cultural agenda by eliminating the arts from school curricula.

Government's emphasis on education for job training and marketable skills may be a result of a re-conceptualization of the requirements of the education market in terms of "commercially oriented schooling" (e.g., individuals highly trained in industrial technology) and privatization of university education.¹⁵⁴ Not surprisingly, given the all-consuming interest in the economy, both public and private music universities are outnumbered by business, administration, management and technology-based high education institutions (in Bucharest, for example, there are 12 private universities with specializations in the aforementioned areas compared to only one university, the Spiru Haret University, that offers music programs).¹⁵⁵ The tendency of government policies to privilege and endorse certain academic departments such as applied science and business at the expense of the social sciences, music and the arts, is supported by the government's emphasis on the country's need for a better reform "that was to make the transition from a centralized economy to a system that responded to the needs of the market society."¹⁵⁶ Educational reform in Romania should now be understood in terms of training professionals in the business sectors and the economy. Even music education at university level is understood as primarily job training. There is, accordingly, some pressure on teachers and university professors to re-conceive music education, too, as job training.

¹⁵³ Richard Rorty, "Solidarity or Subjectivity," in Lawrence Cahoon, ed., *From Modernism to Postmodernism: An Anthology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1996).

¹⁵⁴ Axelrod, *Values in Conflict*, 90-91.

¹⁵⁵ Axelrod, "The Uncertain Future of the Liberal Education," *CAUT Bulletin* (September 1999).

¹⁵⁶ "Desi isi Pune Semnatura pe Programe, Pentru Adomnitei nu Exista Disciplina Educatie Muzicala."

This is evidenced in university courses such as cultural and artistic management and class management that offer music university students “competencies in communication, organizing musical events, building partnerships [and] fundraising.”¹⁵⁷ While there is a place in university for such courses, the danger is that parents may eventually refuse to send their children to music schools, unless they are reconceived as vocational schools (understood as schools preparing students for a trade).

In several key respects, music education in Romania has become “just another commodity or service to be traded on an ‘open education market’ [and] consumed by individuals for their private benefit.”¹⁵⁸ In keeping with this view, and as has been already mentioned, the population does no longer consider music as beneficial to children’s social and cultural development because a career in music does not guarantee, at least in Romania, a rewarding career and commensurate financial compensation. Because of this devaluing of music in education, many private music schools, for example, might just re-configure their curricula in order to attract more “customers” and to increase enrolment numbers. Such a curriculum, adapted to the needs of the market and with the potential to increase enrolment, would probably be well-regarded by Quality Assurance Agencies.¹⁵⁹ As was explained in chapter 6, these agencies are tools favoured by neoliberals to control faculty and academic programs, to set and maintain standards and to hold institutions accountable to government and the public. These agencies may also help to control teacher training programs and their curricula for training in-service music teachers how to

¹⁵⁷ Constantinescu, “Overview of Music Teacher Training System in Romania.”

¹⁵⁸ Woodford, “Reclaiming a Democratic Purpose for Music Education,” *Sociology of Music Education Symposium IV*, Proceedings from the Music Education Symposium at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst (October 6-8, 2005), Roger Rideout, ed., 6. See also Axelrod, *Values in Conflict*, 90-91.

¹⁵⁹ Stephanie Hofmann, *Mapping External Quality Assurance in Central and Eastern Europe: A Comparative Survey by the CEE Network*, 5. <http://www.enqa.eu/files/CEEN%20report%20final.pdf> (accessed August 14, 2009). CEE stands for the Central and Easter European Network of Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education.

teach the mandated state curriculum. This offers neoliberals yet another opportunity for exercising control over curriculum development and also for determining the survival of music education and the arts in public schools.

Quality Assurance Agencies and their Effects on the Romanian Higher Music Education System

The National University of Music in Bucharest, for example, has been favourably evaluated by the National Council for Academic Assessment and Accreditation (NCAAA)—a governmental agency which reports to Parliament on accreditation and quality assurance aspects—with respect to the following performance indicators.¹⁶⁰ These were mission and objectives (e.g., to professionally train music educators and performers), academic integrity (e.g., “establishment of an academic environment based on . . . cooperation”), public responsibility and transparency, leadership (instituted in accordance with educational laws and regulations), building space for introduction of new courses and programs, financial resources, educational efficiency, and appropriate academic standards for granting graduation diplomas.¹⁶¹ Following this evaluation, the aforementioned master’s program in Contemporary Music Education, and other programs in Religious Cultures, Popular Music and Culture, Vocal and Instrumental Stylistic Performance, Composition Stylistics, Musicological Synthesis, and Conducting Stylistics were recently accredited.¹⁶² Requirements for future improvements include increased transparency of university programs through the publishing of course syllabi on websites and in the media. Unlike North-American universities, where course contents are made

¹⁶⁰ www.unmb.ro/uploads/raport+evaluare.doc (accessed May 10, 2009).

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid.

available on each university's website, Romanian universities' course descriptions are not publicly available, as university professors have not been traditionally held accountable with respect to course contents and teaching methods.¹⁶³ Only recently has there been a move toward making Romanian professors and university activities accountable to the public.¹⁶⁴

Yet another recent development reflecting neoliberal influences on the Romanian music education system is evaluation of school teachers and university professors as a government tool to help raise the level of student performance.¹⁶⁵ Currently, assessment criteria for teachers and university professors include students' academic progress, teachers' involvement with the school's musical and extracurricular activities, the perceptions of parents and the community on teachers' activities, and the latter's professional growth and its impact on students' progress and on the school's development.¹⁶⁶ The introduction of teacher evaluation is purportedly also intended to help raise the quality of the education process, particularly that in private music education institutions where students' recent complaints on the low quality of education and the invalidity of graduation diplomas have called for government investigation of these universities' affairs.

3) *Private Music Education*

In the period just following the 1989 Revolution and until the present day, more than one hundred private universities, most of which are technology-based, were

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ See Singer and Sarivan, eds., *Quo Vadis, Academia?*

¹⁶⁵ Michail D. Chrysos, "Government Policy on Teacher Evaluation in Greece: Revolutionary Change of Repetition of the Past," *Education Policy Analysis Archives* 8, 28 (June 2000), <http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa> (accessed July 27, 2009).

¹⁶⁶ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php/articles/c402/> (accessed July 12, 2009).

established in Romania.¹⁶⁷ Of the few private higher music education institutions, only the Faculty of Music at the Spiru Haret University in Bucharest offers a comprehensive music program for the entire country. The rest only offer specializations in teacher training (Arad–Teachers’ College), religious music education (Oradea), performance studies in Romanian traditional music (Baia Mare), and performance studies-voice (Brasov and Constanta).¹⁶⁸ Many of these institutions were initially established as “cultural foundations . . . and charity organizations” to accommodate students who were refused admission to public music universities.¹⁶⁹ Accordingly, their admission and educational standards were, and continue to be, lower than those in public universities. They also lack adequate building facilities and equipment with instruments and other teaching materials.¹⁷⁰ According to some educational critics, the low number of music graduates coupled with poor qualifications for becoming integrated into the work force, further indicate a questionable quality of teaching, learning and academic research in these universities.¹⁷¹ This is somewhat surprising given that most of their faculty are public music university professors (e.g., Gabriela Munteanu, Sorin Lerescu, Denise Dragoie are professors at the Faculty of Music, Spiru Haret University) who are well-regarded academics.¹⁷² Their courses and institutional structure, including graduation exams are also similar to those used in public universities.¹⁷³ The entire private higher

¹⁶⁷ Simona Popa, “Globalization and Higher Education in Chile and Romania,” in Zajda, ed., *International Handbook on Globalization, Education and Policy Research: Global Pedagogies and Policy*, 226. 73 private universities were established until 1995. See also Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. III, 37.

¹⁶⁸ <http://www.e-scoala.ro/examene/universitati.html> (accessed August 28, 2009).

¹⁶⁹ www.spiruharet.ro (accessed May 7, 2009).

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Hatos, *Sociologia Educatiei*, 152. See also Singer and Sarivan, eds., *Quo Vadis, Academia?*

¹⁷² www.spiruharet.ro (accessed May 7, 2009). Dr. Gabriela Munteanu is Chair of the Music Education Department, the Faculty of Music within the Spiru Haret University. Sorin Lerescu and Denise Dragoie are also professors at the National University of Music in Bucharest.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

education system is in many respects only a replica of the state education system. After admission exams to public music universities have resulted in a selection of the best students, the rest who still wish to obtain a diploma in music choose a private music university.¹⁷⁴ This helps to account for the lower admission standards at the latter universities and why those institutions are less likely to produce good musicians and music teachers.

Another reason for the lower standards in private music universities is a deficient legislative framework that allows students to ignore daily course attendance in order to pursue full-time jobs.¹⁷⁵ This raises questions with respect to the seriousness of some private music university programs. Because of these and other reasons, such as the granting of graduation diplomas that are perceived by employers as having little or no value and the lack of transparency with respect to administration of funds, organization of admission, student evaluation and curriculum structure, and the exponential growth in enrolment in recent years (from 5,700 diploma graduates in 2003 to 56,000 in 2009), the National Union of Romanian Students (NURS) has recently advised high school graduates to avoid enrolling in private universities, including music universities.¹⁷⁶ These striking data published by Romanian newspapers outline the “immense and profitable business of private universities” and underline the fact that Romanian private universities

¹⁷⁴ Dima, “Quality Assurance Mechanisms and Accreditation Processes in Private Higher Education in Romania,” in Uvalic-Trumbic, ed., *Globalization and the Market in Higher Education*, 147.

¹⁷⁵ “Universitatile Private in Vizor.USR Sfatuieste Absolventii de Liceu sa Ocoleasca Facultatile Particulare. The English version: “Private Universities under Scrutiny. USR Advices High School Graduates to Avoid Private Universities,” *Gardianul* (May 27, 2009) <http://www.gardianul.ro/Universitatile-private,-in-vizor.-USR-sfatuieste-absolventii-de-liceu-sa-ocoleasca-facultatile-particulare--s135835.html> (accessed July 13, 2009).

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. See also “Ecaterina Andronescu: Evaluarea Situatiei de la Universitatea ‘Spiru Haret’ Continua pana la Aducerea ei in Legalitate.” The English version: “Ecaterina Andronescu [currently the Minister of the Ministry of Education, Research and Innovation]: Assessment of the ‘Spiru Haret’ University Continues.” <http://www.edu.ro/indexx.html> (accessed July 24, 2009).

in their pursuit of financial wealth have transformed these educational institutions into degree-mills.¹⁷⁷ These data, which generated public outrage, were followed by an apparently serious inquiry on the part of the Ministry of Education into the educational “industry” assembled at the Spiru Haret University in Bucharest and at the Petre Andrei (private) University in Iasi.¹⁷⁸ Following assessment reports on the quality of education within these universities, the current Minister of Education, Ecaterina Andronescu, complained that the latter’s administration continued to evade presentation of official documents for government inspection. Government does not, however, appear willing to take any measures to remedy the problem of lack of standards and accountability of private universities. Journalists rhetorically question the incapacity or the lack of determination on the part of Romanian authorities in regulating the operation of private universities, particularly when the Minister of Education, faced with students’ complaints with respect to the questionable validity of their diplomas, insists that all documents are valid.¹⁷⁹ Prompted by the observed lack of transparency in private universities’ affairs, NURS also calls for a rating system of both private and public universities of all specializations in terms of quality of education and proof of accreditation so that students can make informed decisions when applying to undergraduate university programs.¹⁸⁰

Ironically, and unlike private universities, private general schools in Romania are highly regarded by parents and in more demand than public schools. Among the primary reasons why some private schools have a high reputation among parents and the

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. “Ecaterina Andronescu: Evaluarea Situatiei de la Universitatea ‘Spiru Haret’ Continua pana la Aducerea ei in Legalitate.”

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. See also http://www.unsr.ro/?page_id=3 (accessed July 13, 2009). The NURS is an apolitical federation of students of the most prestigious universities in Romania which aims to represent the socio-professional interests of Romanian students.

population is that they have a better structuring of curriculum, modern learning spaces and equipment with computers and other technology material and a highly trained faculty body, some of whom are foreign teachers.¹⁸¹ Many private schools (particularly those founded by British or American institutions in Romania) follow a curriculum which is a combination of Romanian curricular provisions and foreign methods and educational principles and attend to the individual students' needs. Training is accordingly individualized with emphasis on developing each student's learning capacity and aptitudes.¹⁸² Most private schools such as the elementary school *Scoala Mea* moulded on a British curriculum, the bilingual high school *Lauder Reut* with American financial support and emphasis on marketing, administration, media, international diplomatic relations, and the American International School are concentrated in Bucharest, Romania's capital.¹⁸³ Music education is also part of these schools' curricula and is, in part, consistent with the national music curriculum, including objectives and performances standards. Emphasis is placed, however, on training students for the job market (e.g., computer programmers, business managers, etc). Curiously enough, there are few differences between private and public schools in Romania, given that all place greater emphasis on training professionals for business, management and technology at the expense of music and the arts. Private schools also concentrate on developing skills such as leadership, academic integrity, initiative, motivation and concern for others, which are highly regarded in the EU and potentially required if Romanian graduates are

¹⁸¹ <http://www.gradinite.com/site/ScoliParticulare/detalii/11-little-london-school.html> (accessed July 24, 2009).

¹⁸² <http://www.gradinite.com/site/ScoliParticulare/detalii/13-scoala-happy-planet-kids.html> (accessed July 24, 2009).

¹⁸³ www.scoala-mea.com (accessed March 13, 2009) and www.gradinitebucuresti.ro (accessed March 13, 2009). No information is available with respect to the content of music courses offered in these schools.

to effectively benefit from the political enlargement of Europe.¹⁸⁴ These skills have recently become part of the Romanian music teacher-training program as the country seeks greater social, economic, cultural and educational integration with the European Union.

4) *Teacher Training for Music Education*

Operational Framework for the Music Teacher Training Program

The music teacher training program, which is offered exclusively by music universities, educates two types (A and B) of aspiring music teachers through two modules. The latter are compulsory for students within the Faculty of Pedagogy and optional for the rest of the music students.¹⁸⁵ The division of students in two types is characteristic for music students but not for the general teacher training program. Upon graduation, type A students within the Faculty of Pedagogy are certified to teach music education classes in the general education system. In rare cases, students from other specializations (e.g., Performance, Composition) can also choose this program. Type B undergraduates who are students in the Faculty of Performance (instruments and voice) become certified to teach in music schools and music high schools.¹⁸⁶ As was the case with the teacher training program in the general education system, graduates of Module I can only teach temporarily until they pass the *definitivat* exam. Completion of Module II courses and exams is necessary for teachers to hold permanent positions in the education system.

Music education courses at all levels, including music schools and high schools,

¹⁸⁴ <http://www.scribd.com/doc/9639751/Teacher-Evaluation> (accessed July 27, 2009).

¹⁸⁵ Constantinescu, "Overview of Music Teacher Training in Romania," 1.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

“belongs to the national education system as a form of specialized education.”¹⁸⁷ Every school, including at the elementary level, has a specialist music teacher.¹⁸⁸ Upon graduation of the teaching training program, which lasts for three years, students receive a DTDP Graduation Certificate (Department for the Training of Didactic Personnel) in addition to their Bachelor of Education (with specializations in Musical Pedagogy, Music Performance, Composition, Musicology, Choral Conducting, or Church Music).¹⁸⁹ Recipients of the DTDP certificate are authorized to teach in both public and private music education systems, including children and youth clubs which belong to the Ministry of Culture. Both types of students (A and B) are further qualified to teach in the higher education system provided they obtain a Master in Music Diploma and a Diploma of Doctor in Music.¹⁹⁰

As with general education, module I offered to music university students is part of the three years of undergraduate education and includes mandatory subjects such as educational psychology, educational pedagogy, class management, didactic of specialty (music education or instrument) and pedagogical practice. Module I allows graduates to temporarily teach in elementary schools and gymnasiums. They can register for module II which is offered as part of a master’s program. Courses in module II include psychology and pedagogy of adolescents, youth and adults, and pedagogical practice. Students can opt for optional courses such as counselling, sociology of education and educational policies.¹⁹¹

Upon graduation, music and other specialty teachers are hired by competitive

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ See Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*.

¹⁸⁹ Constantinescu, “Overview of Music Teacher Training in Romania,” 2.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ www.unmb.ro. Sociology of culture addresses various aspects of the concept of culture in relation with a social reality that is complex and continually in transformation.

examination, as opposed to during the communist era when they were guaranteed employment but jobs were awarded on graduation marks.¹⁹² This competitive examination, called *titularizare*, is organized at regional (county) levels for two distinct music education teaching positions: in general schools and high schools and in music schools and music high schools.¹⁹³ The battery of tests for the former category includes a written exam on teaching methods and psychology.¹⁹⁴ Questions might address music history, music theory or knowledge of musical forms. For candidates seeking a position in a music school and/or music high school, the written exam, based on discussion of methodological issues relating to the preferred instrument, is preceded by a performance exam.¹⁹⁵ Until 2009, teacher hiring exams were organized and supervised by the Ministry of Education. As of late and as already explained, County Inspectorates are responsible for planning and administering these exams.¹⁹⁶ This educational policy is an effect of the process of decentralization the Romanian education system had begun to experience after 1989.¹⁹⁷

Similar to teacher training programs in the general education system, music teachers who wish to advance in their careers have to pass the category II and category I teacher exams. The category II exam is preceded by a series of inspections to music classes by the county music inspector to assess teaching performance. Teachers aspiring to pass category I exams are first evaluated by university music professors who assess their teaching activity and performance and offer advice and suggestions for

¹⁹² Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, 73.

¹⁹³ Munteanu, *Didactica Educatiei Muzicale*, 76.

¹⁹⁴ www.unmb.ro. The course of psychology at the National University of Music, Bucharest includes, among other things, learning theories (e.g., Skinner) and theories of children's behavior.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* See also www.edu.ro (accessed May 6, 2009).

¹⁹⁶ www.edu.ro (accessed May 6, 2009).

¹⁹⁷ Paul Blendea, "Romania: A Developing Country and the Challenges of Globalization," in Popenici and Tat, *Romanian Philosophical Culture, Globalization And Education*, 196.

improvements. Following evaluation procedures, teachers can register for one of the two categories. Each exam includes theoretical and performance tests. Questions might address methodological aspects related to music education or the preferred instrument and methodological issues of psychology and pedagogy of music teaching. Category I teachers can only take the exam after approximately 10 years of teaching experience.¹⁹⁸ This structure has remained to a certain extent unchanged since communism.

Teacher Training with a Conservative Bent

Until recently, and government reforms notwithstanding, training programs for music education remain profoundly conservative, emphasizing the classics and following a transmission pedagogical model in which students are fed knowledge that they are then expected to regurgitate.¹⁹⁹ Teaching methodology in all curricular provisions emphasizes a teaching approach that starts from “students’ personal experiences, intuitions, representations, and notions to rules of a more general character.”²⁰⁰ Nevertheless, students are still required to regurgitate the information received and that much of learning is based on memorization.²⁰¹ Contrasting these older models of transmission are more specific approaches to music education presented by Gabriela Munteanu, music education professor at the Spiru Haret Music University. Munteanu favours dialogue (examination, discovery and debate), didactic demonstration (through vocal, visual charts and video devices), discovery learning, exposition (didactic narration, didactic explanation and lecture), problematizing, modelling, and exercises (e.g., solfege,

¹⁹⁸ Constantinescu, “Overview of Music Teacher Training in Romania,” 3.

¹⁹⁹ <http://www.ziua.ro/news.php?data=2008-09-27&id=13528> (accessed August 14, 2009).

²⁰⁰ Munteanu, *Didactica Educatiei Muzicale*, 115.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.* See also Singer and Sarivan, *Quo Vadis, Academia*.

memorization, improvisation, etc.).²⁰² These methods, however, are to a certain extent divorced from more practical aspects of music education (movement) and from social and cultural contexts. As already mentioned, and despite the government's rhetoric about defending Romania's culture, music education in Romanian schools and university for the most part is taught as abstract problem-solving, divorced from the world and its problems.²⁰³ Not much has changed with respect to music teacher training since the downfall of communism. If teacher education remains embedded in outdated, performance-based training programs reminiscent of the communist era, students will continue to be vulnerable and even passive to political and other forms of manipulation.²⁰⁴ As Paul Woodford suggests and as already mentioned, although courses in cultural sociology and educational policy are helpful, without teacher training courses in professional ethics and criticism, young students cannot acquire the skills, knowledge and habits of thought that are necessary to help them to think more independently and to resist indoctrination. Without development of critical thinking, music teachers might abdicate their responsibility as educators.²⁰⁵ Until recently, music education in Romania was more properly described as professional training and not education in the sense of preparing students to become aware of the political, economic and cultural developments at play in Romanian society, let alone to contribute as moral agents to its improvement.

Following Romania's membership into the EU in 2007 and the concomitant changes to Romanian society and education, however, there has been a shift in music teacher training such that the goal is now to prepare pre-service students for European

²⁰² Ibid., 117-125.

²⁰³ <http://www.ziua.ro/news.php?data=2008-09-27&id=13528> (accessed August 14, 2009).

²⁰⁴ See Woodford, *Democracy and Music Education*.

²⁰⁵ Ibid, 28-29.

citizenship and to develop their capacity for adapting to the requests of the market economy by teaching them to be competitive, to have initiative and be creative and to develop managerial abilities.²⁰⁶ This development is consistent with the aforementioned economic educational outcomes characteristic of neoliberal political agendas and parallels similar developments in England, the EU and North-America.²⁰⁷

The meNet Project and its Possible Influences on the Romanian Teacher Training Program

The stated emphasis by government on development of initiative and creativity throughout the Romanian teacher training program parallels recent developments at the level of music teacher training program in the EU as evidenced in the publishing of the 2009 *meNet Learning Outcomes in Music Teacher Training*.²⁰⁸ The project is part of the Comenius-Socrates programme and is a project of the “Music Education Network (meNet): A European Communication and Knowledge Management Network for Music Education” financially supported by the European Commission. This project, whose main aim is to develop a common vision for music teacher training so that music educators can teach throughout the EU, is intended to contribute to the further development of European integration and to the development of cultural education in EU member countries.²⁰⁹ Among other things, it recommends that pre-service music teachers should develop “a broad knowledge of musical styles, genres and traditions . . . which reflects both formal

²⁰⁶ Diac, *O Istorie a Invatamantului Romanesc Modern*, vol. III, 94.

²⁰⁷ See Woodford, *Can Democracy in Music Education Work*.

²⁰⁸ *meNet Learning Outcomes in Music Teacher Training*. Project funded with the support from the European Commission and co-funded by the Austrian Ministry of Science and Research, 2009.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

curriculum requirements and the larger sphere of musical practices in society.”²¹⁰

Development of cultural and artistic interconnections between school and society is also encouraged as conducive to “cross curricular and interdisciplinary learning” and as a means of facilitating and enhancing learning of music concepts by all students.²¹¹

Through concentration on the cultural and social dimensions of musical education, this project attempts to mitigate somewhat the economic purpose of music education. It also seeks to accommodate the variety of national music education programs, many of which (such as Romania’s) have a narrow focus on development of musical skills and knowledge and “lack of attention to the musical lives of pupils beyond the classroom.”²¹²

In keeping with this view and as Sarah Hennessy, one of the authors of this project writes, “each statement covers a different aspect [because] we . . . wanted to make readers aware of their responsibility to engage their students in the broader context for how and why the curriculum is as it is.”²¹³ No political agenda was followed, according to Hennessy, but existing educational policies on learning outcomes in general were investigated in order to create and promote a common vision of what teacher education should address.²¹⁴ Only one of 15 outcomes, however, looks at the social, political, cultural and economic sides of music education as the authors acknowledge that the evolution and role of music education in society is “shaped and influenced by economic, educational, cultural and social policies.”²¹⁵ The document’s developers were doubtless cognizant of prevailing government attitudes and curricular expectations. Many if not most of the *meNet*

²¹⁰ *meNet Learning Outcomes in Music Teacher Training*, 4.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

²¹² Personal correspondence by e-mail with Sarah Hennessy, one of the signatories of the *meNet* project; July 26, 2009.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

²¹⁵ *meNet Learning Outcomes in Music Teacher Training*, 5.

outcomes are consistent with the neoliberal approach to music education as job training. This conception of music education as training for the job market is compatible with the EU strategy for transforming Europe into “the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion.”²¹⁶ This political aim and the *meNet* project are, obviously, bound to redefine the role of the music teacher and music teacher training programs in EU member countries and to lead to a new re-conceptualization of what should lie of the core of music education programs.

Conclusion

Educational outcomes proposed by the *meNet* project need to resonate in Romanian public music education, particularly since little attention is given to multicultural music education, and the popular music phenomenon and its influence on children and the population. As Romania continues its integration with EU social, cultural, musical and educational structures, this oversight of introducing and analyzing popular music and World music genres may change over time as more university students take advantage of popular music studies recently made available and government’s rhetoric of encouraging cultural diversity becomes reality. The *meNet* project might be a catalyst in bringing the idea that all people must have access to the study of a variety of musical genres and styles throughout their lifespan to the core of government educational reforms. Music teachers should play a most important role in persuading authorities of the importance of music education in promoting “active citizenship, equal opportunities and

²¹⁶ Ibid., 8.

lasting social cohesion” in the EU.²¹⁷ Further, advocacy for the central role of music education in raising Romanian schools and society to the level of EU culture may be supported by a favourable political context that places great emphasis on the promotion of cultural diversity as a key competency for lifelong learning education throughout the Union. New perspectives are needed if music teacher education in Romania is to generate new values for the music teaching profession, to open up an attractive education and training system so as to appeal to a larger number of music students and to meet the needs of the various social groups involved in the educational process. Unless this need for a broader vision of music education and music teacher training and for the drafting of a philosophy of music education is understood by authorities, music teachers and professors, a comprehensive reform of education and music education to yield beneficial results for all involved in the educational process cannot be implemented. Moreover, and as Romanian critics contend, the academic profession should also descend from its ivory tower and perceive the social, economic and educational realities with which Romania is still coming to grips. The *meNet* project and the increasingly demanding and rapidly changing Romanian society might help Romanian music educators challenge the previously accepted concept of the traditional role of the music teacher as the font of all knowledge and arbiter of taste. Thus far, the proposed shift in the conception of the music teacher as guardian of the class to that of a guide and facilitator has only partially found its way into everyday music classroom activities. As Romania continues to adapt and refine its political, social, cultural and educational institutional structures to those prevalent in the EU, previously traditionalist educational concepts and practice may change over time.

²¹⁷ *meNet Learning Outcomes in Music Teacher Training*, 8.

In analyzing the effects of democratization, globalization and European integration on the development of the Romanian music education system, this case study hopefully will be of use to those readers interested in exploring and examining national music education systems as they undergo change in response to current social and political events. As this study marks a first step in the documentation, analysis and interpretation of the development of the Romanian public music education system following the 1989 Revolution, some recommendations for further research are provided in the remaining pages.

Recommendations for Future Research

As Romania continues its transition to capitalism and its interdependence with European political, social, cultural and educational structures, more critical investigation of changing educational policies affecting and shaping the Romanian public music education is needed. This further analysis should include examination of on-going curriculum reforms and structural changes to the education system as Romania continues to adapt to a changing world. Given the global impact of neoliberal social, economic and educational policies, Romanian music teachers, educators and officials need to be informed of the politics of music education in other EU countries, and particularly in the UK and the United States where much of the impetus for neoliberalism's global spread originated in the 1980s with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and President Ronald Regan. This timely information would allow Romanian academics and teachers to anticipate and if needed mitigate future political developments in their own country. Comparative studies of the impacts of neoliberalism and globalization on various EU and other countries would also help Romanian and Western scholars and academics to

understand how structural, cultural and other differences among countries might yield different outcomes with respect to the protection of cultural sovereignty and identity in their respective countries (or the lack thereof). A qualitative study of practicing Romanian music teachers that can allow them to express their own perceptions with respect to the difficulties, inconsistencies and paradoxes of educational politics, as they come to grips with political changes and their impact on professional practice, may also enhance the readers' understanding of the situation of public music education in Romania.

In keeping with the aforementioned need and so as to help the reader attain a more comprehensive understanding of Romania's formal and informal music education structures, additional investigation of the popular music phenomenon and particularly the emergence of popular music genres (e.g., ethno pop, rap and the pan-Balkan) in Romania and the growth of their popularity among people of all ages are also required. The social impact of the popular music invasion on Romania's children since 1989 and the perceived damaging effects of some popular music genres on students also need investigation as they contribute to the shaping of social and cultural identity. Perhaps most importantly of all, Romanian music education academics seriously need to develop a philosophical framework for the purpose of music education in schools and society and to communicate that knowledge to government officials in order to prompt curricular reform that is beneficial to all children and not just to a social or moneyed elite. Romanian music educators, in other words, badly need a philosophy of music education that they can champion to government and the public.

The drafting of a philosophy of music education in Romania might further help government officials and curriculum developers reduce the number of inconsistencies between music education policy reform and practice (e.g., the rhetoric for the introduction

of music education to all grades and specializations is contradicted by the lack of a music curriculum for grade XII). This author found these inconsistencies and contradictions challenging and problematic when undertaking research for the study. Among other challenges to the completion of this dissertation were a lack of accessibility to Romanian official and other sources such as descriptions of courses offered at the National University of Music in Bucharest and the dearth of scholarly written material on the various aspects affecting the public and private music education system addressed in this study (e.g., the problem of popular music genres and their impact on shaping student behaviour, the oversight of multicultural music education, the intended removal of music education from school curriculum). It was equally difficult to approach university professors by e-mail or in person (electronic mail accounts and addresses are confidential and therefore not posted on the University's official website). This is another reason why more studies are necessary as more information becomes available with greater transparency. Accessing government official websites, particularly with respect to policy documents, also posed difficulties to the research process whereby even advanced searching did not yield the appropriate request but rather related documents. Nevertheless, and as Romania refines its transition process and integration into EU structures and more interconnections are designed at the academic level throughout the Union, enhanced access to computerized databases and other official sources will gradually become more available to the public. That access to information will help future researchers build on this study, which is the first of its kind in Romania.

Appendix A: Music Education Curriculum for grades I to IV

*Music Education Curriculum for Grade I¹**Reference Objectives and Learning Activities**1. Applying musical elements to vocal and instrumental performance practice*

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade I, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
1.1	Differentiate between spoken and musical sounds	Games for developing intonation
1.2	Correctly reproduce songs learned by ear	Games for differentiating between spoken and musical sounds
1.3	Illustrate through body movement the meaning of a text	Singing games to demonstrate understanding of rhythm and melodic phrasing
1.4	Differentiate among pitch, duration and dynamics	Movement games for learning rhythm; differentiation of pitch through body movement
1.5	Recognize previously learned songs by their rhythmic structure	Differentiation of dynamics (e.g., loud, soft)

2. Development of Musical Expression

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade I, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
2.1	Perform songs from assigned repertoire	Group singing with affection
2.2	Perform in simple harmonic-polyphonic arrangements	Alternative groups singing in choir-soloist arrangements
2.3	Sing individually or in group, accompanied by the teacher on an instrument	Song performances
2.4	Accompany songs spontaneously	Percussion and body accompaniment (e.g., drums, bells, tambourine, clapping, stomping) of songs
2.5	Express the impression produced by music through creating games	Listening to folkloric songs and classical works
2.6	Improvise rhythmical combinations	Improvisation accompanied by movement

¹ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php?module=uploads&func=download&fileId=4299> (accessed September 2, 2009).

Music Education Curriculum for Grade II²

Reference Objectives and Learning Activities

1. Applying musical elements to vocal and instrumental performance practice

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade II, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
1.1	Identify sources that produce the sound and the direction of the sound	Timbre differentiation (e.g., different objects)
1.2	Differentiate between vocal and instrumental sounds	Listening to musical games to recognize spoken and musical vocal and instrumental sounds
1.3	Reproduce songs learned by ear; follow the rules of choral singing	Individual or group performance of previously learned song repertoire (15-20 songs)
1.4	Differentiate verse from refrain through movement	Breathing and movement to demonstrate song structure
1.5	Recognize dynamics, duration and pitch	Reproduction of duration and rhythm with the help of musical toys (drums, bells, triangle, tambourine, castanets); exercises for recognizing the written form of duration (quarter note, half note, eight note and the quarter note rest); listening to and reproducing various pitches in ascending and descending scales
1.6	Recognize a number of songs previously learned based on their rhythmic and melodic structure	Clapping the rhythm and singing

2. Development of Musical Expression

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade II, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
2.1	Use the appropriate dynamics in accordance with the song's character	Group singing with affection; participation in school festivities
2.2	Perform in simple harmonic-polyphonic arrangements	Alternative groups singing in choir-soloist arrangements
2.3	Sing individually or in group accompanied by the teacher on an instrument	Song performance with accompaniment
2.4	Accompany songs spontaneously with emphasis on rhythm	Percussion and body accompaniment (e.g., drums, bells, tambourine, clapping, stomping) of songs
2.5	Classify the songs learned	Classification based on songs' themes and character
2.6	Share with the class the impression produced by songs	Listening to Romanian folk songs characteristic for winter festivities; listening to Western music masterpieces; movement on music; narration as inspired by music
2.7	Improvise melodies spontaneously and accompany them with movement	Spontaneous composition of rhythmic components

² Ibid.

*Music Education Curriculum for Grade III*³

Reference Objectives and Learning Activities

1. Applying musical elements to vocal and instrumental performance practice

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade III, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
1.1	Reproduce songs learned by ear with correct diction and intonation	Reproduction in choir or in small groups of a repertoire of 10-15 songs (with the melody between an octave)
1.2	Diversify movements used to demonstrate melodic and rhythmic components	Demonstration of understanding differences between verse and refrain through breathing and movement; recognition of certain musical components (beginning, ending, repetition) through body movement
1.3	Differentiate among pitch, duration and dynamics aurally and in singing	Comparative listening to sounds produced by human voices (adult, child, young, old) and instrumental timbres (piano, violin); comparative listening to sounds of varied dynamics (p, f, mp); vocal reproduction associated with clapping of rhythmic structures
1.4	Reproduce different pitches instrumentally	Usage of previously learned durations
1.5	Differentiate among timbre, rhythm and melody through listening	Identification of dynamics, timbres and contrasting tempi
1.6	Recognize Romanian folk songs intuitively	Listening to various Romanian folk songs

2. Development of Musical Expression

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade III, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
2.1	Use the appropriate dynamics in accordance with the song's character	Group singing with affection and with appropriate dynamics and tempi
2.2	Perform in simple harmonic-polyphonic arrangements	Alternative groups singing in choir-soloist arrangements
2.3	Identify in songs the relationship between content and the song's character	Thematic differentiation of songs
2.4	Sing songs with accompaniment provided by the teacher	Percussion and body accompaniment (e.g., drums, bells, tambourine, clapping, stomping) of songs
2.5	Accompany songs rhythmically and melodically	Body accompaniment
2.6	Share song preference with the class	Discussion of personal song preference; selection of songs for class and school activities
2.7	Reproduce sounds produced by animals and natural phenomena	Association between instrumental timbre and various musical characters
2.8	Improvise short melodies	Melodic improvisation on a given melodic line

³ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php?module=uploads&func=download&fileId=4297> (accessed September 2, 2009).

Music Education Curriculum for Grade IV⁴

Reference Objectives and Learning Activities

1. Applying musical elements to vocal and instrumental performance practice

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade IV, the student will be able to:	Recommended activities
1.1	Reproduce songs learned by ear with correct diction and intonation	Reproduction in choir or in small groups of a repertoire of 10-15 songs (with the melody between an octave)
1.2	Diversify movements used to demonstrate melodic and rhythmic components	Demonstrated understanding of differences between verse and refrain through breathing and movement; recognition of certain musical components (beginning, ending, repetition) through body movement
1.3	Differentiate aurally and in singing among pitch, duration and dynamics	Comparative listening to sounds produced by human voices (adult, child, young, old) and instrumental timbres (piano, violin); comparative listening to sounds of varied dynamics (p, f, mp); vocal reproduction associated by clapping of rhythmic structures
1.4	Reproduce different pitches instrumentally	Usage of previously learned durations
1.5	Identify Romanian folk songs specific to each county or province	Listening to various Romanian folk songs with emphasis on musical characteristics that differentiate folk songs from the several Romanian provinces (Transylvania, Moldavia, Tara Romaneasca, Banat, Oltenia); identifying instruments specific for folk songs in a certain province; association of music with body movements
1.6	Perform Romanian folk songs	Singing carols in choir
1.7	Differentiate among certain classic works in listening	Listening to and comparing minuets with waltzes

2. Development of Musical Expression

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade IV, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
2.1	Sing simple songs	Group singing with affection and with appropriate dynamics and tempi
2.2	Perform in simple harmonic-polyphonic arrangements	Alternative groups singing, vocal-instrumental singing and instrumental performance in choir-soloist arrangements
2.3	Express preference for certain songs and provide explanation	Thematic differentiation among songs and comparison among various performances of same songs; song selection for class festivities

⁴ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php?module=uploads&func=download&fileId=4334> (accessed September 2, 2009).

2.4	Sing songs with accompaniment provided by the teacher	Percussion and body accompaniment (e.g., drums, bells, tambourine, clapping, stomping) of songs
2.5	Accompany songs rhythmically and melodically	Body accompaniment and with toy instruments (bells, drums, tambourine, triangle); crafts activities (toy instruments)
2.6	Perform songs vocally and with own instrumental accompaniment	Singing in groups with accompaniment of preferred instrument; performance of selected repertoire for class and /or school performances
2.7	Associate ideas and impressions with music	Free composition on a given theme
2.8	Improvise short melodies	Melodic improvisation on a given text (2 bars)

*Song Repertoire for Elementary Students (Suggestions)*⁵

Botez, Marcel. *Cocosul* [The rooster].

Breazul, George. *Porumbita* [The little dove]; *Sunt roman* [I am Romanian].

Chirescu, I. D. *Cucule, pasare sura* [Cuckoo, grey bird].

Comes, Liviu. *Saniuta* [The little sleigh]; *Drumul* [The road].

Constantinescu, Tanase. *Concertul* [The concert].

Cuclin, Dimitrie. *Vantul misca frunzele* [The wind moves the leaves].

Dendrino, Gherase. *Cantecul tobei* [The drum song].

Husanide, Alexandru. *Glasul instrumentelor* [The sound of the instruments].

Ionescu, N. *Pe camp* [In the field].

Ivascu, Aurel. *Noi acum suntem scolari* [We are students]; *Ghicitoarea* [The riddle].

Lungu, Nicolae. *Cantec de toamna* [Autumn song].

Meres, C. *Moara* [The mill]; *Trenul* [The train].

Negrea, Martian. *Mamei* [To mother].

Oancea, Nicolae. *Primavara a sosit* [Spring has sprung].

Pascanu, Alexandru. *Unu, doi* [One, two].

Popovici, Timotei. *Pasarelele* [The little birds].

⁵ The repertoire has been provided by the same sources for grades I to IV presented above.

Potolea, Ion. *Toamna* [Autumn]; *Noul an de scoala* [The new school year];
 Romascanu, C. *Pasarica aurie* [The little golden bird].
 Stancu, Dumitru. *Ratoiul* [The duck].
 Toedosiu, Gr. *Iarna vesela* [Happy winter].
 Vasilache, T. *Glasul florilor* [The voice of flowers].
 Vicol, D. *Saniuta* [The little sleigh]; *Canta iar* [Sing again].
 Voevica, Alexandru. *Iepuras dragalas* [Little sweet bunny].
 Songs from children's folklore: *Drag mi-e jocul romanesc* [I love Romanian folk dance];
Alba zapada [White snow]; *Melcul suparat* [The angry snail]; *Carticica mea*
 [My little book]; *Furnicile* [Ants]; *Am plecat sa colindam* [We went carolling];
Iepurasii [The little bunnies].

*Music Appreciation Repertoire for Elementary Students (Suggestions)*⁶

Dragoi, Sabin. *Divertisment rustic* [Rustic divertissement].
 Dvorak, Antonin. *Humoresque*.
 Enescu, George. *Rhapsodies I and II*.
 Haydn, Joseph. *Symphony no. 101* in D major (The Clock); *Symphony no. 94* in G major
 Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix. Overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.
 Mozart, Leopold. *Symphonie des jouets* (fragments).
 Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus. *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik* (fragments).
 Schumann, Robert. *Album of children's pieces*.
 Vivaldi, Antonio. *The four seasons* (fragments).

⁶ Ibid.

Appendix B: Music Education Curriculum for grades V to VIII

Music Education Curriculum for Grade V⁷

Reference Objectives and Learning Activities

1. Development of vocal and instrumental performance abilities

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade V, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
1.1	Perform songs in unison or in simple polyphonic-harmonic arrangements; follow performance and conducting directions	Breathing, projection and diction exercises; intonation and phrasing exercises; unison vocal performance; round and 2 parts singing; expressive singing according to the poetic traits of the song
1.2	Accompany songs rhythmically	Rhythmic accompaniment with the body or different musical objects and instruments
1.3	Use correctly the instrumental technique characteristic for the instruments used in class - performance	Instrumental technique exercises for piano, guitar and flute

2. Development of musical perception and musical culture

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade V, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
2.1	Recognize learned musical elements in musical works	Recognition, reproduction and comparison of pitches and note values; musical appreciation; music instruments charts; identification of timber, tempo and dynamics
2.2	Compare musical excerpts for similarities or differences	Identification of the musical work or fragment listened to in class
2.3	Express personal opinions on the previously studied musical works	Discussions on the lives of great composers; participation to classical music concerts; discussions on impressions acquired after attending a classical music concert

3. Familiarity with, and use of, musical elements

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade V, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
3.1	Identify songs written in C major and A minor.	Intonation exercises; reading and writing of musical notation
3.2	Identify elements of musical notation in performed or listened to musical works	Solfege; tempo and dynamics; analysis of C major and A minor tonalities; contest: "Recognize the instrument."

⁷ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php?module=uploads&func=download&fileId=5266> (accessed September 2, 2009).

4. Development of musical sensibility, imagination and creativity

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade V, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
4.1	Sing with affection	Musical interpretation; musical games
4.2	Improvise rhythmically on a given theme	Musical improvisations with learned intervals and rhythmic formulas
4.3	Find drone for a given melody	Music appreciation; participation in classic music concerts; contests with musical themes
4.4	Represent through movement, text, colour, design the meaning of a song	Movement improvisations according to a given song; drawings of a played song

*Music Education Curriculum for Grade VI*⁸

Reference Objectives and Learning Activities

1. Development of vocal and instrumental performance abilities

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade VI, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
1.1	Perform songs in unison or in simple polyphonic-harmonic arrangements in ensemble or individually; follow performance and conducting directions	Breathing, projection, diction and intonation exercises; unison vocal performance; round and 2 parts singing; expressive singing according to the poetic traits of the song
1.2	Accompany vocal performances with instruments	Performance contests; instrumental improvisation
1.3	Perform instrumentally the songs learned	Instrumental technique exercises

2. Development of musical perception and musical culture

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade VI, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
2.1	Recognize musical elements	Comments on, and discussions of, music appreciation sessions
2.2	Identify musical themes and hum them	Identification of musical work or fragment listened to in listening contests
2.3	Recognize musical works, their style and composer	Contests for recognition of musical works, style and composer
2.4	Express and explain personal preferences	Discussions on the lives of great composers; participation to classical music concerts; discussions on impressions acquired after attending a classical music concert

⁸ Ibid.

3. Familiarity with, and use of, musical elements

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade VI, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
3.1	Identify songs written in major and minor keys with one accidental	Rhythmic and melodic exercises; solfege; reading and writing of musical notation
3.2	Identify rhythmic structures in various musical works and to reproduce them orally	Musical dictations
3.3	Differentiate between major and minor character of a musical work	Listening to music
3.4	Identify musical themes and analyze them	Exercises of recognizing musical themes

4. Development of musical sensibility, imagination and creativity

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade VI, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
4.1	Sing using dynamics	Musical interpretation; musical games
4.2	Improve musical performance	Musical improvisations on a given theme; creation of artistic musical programmes
4.3	Identify instrumental moments in a given melody	Music appreciation; musical games
4.4	Develop performance skills	Participation in musical festivities

Music Education Curriculum for Grade VII⁹

Reference Objectives and Learning Activities

1. Development of vocal and instrumental performance abilities

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade VII, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
1.1	Perform songs in unison or in simple polyphonic-harmonic arrangements in ensemble or individually; follow dynamics and tempo indications	Breathing, projection, diction exercises; intonation and phrasing exercises; unison vocal performance; round and 2 parts singing; expressive singing according to the poetic traits of the song
1.2	Sing polyphonic works and rounds	Group singing
1.3	Perform famous musical themes	Performance of famous musical themes
1.4	Perform instrumental works	Exercises of instrumental technique

⁹ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php/articles/curriculum/6184> (accessed September 2, 2009).

2. Development of musical perception and musical culture

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade VII, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
2.1	Recognize musical style and genre of a song	Comments on, and discussions of, music appreciation sessions; participation in, and attendance of, musical concerts
2.2	Appreciate the wealth and variety of Romanian folklore and recognize songs characteristic for each Romanian province	Discussion and analysis of musical works (folk songs)
2.3	Recognize the style of specific musical works (operatic, popular and folk songs)	Contests for recognizing musical works, their style and composer: "Recognize the musical work," "Recognize the composer"
2.4	Create relationships between musical activity of great composers and the socio-cultural contexts of their lives	Independent research (books, newspapers)

3. Familiarity with, and use of, musical elements

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade VII, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
3.1	Solfege songs and musical themes in learned keys and modal scales	Rhythmic and melodic exercises; solfege; reading and writing of musical notation; intervals recognition and reproduction
3.2	Identify rhythmic structures in various musical works and reproduce them orally	Musical dictations
3.3	Identify the form of folk songs	Listening to music
3.4	Know and differentiate among operatic genres	Exercises for recognizing musical themes

4. Development of musical sensibility, imagination and creativity

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade VII, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
4.1	Sing with the use of dynamics	Musical interpretation; musical games
4.2	Improve individual musical performance	Musical improvisations on a given theme; creation of artistic musical programmes
4.3	Improvise on given themes	Music appreciation; musical games
4.4	Find forms of accompaniment appropriate for a given song	Instrumental accompaniment with tonic, dominant and subdominant chords
4.5	Make associations between musical messages and visual images	Crafting of costumes for operatic musical scenes; comments on a musical director's indications

*Music Education Curriculum for Grade VIII*¹⁰

Reference Objectives and Learning Activities

1. Development of vocal and instrumental performance abilities

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade VIII, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
1.1	Perform accurately a diverse repertoire of songs and musical themes	Breathing, projection, diction exercises; intonation and phrasing exercises; unison vocal performance; round and 2 parts singing; expressive singing according to the poetic traits of the song
1.2	Perform instrumentally a repertoire of songs with the appropriate phrasing, dynamics and tempo	Instrumental technique exercises
1.3	Accompany simple vocal songs	Instrumental accompaniment

2. Development of musical perception and musical culture

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade VIII, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
2.1	Recognize musical style and genre of a song	Participation in, and attendance of, musical concerts
2.2	Recognize representative musical works of the Western canon through comparison with Romanian folk songs	Discussion and analysis of musical works (folk songs); identifying genre
2.3	Express personal aesthetic opinions on the musical works studied	Independent research (books, newspapers)

3. Familiarity with, and use of, musical elements

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade VIII, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
3.1	Solfege songs and musical themes in previously learned keys and modal scales	Rhythmic and melodic exercises; solfege; reading and writing musical notation; intervals recognition and reproduction
3.2	Identify and analyze melodic and rhythmic structures in various musical works	Listening to music
3.3	Identify main characteristics of musical genres	Listening to music

¹⁰ Ibid.

4. Development of musical sensibility, imagination and creativity

	Reference Objectives	Examples of Learning Activities
	At the end of grade VIII, the student will be capable to:	Recommended activities
4.1	Perform with the use of dynamics	Music appreciation; performance contests
4.2	Enhance individual musical performance	Debates and discussions on given musical themes
4.3	Improvise on given themes	Accompaniment formulas (I, IV, V); creation of a countermelody to a given theme
4.4	Identify relationships among various arts (music, painting and ballet)	Use of bibliographic sources
4.5	Create artistic projects	Finding appropriate music background for certain paintings, cartoons, poems;

*Song Repertoire for Gymnasium Students (Suggestions)*¹¹

Beethoven, Ludwig van. *Oda bucuriei* [Ode to joy].

Cartu, I. *Limba romaneasca* [The Romanian language].

Kiriac, Dumitru Georgescu. *A ruginit frunza din vii* [Grape leaves have turned yellow];

Cucule, pasare sura [Cuckoo, grey bird].

Flechtenmacher, Alexandru. *Hora Unirii* [The union dance].

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus. *Cantec de primvara* [Song of Spring].

Musicescu, Gavriil. *Trompetele rasuna* [Trumpets are playing]; *Ca o zi de primavara*

[Like a spring day]; *Stejarul* [The oak tree].

Pann, Anton *Desteapta-te romane!* [Awake Romanians!] (The national Romanian Anthem).

Popovici, Teodor. *Marsul lui Iancu* [The march of Iancu]; *La oglinda* [Looking in the Mirror].

Porumbescu, Ciprian. *Pe-al nostru steag* [On our flag].

Schubert, Franz. *Teiul* [The lime tree]; *Cantec de leagan* [Lullaby]; *Pastravul* [The trout];

¹¹ The repertoire has been provided by the same sources for grades V to VIII presented above.

Ave Maria.

Serban, G. *Pe langa plopilor fara sot* [Along the poplar trees].

Teodorescu, T. *Fata de pastor* [The shepherd's daughter].

Traditional church songs, *Sfinte Dumnezeule* [Holy God]; *Hristos a-nviat* [Christ is risen]; *Veniti sa ne inchinam* [Come to worship]; *Cu noi este Dumnezeu* [God is with us].

Folk songs with anonymous author, *S-a dus cucul de pe-aici* [The cuckoo left]; *Ciobanas cu trei sute de oi* [Little shepard with 300 sheep]; *Colinde* [Carols].

*Music Appreciation Repertoire for Gymnasium Students (Suggestions)*¹²

Armstrong, Louis. *Summertime*.

Bach, Johann Sebastian. *Tocata si fuga in re minor* [Tocatta and fugue in d minor]; *Suita no. 2 in si minor* [Suite no. 2 in b minor]; *Concertul pentru 2 vioara si orchestra in re minor, partea I* [Concerto for 2 violins and orchestra in d minor, part I].
Concertul italian pentru pian [Italian concerto for piano]; *Missa in si minor* [Mass in b minor].

Bartok, Bela. *Dansuri romanesti* [Romanian dances].

Beethoven, Ludwig van. *Piano sonatas* op. 13, op. 27 no. 2; *Fur Elise*.

Concertul pentru pian si orchestra no. 5 [Piano concerto no. 5]; *Simfonia a 5-a* [Fifth symphony]; *Simfonia a 9-a* [Ninth symphony].

Bernstein, Leonard. *West Side Story*.

Brahms, Johannes. *Valsuri* [Waltzes]; *Dansuri ungare* [Hungarian dances].

Ceaikovski, Piotr Ilici. *Lacul Lebedelor* [Swan lake]; *Spargatorul de nuci* [Nutcracker].

¹² Ibid.

- Chirescu, I. D. *Mama* [Mother]; *Rugaciune* [Prayer].
- Chopin, Frederic. *Vals brilliant*.
- Constantinescu, Paul. *Trei jocuri romanesti* [Three Romanian dances].
- Cucu, Gheorghe. *Miluieste-ma Dumnezeule* [Lord, have mercy].
- Dimitrescu, C. *Dans taranesc* [Peasant dance].
- Dimitrescu, G. *Marscul lui Tudor* [The march of Tudor] from the oratorio *Tudor Vladimirescu*.
- Dragoi, Sabin. *Miniaturi pentru pian* [Piano miniatures].
- Enescu, George. *Poema Romana* [Romanian poem]; *Suita Impresii din copilarie* [Instrumental suite “Impressions from childhood”].
- Gershwin, George. *Rapsodia albastra* [Rhapsody in blue].
- Granados, Enrique. *Dans spaniol* [Spanish dance].
- Grieg, Edvard. *Peer Gynt*.
- Kiriac, D. G. *Morarul* [The miller].
- Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix. *Cantece fara cuvinte* [Songs without words].
- Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus. *Cantec de leagan* [Lullaby]; *Repetitie de concert* [Rehearsal for concert]; *Mica serenada* [Eine kleine nachtmusik]; *Nunta lui Figaro* [The wedding of Figaro].
- Musicescu, Gavriil. *Trompetele rasuna* [Trumpets sound].
- Pergolesi, S. *Stabat Mater*.
- Porumbescu, Ciprian. *Balada pentru vioara si pian* [Ballad for violin and piano].
- Ravel, Maurice. *Bolero*.
- Rossini, Gioacchino. *Barbierul din Sevilla* [The barber of Seville]; *Wilhelm Tell*.

Schubert, Franz. *Impromptu-uri* [Impromptus]; *Momente muzicale* [Musical moments].

Strauss, Johann. *Valsuri* [Waltzes].

Verdi, Giuseppe. *Traviata; Aida; Nabucco; Il trovatore*.

Vivaldi, Antonio. *The four seasons; Concertul pentru vioara in la minor* [Violin concerto in a minor].

Weber, Karl Maria. Uvertura la opera *Oberon* [Overture to *Oberon*]; *Freischütz*.

Appendix C: Music Education Curriculum for Grades IX to XI

*Music Education Curriculum for Grade IX*¹³*Specific Competencies and Contents**1. Applying previously learned musical elements to musical practice*

	Specific competencies	Contents
1.1	To sing by ear and to read a song on notation	Musical elements learned in previous grades: tonal (C major and A minor, G major, mi minor, etc.) and modal scales; structuring elements of melody: simple and complex metres, combinations of rhythm, tempo and dynamics; timbre (instrumental groups of various types)
1.2	To read accessible themes from learned musical works on notation, vocally or with the help of an instrument	Themes from known musical works
1.3	To identify musical components in performed works	Themes from known musical works
1.4	To identify different genres and forms in listening exercises	Musical works of the Medieval time (e.g., Gregorian chant), the Renaissance (e.g., madrigal, motet, mass), Baroque (e.g., prelude, fugue), Classicism (e.g., lied, rondo, sonata form, opera, oratorio)
1.5	To differentiate between polyphonic and homophone syntaxes	Madrigals with polyphonic and homophonic structure; fugues

2. Expressing through and about music

	Specific Competencies	Contents
2.1	To perform vocal and instrumental repertoire, following the composer's indications or using personal knowledge	Specific vocal and instrumental techniques; musical elements and their expressive role: melody, rhythm, tempo, dynamics, phrasing, combinations of timbre; monody, polyphony and homophony
2.2	To correlate the meaning of the text with the character of the melody by performing or commenting it	Specific elements of melody and text; relationships between text and melody, between the character of the text and that of the melody
2.3	To accompany a song on an instrument	Marked rhythm through percussion; melody doubled by instrument (xylophone or other accessible instrument); melodic structure marked by percussion; chord relations on guitar or piano
2.4	To perform individually or in ensemble following the style of the piece	Characteristics of choir singing; audience behaviour
2.5	To auto-evaluate	

¹³ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php?module=uploads&func=download&fileId=4555> (accessed September 2, 2009).

2.6	To express impressions on a listened work	Musical elements: tempo, metre, dynamics, timber, orchestration; syllabic stress and melismatic singing; homophony and polyphony; Forms and genres: prelude and fugue; lied, rondo, sonata form; symphony, concerto; Great composers in the Renaissance, Baroque and Classicism
2.7	To discuss preference for certain musical works that have been listened to	Listening to various musical works
2.8	To compare artistic means to express music and other arts	Sound, colour, word, movement

Music Education Curriculum for Grade X¹⁴

Specific Competencies and Contents

1. Applying previously learned musical elements to musical practice

	Specific competencies	Contents
1.1	To compare musical components as recognized in various musical works	Musical elements learned in previous grades: tonal (D major and b minor, Bb major, g minor, etc) and modal scales; pentatonic scales; exceptional divisions of simple beats; syncopation
1.2	To read accessible themes from learned musical works on notation, vocally or with the help of an instrument	Themes from known musical works
1.3	To perform pentatonic scales on an instrument	Pentatonic scales
1.4	To identify different genres and forms in musical works from the end of the nineteenth-century and the beginning of the twentieth century	Genres characteristics for these two centuries: lied, instrumental miniatures, instrumental concerto, romantic symphony, symphonic poem, romantic opera, and romantic ballet
1.5	To identify various types of voice colours	Opera, music-hall, rock opera, jazz
1.6	To identify specific characteristics of the modern and contemporary musical phenomena	Impressionism and other styles of the twentieth-century

2. Expressing through and about music

	Specific Competencies	Contents
2.1	To analyze musical components in practice with the help of an instrument	Same as 1.1 Contents described above
2.2	To perform various musical works with demonstrated understanding of their styles	Singing technique (breathing, diction, emission); instrumental technique; the expressive role of various musical components (e.g., melody, rhythm, tempo, dynamics, phrasing, timbre); unison and polyphonic singing and instrumental performance; vocal performance with instrumental accompaniment
2.3	To correlate the meaning of the text with the	Instrumental technique

¹⁴ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php?module=uploads&func=download&fileId=4556> (accessed September 2, 2009).

	character of the melody in performing or commenting it	
2.4	To discuss and critique personal and group vocal and instrumental performances	Characteristics of choir singing; Audience behaviour
2.5	To use musical sound in individual melodic and rhythmic combinations	Spontaneously create rhythm and melodies on a given text
2.6	To express impressions on a listened work	Impressionist works and of the twentieth-century; great composers of the romantic period
2.7	To discuss in group preference for certain musical works that have been listened to	Various musical works of classical, Romanian folklore, jazz and other styles
2.8	To compare artistic means to express music and other arts	Ballet and opera
2.9	To use literary and other artistic means to express impressions generated by music	Literary and artistic elements

*Music Education Curriculum for Grade XI*¹⁵

Specific Competencies and Contents

1. Analysis of a large variety of national and universal music works

	Competencies	Contents
1.1	To identify melodic and rhythmic components in various musical works by listening	Relevant melodic and rhythmic components
1.2	To identify aurally harmonic-polyphonic elements	Techniques of singing (the use of the third)
1.3	To read songs with the help of an instrument	Instrumental technique
1.4	To discuss and compare dynamics and tempo terms as recognized in musical works	Listening to various musical genres: folk and popular songs, non-Western music and jazz
1.5	To recognize musical works after themes and musical motifs	Sonata, symphony, instrumental concerto, vocal and instrumental miniature, symphonic poem (from Baroque, Classicism and Romanticism)
1.6	To identify specific characteristics of various musical works for their comparison and classification	Comparative analysis of genres and forms of musical works
1.7	To differentiate between the various types of orchestra	Symphonic orchestra
1.8	To differentiate orally among the instrumental timbres of the symphonic orchestra	Listening to symphonic works
1.9	To identify national musical traits in the works of Romanian composers	Works by George Enescu, Sabin Dragoi, Paul Constantinescu, Martian Negrea, etc.
1.10	To identify folkloric themes of contemporary musical works	National and universal musical works

¹⁵ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php?module=uploads&func=download&fileId=4554> (accessed September 2, 2009).

2. *Expressing through and about music with the help of other artistic means (from literature, painting, dance)*

	Competencies	Contents
2.1	To perform with expression works from the suggested repertoire	Vocal performance technique; phrasing, dynamics, tempo
2.2	To create harmonic arrangements of several melodies from the repertoire	Composition
2.3	To accompany songs with the help of an instrument	Instrumental accompaniment procedures depending on rhythm, melody, etc.
2.4	Composition	Improvisation technique (melody on a given rhythm; rhythmic and melodic variations, harmonic cadences)
2.5	To use artistic means from literature and painting in reproducing the musical message of a song	Literary discussions on literary and choreographic creations
2.6	To correlate musical movements with other arts	Paintings, literary and musical works from the same stylistic era

*Songs and Themes Sung in Unison (Suggestions)*¹⁶

Berlioz, Hector. “Un bal” din *Simfonia fantastica* [“A Ball” from *Fantastic Symphony*].

Bizet, George. “Habanera” from *Carmen* [“Habanera” from *Carmen*].

Brahms, Johannes. *Lieds*.

Liszt, Franz. *Les Préludes*, part I, (9/8 theme).

Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix. *Concertul pentru vioara si orchestra* [The concerto for violin and orchestra].

Schubert, Franz. *Lieds*.

Smetana, Bedric. Poemul simfonic “Vltava” [The symphonic poem “Vltava”].

Verdi, Giuseppe. “Corul scavilor evrei” din *Nabucco* [“The Jewish slaves’ choir” from *Nabucco*]; “Aria Ducelui” din *Rigoletto* [“The Duke’s Aria” from *Rigoletto*]; “Marsul triumfal” din *Aida* [“Triumphal March” from *Aida*].

Wagner, Richard. “Leitmotivul maestrilor cantareti” [theme from *Die Meistersinger*].

Weber, Carl Maria. “Corul vanatorilor” din opera *Freischütz* [“Hunters’ choir” from *Freischütz*].

Romanian folk songs and carols.

*Music Appreciation Repertoire for High School Students*¹⁷

Bach, Johann Sebastian. *Concertul pentru vioara si orchestra in Mi major* [Concerto for piano and orchestra in Mi major]; *Concertul pentru 2 vioari si orchestra* [Concerto for 2 violins and orchestra]; *Concerte pentru clavecin si orchestra* [Concertos for harpsichord and orchestra]; *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier*.

Beethoven, Ludwig van. *Fur Elise. Romantele pentru vioara* [Romances for violin]; *Sonatele pentru pian* [Piano sonatas] op. 13, op. 27 no. 2, op. 53, op. 57; *Concertul pentru vioara in Re major* [Violin concerto in D major]; *Simfoniile* [Symphonies] 3, 5, 6, 7, 9; Uverturile [Overtures] *Coriolan, Leonora 3*; *Cvartetele Razumovski* [The Razumovski Quartets].

Chopin, Frederic. *Waltzes, Mazurkas, Etudes*;

Constantinescu, Paul. *Oratoriile bizantine* [Byzantine Oratorios].

Corelli, Arcangelo. *12 Concerti Grossi, op. 6*.

Couperin, Francois. *Piese pentru clavecin* [Pieces for harpsichord].

Dragoi, Sabin. *Divertiment rustic* [Rustic divertissement].

Enescu, George. *Rapsodiile I si II* [Rhapsodies I and II]; *Poema Romana* [The Romanian poem]; *Sonatele pentru pian si vioara* [Sonatas for piano and violin]; *Suita instrumentala “Impresii din copilarie”* [Instrumental suite “Impressions from childhood”]; *Suitele pentru orchestra* [Suites for orchestra].

- Haendel, Georg Friedrich. *Muzica Apelor* [Water Music]; *Focuri de artificii* [Fire works]; Corul “Alleluia” din Oratoriul *Messiah* [“Alleluia” from the Oratorio *Messiah*].
- Haydn, Joseph. Simfoniile *Surpriza*, *Ceasornicul*, *Despartirea* [The “Clock,” “Surprise and “Departure” Symphonies]; *Concertul pentru pian in Re* [Piano concerto in D major]; *Concertele pentru violoncel in Do si Re* [Cello concertos in C and D major].
- Gershwin, George. *Rhapsody in Blue*; *An American in Paris*; *Porgy and Bess*.
- Glodeanu, Liviu. *Suita pentru copii, orchestra de suflatori si percutie* [Suite for children, wind instruments and percussion].
- Jora, Mihail. Baletul “*La piata*” [The ballet “At the market”].
- Kodaly, Zoltan. *Hary Janos*; *Psalmus Hungaricus*.
- Lassus, Orlando. *Madrigale* [Madrigals].
- Lloyd, A. *Jesus Christ Superstar*.
- Marenzio, Luca. *Madrigale* [Madrigals]
- Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus. *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik*; *Concertele no. 3 si 5 pentru vioara*. [Violin concertos no. 3 and 5]; *Simfonia no. 40 in Sol major* [Symphony no. 40 in G major]; *Simfonia in Do major no. 41, “Jupiter”* [Symphony no. 41 in C major, “Jupiter”]; *Sonata pentru pian in La major* [Piano sonata in A major]; *Nunta lui Figaro* [The wedding of Figaro]; *Don Giovanni*; *Flautul fermecat* [The magic flute]; *Requiem*.
- Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi. *Mise si motete* [Masses and motets].
- Popovici, Doru. *Codex Caioni*.

Porumbescu, Ciprian. *Balada pentru vioara si pian* [Ballad for violin and piano].

Ripa, Constantin. *Cantecele anotimpurilor* [Songs of the seasons]; *Missa pentru cor, solisti si orchestra* [Mass for choir, soloists and orchestra].

Stravinski, Igor. *Petruska*; *Pasarea de foc* [Fire bird]; *Sacre du printemps*.

Toduta, Sigismund. *Passacaglia*.

Anonymous author, *Gregorian chant*.

Choral Repertoire for High School Students (selections)

Arvinte, Constantin. *Triptic maramuresan* [Three pieces from Maramures].

Borlan, Liviu. *Joc de Oas* [Dance from Oas].

Brediceanu, Tiberiu. *Floricea de pe apa* [Flower on the water].

Comes, Liviu. *Luna iese dintre codri* [The moon appears from among the trees]; *Asculta, Doamne* [Listen to me, oh God].

Kiriac, Dumitru Georgescu. *A ruginit frunza din vii* [The grape leaves have turned yellow]; *Cantec de toamna* [Autumn song]; *Pe carare sub un brad* [On the path under the Christmas tree].

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