Seminar OCMS Jan. 26, 2005
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This is my second seminar at OCMS; the first was presented in Jan. 2003 prior to submitting the proposal to Wales in October of 2003. Since that first seminar I decided I would not attempt a comparative study between Cambodia and Romania as the logistics of that sort of study were beyond my means. Since then, I worked with Haddon Wilmer in shaping the research proposal and he is serving as my primary supervisor. I moved with my family to Romania in August of 2002 to assume the role of Director of Research and special project development. I have served as a missionary with the Assemblies of God for the past 18 years and am involved in ongoing research, training, consulting, focus group development and mentoring emerging leaders that are working with children and youth at risk in Eastern Europe. The research in Romania that is described in this paper is being carried out as I fill the role of both missionary and participant observer in working with Romanian evangelical churches and faith based agencies.

In the seminar, I will begin by presenting a brief (10-15 minute) Power Point presentation of the model I have developed to describe the overall situation observed in my research. This model should serve to orient the seminar participants in understanding a general overview of the research problem and the situation emerging in Romania with FBOs, churches and children at risk. (Annex 1). I will describe in this paper some of the methodology and findings of the first phase of my field research, carried out between Oct. 2003 and November 2004. The focus of the seminar is to open discussion with seminar participants concerning rationale of the selection of cases chosen for the study. Your feed back and comments are welcome and will assist me in shaping Chapter 4 (see below).

Title of Thesis
Evangelical Faith Based Agencies and Churches involved with Children and Youth at Risk in Romania since 1989[1]

This study follows two directions of inquiry and investigation:

- An analysis of the methods, theology, missiology and ministries of selected international faith based organisations (FBOs) , local FBOs and churches;
- An analysis of the relationships between organisations and local churches in Romania occurring since the fall of Communism with special reference to Christian responses to issues around children and youth at risk. [2]

The study seeks to answer this central research question and sub questions:

How have selected FBOs and churches been working together since 1990 in reference to children at risk and what has been learned in this process to provide a critical assessment of the methodology and missiology employed to care for children? What factors have enabled or hindered FBOs, mission agencies and Romanian Evangelical churches to cooperate effectively in ministry with children at risk in the time frame 1990-2003?

[1] The title was worded originally 'Pentecostal and Evangelical…' but has been changed to simply 'Evangelical' as the Pentecostals are seen as Evangelicals in Romania; they are members of The Evangelical Alliance of Romania and also legally described as a Neo-protestant cult.

[2] Throughout the thesis the term "children and youth at risk" will be used to describe a demographic group of young people 4-18 years of age that are "at risk" from poverty, ethnic marginalization i.e. gypsies, sexual or street exploitation, institutionalization, lack of access to basic education, social services and health care. Chapter two of the thesis will describe this group in much greater detail and notes that UNICEF designates this group as "children in extremely difficult circumstances" (CEDC).

A further objective of the study is to understand, analyse and describe how international and local FBOs in Romania have gone about working with or without churches in the task of caring for at risk children and youth and to what extent and in what ways have FBOs been effective in equipping and empowering local churches in Romania to care for children at risk.

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Background to the crisis of children at risk in Romania

On Christmas Eve of 1989, Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife, Ileana, were executed by a firing squad in a small town near Targoviste about 40 kilometres West of Bucharest. Ceausescu had come to power in 1967 and emerged as dictator, bringing with him his own brand of Communism based upon an elaborate 'personality cult', blending Marxism and nationalism and eschewing outside interference (Weiner, 1997). This particular form of Communism, known as 'Ceausescuism', was to dictate the country's course for twenty-two years (Treptow, 1997).

Prior to the collapse of Communism the Romanian state economy was already in deep crisis
With the disappearance of the Ceausescu regime and the collapse of their state run personality cult, the Romanian economy experienced massive chaos and dysfunction.[3] Within months many state-run industries were privatized while many others went into bankruptcy. Social issues and problems which had been the responsibility of the state, including institutional child care, were greatly exacerbated as Communism came apart and the social systems of Romania lost state funding. In Ceausescu's Romania a well know social scientist concluded that the 'conditions among children were a direct consequence of Government social policy' (Zamfir & Zamfir, 1996:1).

[3] The transition period following the 1989 Revolution has proved to be extremely difficult economically for most Romanians. In 1989, after a decade of pronounced deterioration in the standard of living, an estimated 7% of the Romanian population was in poverty (Tesliuc, Pop, & Tesliuc, 2001) In the period 1991-1993 the poverty rate was assessed to be between 22% (World Bank 1997) and 39% (Research Institute for Quality of Life, RIQL) (Zamfir, 1995).

Since 1989 there has been massive international assistance to help Romania address the child welfare problem and to reform a failed project that was set in motion by the Communist regime. Romanian laws had been passed in 1966 making abortion illegal and mandating that all women have at least 5 children (unless exempted by the state). Institutionalisation, as the means of substitute care for children seen to promote centralisation and, hence, favoured by the communist regime, was deemed to be the answer (Zamfir & Zamfir, 1996). It is estimated that between 80,000 and 100,000 children were living in 600-700 childcare institutions when Ceausescu was ousted in 1989[4] (Groza, Ileana, & Irwin, 1999).

Three main ideas emerge concerning 'the institutionalised child' in communist Romania

1. The institutionalised child, as a child in need of protection, was understood as different from the 'norm', devalued and strongly stigmatised.
2. Children who suffered from any kind of handicap were most devalued, being seen as unproductive members of society (Burke, 1995).
3. Parents were encouraged to place all disabled children in institutions at birth and to 'forget about them'(Lansdown, 2003).

It was very common for children from 0-3 years to be placed in institutions called *leagane* (children's cradles) run by the Ministry of Health. At the age of three they were assessed and labelled as 'normal', 'with a minor handicap' or 'irrecoverably handicapped', and sent to institutions deemed to meet their needs (Groza *et al.*, 1999). Rather than identifying the underlying structural issues which led to the abandonment of the majority of Romania's 'unwanted' children, the state in communist Romania identified the children themselves as a '*social problem'* to be removed (Burke, 1995). The Romanian state took upon itself the mandate to solve all Romania's social problems; the centralised state took responsibility for the children (Zamfir and Zamfir, 1996). The family was largely juxtaposed to the state under Communism (Pine, 2002) which resulted in a 'diminished sense of personal accountability for children' (Burke, 1995:21). When families placed children in orphanages there was a very limited amount of information kept about the institutionalised child's family (Groza *et al.*, 1999).[5]

Assistance both financial and technical has come from the European Union, USAID, UNICEF, Save the Children, many NGOs from the US and Europe. Following the 'revolution of 1989' media coverage from around the world focused on the deplorable conditions of Romanian child care institutions (Dickens & Groza). It provoked not only a response from governmental and non governmental agencies but many

[4] Though estimates go as high as 170,000 (Rosapepe, 2001).

[5] My acknowledgement to Ms. Phillipa Curtis for dialogue and sharing her research, *Under the Influence, Local NGOs and discourse in Post Communist Societies*. She did her research in Romania on one NGO working with children at risk and this has helped me in locating several sources for this paper. I am still working to gather more information to better explain 'why' so many families abandoned their children during this period.

faith based organisations entered Romania to work with these at risk children. By 1992, it was reported that approximately 400 non governmental organisations (NGOs) had been registered in Romania, providing humanitarian assistance such as food, supplies, infrastructure, training, and technical assistance (Romanian Information Clearing House, 1992).[6] The proportion of children living in poverty in 1990 was 4.4 percent, by 1994; these figures had increased to 37.5 percent.[7]

Brief Overview of Romania Evangelicalism 1989 – 2003

With the collapse of Communism, evangelicalism entered a new beginning and uncharted territory in its development. As the Evangelical and Pentecostal FBOs and Mission Agencies entered Romania, most did so with the stated intent of "taking the gospel to Romania." However, many of the mission agencies gave individual missionaries the freedom to develop evangelistic strategies that could include humanitarian concern and the needs of Romanian children that were institutionalized or turning to the streets for survival.

Forty-five years of Communism left a deep impact on the overall outlook, social, economic and religious practices of Romanian evangelicals.[8] There were many attitudes which were developed and reinforced under Communism: a deeply ingrained piety, churches that had become largely isolated from the greater Romanian society, a denial of a real social crisis [i.e. a socialist country like Romania has no social problems], corruption, lack of initiative, lack of trust of neighbour, fear of repression or persecution, abuse of power. Social issues and problems that had been the responsibility of the state, including institutional child care and the needs of children at risk were shifted to the private sector. The Romania churches under Communism had very little interaction with the political or state apparatus so there was little exchange of information or energy between the Evangelicals and the emerging civic institutions of the Romanian government

It was clear that to address these issues; it would require concentrated and specialized efforts by the church in Romania. FBOs from the West came to Romania to assist in caring for these children. These social problems have not disappeared in the Post communist years; the following section is a very brief overview of evangelical developments of the past 13 years.

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[6] I have asked many people in interviews what did they know of or understand about these institutions that were run and operated by the state. Almost 100% of the respondents had no knowledge of these homes, most were kept hidden from the public or were state properties that were out of bounds to the general public. In the case of the homes for handicapped children, one medical doctor responded that she was told these homes did 'not exist' because Romanian scientists had done away with such primitive diseases.

[7] UNICEF, "Children at Risk in Central and Eastern Europe: Perils and Promises," *Regional Monitoring Report* No 4 (Florence: UNICEF International Child Development Centre, 1997).

[8] Evangelicals are often referred to as the *Pocăiți,* Romanian for 'Repented ones'. Under the communist regime the term *Pocăiți* began to take on a more special significance for the Evangelical church. The thesis will explain how the *Pocăiți* began to understand themselves under Communism and ways in which the Evangelicals began to develop contacts with the Western Church, especially in the later years of the regime.

Immediately following the December 1989 revolution, there was a tremendous openness to the Gospel in Romania. After many years of atheistic ideology, the people showed a genuine interest in learning about spiritual matters. The void left by communist ideology was quickly filled by new messages that flooded into Romanian culture and society. The message of the Western free market entered the country with the same enthusiasm and assertiveness as the Western church. Many evangelical mission agencies and FBOs from the West – Europe, Australia, the USA, England and Canada, rushed into Romania to help strengthen the existing and impoverished evangelical churches. As one example of the spiritual openness, in Timisoara in Western Romania where the revolution had begun, Elim Pentecostal Church with a membership of 2000 members in 1990 grew in one year to over 3000 members. In 1991, the church announced the opening of a new Bible School in the church basement and the response was immediate, 300 people applied to study[9]. After decades of restrictions Romanian evangelicals, with Western assistance, were able to open and build new churches, bible schools and training institutions, and begin many humanitarian foundations and associations. These latter were especially focused on the needs of children at risk. The new freedom to travel both in and out of Romania resulted in direct contact with evangelical churches and leaders from all over the world.[10] Geographically, the eastern part of the country was predominantly Orthodox; evangelical churches have not been particularly strong in south-eastern Romania (Muntenia and Oltenia). However, the Western and northern part of the country (Banat and Transylvania) had been under Austro-Hungarian rule in the 18th and 19th Century had encountered more Western influence. Here the evangelicals enjoyed greater contact with the West including some cultural influence from the Reformation and the Enlightenment. The Hungarian minority of Transylvania tends to be Reformed, Catholic or Lutheran. In general evangelical churches in the Western part of the country and in the larger cities are less legalistic than those in the East or in villages. The Western cities of Timisoara, Arad and Oradea were known as cities where there was a strong evangelical influence and much Western FBO attention was focused in this region.[11]

World Vision, an international faith based humanitarian and child development agency, had begun work in Romania when a devastating earthquake struck Bucharest in 1977 and continued a limited presence in the country until the fall of Communism. In the early 1990s World Vision helped to organize several national conferences that brought together the different recognized evangelical groups in the county. The

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[9] This data comes from personal interviews with Romanians and Western church leaders. The same was true to some degree of the Baptist Faculty in Bucharest and the new Baptist College opened in Oradea. The Pentecostal Seminary (ITP) in Bucharest had to turn away new students and several new Pentecostal Bible Colleges were opened in 1991-1992.

[10] Some published accounts are available but it appears the activity itself far outnumbers the published material. I have interviewed a number (n=45) of representatives of faith based organisations and churches that have been working in Romania since the fall of Communism and it is clear that there was something of a Western evangelical 'invasion' in Romania in the early 1990s. (To be more fully discussed in the thesis.)

[11] In an interview with Maria Varga who works with Mission without Borders in Sibiu (Western Romania) she noted that many agencies coming overland from Western Europe in the early 1990's reached the border counties and found so much need there that they often did not transport their supplies to the interior of the country.

Romanian Evangelical Alliance was founded in 1991 by the Baptist Union, Brethren Church, the Pentecostal Union, a part of the Lord's Army movement and a group of Lutherans from Bucharest. This Alliance pledged to work together more effectively in the areas of evangelism and in defence of religious liberty. The last decade has witnessed ongoing tensions between the emerging evangelical church and the Orthodox Church; some of these tensions arise from perspectives about evangelism and proselytism. The Romanian Orthodox Church desires to maintain a dominant status in religious affairs of the country and guards its position as a State or National Church. In the 2003 census the Orthodox Church registered 18,817,975 members (86.8 percent of the population).[12] There have been numerous negative press campaigns aimed at the evangelicals and reports of infractions on religious liberty in the areas of education and civil administration especially where there have been denials or slow approvals for building permits for new evangelical churches.[13] Much of this activity is often brought about by local priests or officials that are particularly opposed to evangelical activity in their areas.[14]

Evangelical activity has continued to increase over the past 13 years. In 1992 results of the first post communist nationwide census revealed that 380,086 people counted themselves members of evangelical churches (2.4% of the population) and that this group was rapidly growing. This evangelical growth is especially interesting when the decline of Romania's general population is taken into consideration, which was 4.87%.[15] In the 2002 Census that official number has increased to approximately 440,000. [16] Those who are concerned with numbering evangelical believers also include the Lord's Army as a member of the Evangelical Alliance and this movement estimates its adherents at 125,000. The figures that were

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[12] The Government officially recognizes 17 religions: The Romanian Orthodox Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the Greek Catholic Church, the Old Rite Christian Church, the Reformed (Protestant) Church, the Christian Evangelical Church, the Romanian Evangelical Church, the Evangelical Augustinian Church, the Lutheran Evangelical Church-Synod Presbyterian, the Unitarian Church, the Baptist Church, the Pentecostal Church, the Seventh-day Adventist Church, the Armenian Church, Judaism, Islam, and Jehovah's Witnesses, recognized as a religion in May. However, members of other faiths worship freely, but are not afforded various forms of state support (Press Release on Religious Freedom in Romania. Accessed on line www.usembassy.ro on Jan. 13. 2003.)

[13] There is tremendous pressure to be affiliated with the Orthodox Church: from family and friends, from tradition, and from politics. Culturally, one needs to be Orthodox to be considered a good Romanian. Thus, those who have been raised in the Orthodox tradition tend to remain Orthodox.

[14] Romanians have a predominately rural mentality and the society is characterized by a reduced civic sense which retains many ideas incongruent with a democratic society, including religious intolerance. These historical and social realities will be expanded in the thesis and included in analyzing the situation of the evangelical churches and how the Western FBOs have been working with these cultural realities

[15] The current population of Romania is estimated to be 22.5 million with half of the population under 30 years of age including over 6 million children (under 18).

[16] The Romanian census conducted January 7,1992, registered 380,086 Baptists, Pentecostals and Brethren. By the year 2000 there are approximately 440,000 members and adherents in these denominations, including those who participate in independent evangelical churches. In the last eight years even more than 60,000 people were added to the evangelical churches. For example, we know that some Christians have left the country and that others have died. In order to cover these losses it is more likely that at least 100,000 people were added to the evangelical churches in the past nine years. (*Directory of the Network of Christian Ministries in Romania* OCI, 2003 and interviews with Stan Downs and Russ Mitchell, researchers with OCI, Romania)

published in 2003 by OCI put the total number conservatively at 500,000 evangelical Christians, thus making Romania the country with the third highest number of evangelicals in all Europe after England and Germany. The latest figures from the Ministry of Cults and Religious Affairs seem to concur with this research.[17] Statistical data has also been gathered from the evangelical bodies about the number of churches (new and existing). The Pentecostal Union claims to now have over 2,500 churches, the Baptist Union over 1000 and another 1500 evangelical churches are claimed by the other evangelical groups: Charismatic, Evangelical Free, Adventist, Brethren, etc. bringing the total to over 5000 churches (OCI, 2003). Given that estimates in 1989 were as high as 2,400 churches, this figure means that approximately five new churches have opened in Romania each week over the past ten years. These figures represent a staggering amount of activity and investment in a country that is still ranks as one of the poorest countries in Europe and is still crippled by years of economic mismanagement.[18] The European Commission's annual report on progress made by EU accession countries, released on November 5, 2003 confirmed that Romania is the only candidate which still fails the test for a "functioning market economy".

In 2003, OCI published its annual statistic table which provides a complete database of all agencies working in Romania, the number now exceeds 300 registered groups (associations, foundations and church agencies). Most of these entities have been established over the past 13 years and over half of this number are directly supported or work in partnership with Western FBOs which assist Romanian evangelical efforts in evangelism, church planting, leadership training, discipleship, literature production and ministries that are focused on children at risk.

This brief overview serves to establish that since 1989, Romanian evangelicalism has enjoyed a dynamic partnership with FBOs and Western agencies. Very little research has been done by OCI or other evangelical agencies to measure in any way the efficacy or measure the cultural/societal impact of the partnership between Romanian churches and Western FBOs. I acknowledge that some of the data provided in this overview is typical in church growth study. Church growth statisticians are primarily concerned

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[17] The latest available official figures on the number of believers of the recognized religious denominations date from the March 2002 census. The Christian Evangelical Church had 44,476 members. The Romanian Evangelical Church has 18,178 members. The Evangelical Augustinian Church had 8,716 members. The Lutheran Evangelical Church Synod-Presbyterian had 27,112 members. The Unitarian Church of Romania had 66,944 members. The Baptist Church had 126,639 members. The Apostolic Church of God (Pentecostal Union) had 324,462 members. The Seventh-day Christian Adventist Church had 93,670 members. The Baptist denomination recorded a growth of 20,475 people between 1992 and 2002. This is a growth of 18.7%. The two brethren denominations (the CDE and BER which were counted together in 1992 but separately in 2002) increased by 14,824 persons for a growth of 29.7% The Pentecostal Union denomination recorded the largest growth of 109,662 persons for a decadal growth rate of 49.7%.(Sources: OCI, Evangelical Denominations in Romania 2004 and http://www.ministerulculturii.ro/ accessed online July, 2004)

[18] World Bank reports that 20 percent of the population (5 million people), primarily concentrated in the rural areas of the country are living under a subsistence level; as of 2003 there was 12% unemployment and the G.D.E. per capita was 30% of the EU average. http://www.worldbank.org/cgi-bin/sendoff.cgi?page=%2Fdata%2Fcountrydata%2Faag%2From_aag.pdf accessed online August 2004. The World Bank provides a good economic overview 'Romania at a Glance.'

with the growth of the church numerically and church growth missiologists have not devoted special attention to the development of mechanisms, criteria or categories to monitor or assess efficacy in partnership. My research seeks to investigate the question of efficacy and partnership outcomes; it is limited to those evangelical churches, agencies and FBOs that are working specifically with children at risk. This study will identify individual agencies and churches that either have some means of assessing partnership dynamics or have found ways to evaluate and measure outcomes in the lives of children and youth. To date, little research has been done or published on this subject from a faith based perspective in Romania, which is surprising given the amount of financial and human investment in the country by Western FBOs.

First Phase of Research – Mapping the Terrain

I moved to live and work full time in Romania in August of 2002 and began to develop my research proposal in the first half of 2004 and conducted a number of nonformal interviews with Romanians and Western leaders of evangelical agencies to understand something of the FBO-church dynamics that had emerged in the country since 1990[19]. This first year in Romania helped me to gain a better understanding of the country and context of Romania in general and evangelicalism in particular. I was asked to speak in many churches, attended and lead seminars and pastors conferences, interacted regularly with church leaders, and began to train young people working with children and youth at risk. In this initial stage of research I hired two recently graduated university graduates to work as research assistants in this project[20]. We began to develop a literature review of Romanian sources on culture, religion and sociology, and located materials to support a future chapter on causes for the institutional crisis with children at risk in Romania. At this time, as a part of the first phase of the research I developed a preliminary draft of a research questionnaire for interviewing FBO leaders and pastors of churches to assist in selecting cases for further study. The research methodology chosen for this study involves a small amount of quantitative data but is primarily qualitative in nature. Good qualitative work usually follows a set of procedures in early phases such as:

1. Reflecting on the setting (who will be the subject of research, defining the role of the researcher and selecting criteria.
2. Describing the *goals and means* of the research.
3. S*ampling* and *collecting* data (In this case - NGOs, FBOs, pastors, leaders etc) (Schutt, 2001:267-268)

[19] Prior to my decision to do research in Romania, I had considered doing a similar project in Cambodia where I had served as a missionary. In over 15 years of missionary work with a traditional Western mission agency (the Assemblies of God) I become very aware of the somewhat incidental use of children in church planting strategies. I chose to limit my study to Romania as a one country case study was more appropriate to the research design. As I was a new missionary in Romania, I spent much of my first year collecting background information for the research and learning something of the evangelical history and dialogue of the early 90's.

[20] More will be said in the thesis about the rationale in this research design for involving young Romanian evangelicals. I believed that an important outcome of this research project should be to train and develop researchers who could help the Romanian church of the future better understand issues related to children at risk. To my knowledge, this is the first time a missionary has trained or involved Romanian evangelical assistants in qualitative research techniques focused specifically on faith based issues.

I developed a three tier model to help explain and visualize the research problem (Annex 1) and learned that this model helped reveal a number of complex important issues for the research. I will briefly explain this model with a Power Point in today's seminar but to conserve space in the paper I will omit a lengthy discussion of its individual elements. Suffice it to say that in creating a mental map of the research problem, the model greatly aided me in visualizing emerging aspects of the research problem. It is impossible to talk about Western FBOs and not discuss the organisational, theological, cultural or sociological assumptions that inform their tasks and mission. As I began to interview and learn from the leaders of Western FBOs in first phase of my research (conducted between October 2003 and November 2004) I gained important insights into missiological assumptions these agencies brought to Romania. The FBOs understood finances, power, partnership and participation in partnership in very pragmatic and utilitarian ways. As will be discussed later in this paper, it became clear that taxonomies and categories would need to be found to describe the FBOs and the ways in which they partnered with Romanian evangelical churches. Phase One of the research followed two basic approaches: 1) Descriptive research where "often the *primary* focus of the first research is about some issue. Measurement and sampling are central concerns in descriptive research." (Shuttt, 2001: 40) 2) Exploratory research which "seeks to find out how people get along in the setting under question, what meaning they give to their actions, and what issues concern them. The goal is to learn 'what is going on here?' and to investigate social phenomena without expectations. This purpose is associated with the use of methods capturing large amounts of unstructured information. […] Exploratory research involves qualitative methods". (Schutt, 2001:44-45)

I located several sources of evangelical literature assessing East – West evangelical partnership dynamics emerging from Russia and the CIS, (Brown & Brown, 2003; Elliott, 1996; Penner, 2003). But found that little has been published to analyze the Romanian –Western FBO and church partnerships. In scale of Western intervention, it could be argued that the Western evangelical investment in Romania per capita is equal and possibly greater than that in former Soviet Union but has not drawn the same attention. I met Danut Manastireanu through a mutual acquaintance in Iasi, Romania and he directed to me several papers he had published in the East West Church Report. To my knowledge Manastireanu is one of the few Romanian theologians that has attempted to critique the evolving Romanian–Western evangelical partnership dynamic.(Mănăstireanu, 1998, 1998, 1999, 2000) I found little published literature assessing or measuring evangelical impact with children at risk or describing FBO partnerships with Romanian churches[21]. The academic work that I was able to locate from most Romanian evangelical scholars was either theological in nature or concerned the Orthodox Church. Missiology of the post communist era in Romania was an emerging field for study. I understood early in Phase 1 of my research that I would need to rely on the help of many key informants. This is confirmed in the literature that a researcher should

[21] Conversely, there are several good studies evaluating NGO–Romanian partnerships, Dickens and Groza are cited elsewhere in this paper and Johns Hopkins University has done research on the NGO sector. But these journal articles only refer in passing to the church and do not evaluate faith based work in Romania with children.

spend time in "preliminary discussion with key informants, inspection of written documents, and even a review of your own feelings about the setting can all help." (Miller & Crabtree, 1999:94-96)

With the help of the Romanian research assistants, I began to develop a database of any agencies working in Romania with children or youth at risk. Overseas Crusade International was a primary source in this process as they maintain and update a database of most evangelical agencies working in Romania and their database has a subcategory listed as children/youth. A search of the OCI database was compared with a database compiled by World Vision Romania and with databases available from the US Embassy and Cleaford trust UK and Pro Child Romania.[22] We identified about 120 agencies that were self described in the sources as somehow working with children but were not able to determine to what extent the FBOs were working with local churches, with children at risk children or degrees of partnership.[23] The next phase of this initial survey was a purposive selection of about 50 agencies that fit the criteria of the research and which were recommended by the key informants or by other organisations' leaders and these were contacted by phone or email. Rubin suggests three guidelines for informants when designing any purposive sampling strategy. The informants should be "knowledgeable about the cultural arena or situation or experience being studied. Should be willing to talk and they should be representative of the range of points of view." (Rubin & Rubin, 1995:66) This phone survey was designed to ask questions about if and how the agencies worked with Romanian churches and what types of children were they helping – street children, children in or from orphanages, kids addicted to substances, abused children etc. After the phone survey was completed a list was created of a group of local Romanian FBOs that could be contacted for a more detailed intensive interview. This list included FBOs (large and small), churches working with FBOs and several agencies that said they did not work at all with local churches. The latter was chosen as a small control group.

I began to do formal field interviews in September of 2003. By this time I had gathered enough general information about the FBO-church partnership discussion to develop a questionnaire made up of 24 questions that were used in a guided interview format[24]. I decided that I would do at least 30 formal interviews or until recognizable patterns began to emerge and I had enough data to select cases for in-depth

[22] The OCI database of active Romanian FBOs (available in electronic and printed format; latest edition, 2004) website: www.oci.ro; the Cleaford Christian Trust list of Romanian NGOs that are partnering with outside agencies and organisations (mostly from the UK and US) – posted on their website, www.riac.org.uk web links posted on the sites of different organisations in the field. www.prochild.ro and the USAID list on the Romanian US Embassy website (www.usembassy.ro)

[23] A final copy of this overall data base will be submitted with the thesis, it was created in Microsoft Access and will provide the reader with name of the organisation, contact person and information, web address, and type of ministry the FBO is carrying out with children. It was learned in creating the database for this research that many of the agencies that self list with OCI that they 'work with children' are in fact not working with children at risk but may be doing something as simple as holding an annual summer camp for children from local churches.

[24] This *Preliminary Survey of Child Agencies in Romania* is not attached as an annex (to conserve paper) but if any of the seminar participants would like to have this Survey, I will make it available.

analysis. I also understood that while conducting the interviews, I would make room for some 'snowball sampling.' This technique allows the researcher to identify one member of the population and speak to him or her and ask that individual to identify others in the population and speak to them and so on. In this way the sample 'snowballs" in size. (Schutt, 2001:134-135) The interviews were done in a conversational format and 5 broad subject areas were discussed in each interview:

1) *Program description*: history of the program, recipients of program, ages, background and needs of the children, staff (Romanian or international) training and reasons for starting the program.
2) *Partnership Issues*: nature of the partnership, who guides the partnership, who makes decisions concerning programmatic interventions, how does this organisation work with the local church or a denomination, how important is the local church to the partnership, and what is the role of the child in the partnership?
3) *Program goals and Evaluation*: What are the goals of the program, how are the goals evaluated, how does faith make a difference in your partnership and in your project, how do you define success in your work?
4) *Finances*: What percentage of your work is financed from outside Romania, who are your financial partners and do you receive financial support from any governmental sources.
5) *Future issues*: What are the primary barriers and problems the FBO faces, what are the primary opportunities the FBO faces and identify from a list of 12 options the primary causes of child welfare problems in your location and work.

These preliminary interviews were conducted on a part time basis as I was involved in many other responsibilities in my missionary and administrative work. But the role of missionary/researcher proved to be very appropriate to the research design. By September of 2004 I had completed over 40 formal interviews, in process I continued to refine the Survey Questionnaire as some of the questions were more relevant to FBOs than they were to churches.[25] The notes resulting from these interviews (which were either taped and transcribed or written in shorthand and later transcribed) are about 2,000 words each and produced over 200 pages of preliminary data.

In July of 2004, I designed a more comprehensive questionnaire to use in the case study analysis to be done in Phase 2 of the research. I tested this mechanism with an agency in August of 2004 and learned that it would take a minimum of 2-3 days additional interview time with staff, director, children and program partners to acquire the data needed for theoretical analysis. This research that is planned in Phase 2 will follow a grounded theory approach. (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1998)

Open Coding leading to Categories from Preliminary Interviews

The following categories were created after reviewing and preliminary coding the 40 interviews with both Romanian and Western leaders of local evangelical churches, agencies (FBOs) and denominations. (Annex

[25] The thesis will explain in greater detail why we chose this interview technique, benefits and limitations of this approach, in some ways the methodology has followed ethnographic research but in others ways it is more like investigative interviewing– we are attempting to gather qualitative data and there are some problems with interviewing Romanians that will need more explanation. I designed this preliminary questionnaire to get a better understanding of the issues that are important to churches and FBOs.

2). The procedures to code the interview notes follow the suggestions on open coding from textual data found in *Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*. (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:101-121). The categories presented here are those that concern partnership dynamics between Western agencies and Romanian churches. This paper does not allow space to discuss actual programmatic involvement with children per se or all the categories identified (five are discussed here from 15 identified in preliminary coding). To supplement the data collected in the field interviews and notes I included in my analysis personal reflection notes, observations made while engaged in frequent teaching opportunities at evangelical training institutions, informal discussions, listening forums with leaders of child focused agencies, and administrative meetings concerning agency and church partnerships in Romania.[26]

1. **The slow response of local Romania evangelical churches to respond the needs of children at risk in the early 1990s led to some confusion and lack of cooperation in partnership with FBOs.**

The Western agency and FBO leaders are quick to point out that in the early 1990's most evangelical churches were either not able or not willing to work directly with children at risk. There were many factors contributing to this: the local Romania churches lacked capacity in resources, training and finances, and were inundated by the needs of their own members and families. More importantly it appears that the Western FBOs had operational and organisational ends in mind and made assumptions that were not congruent with the Romanian evangelical subculture. In addition, the operative theologies of the Romania evangelical church had been deeply influenced by both cultural roots of Romanian Orthodoxy and a pietistic theology that elevated personal holiness over social concern. The evangelical church leaders under Communism were not allowed to study formal theology much less the social sciences. Catalin Zamfir documents that the teaching of all social science curricula was abolished by the Romanian State in 1967.(Zamfir & Zamfir, 1996:28)

In the early 1990's FBOs from the West needed to find facilities, appropriate staff, church partners and local collaborators. Since the Romania churches often did not offer their members as volunteers, Western evangelical agencies began to hire the best people they could to work at the agencies.[27] These people were often referred to the agencies from local churches and they were hired to work with the at risk children as employees of the newly formed Romanian associations and foundations. FBOs and Western agencies opened these associations and foundations as organisational vehicles for child care since many local

[26] Included in this seminar presentation are a few excerpts of the field notes that were originally coded to create each category. What I have cited here are a few quotes typical of the interviews to give the reader a sense of the interview discussions. Names are not included and only abbreviations are used which are coded to the actual interviewee. Most notes were transcribed after the interviews from notes or tapes, where necessary I have paraphrased certain sentences with more fluid English than the actual conversations. Most interviewees spoke English, but some not as a first language.

[27] The term 'volunteer' appears repeatedly in interviews with leaders of Western FBOs i.e. "it is hard to find people to volunteer." Romanians explain that this term still has very negative connotations left over from the communist period where people were expected to 'volunteer' for the state which was a euphemism for 'being assigned or conscripted to a task'.

churches were not willing to take on the task of caring for the children not already attending those churches.

> "Most Romanian evangelicals don't have the knowledge or skills to do social work, they lack ability and theory" (personal interview A.V.).

> "Western agencies that entered Romania in the early 90's quickly learned that local evangelical churches lacked the capacity to get involved with the poor kids, the orphanage and institutional crisis was more than the church could understand or address, we didn't have the resources to take care of our own children." (Interview C.S.)

> You need to understand that most evangelical churches in Romania were made up of poor and undereducated people. It seemed almost comical to us that the Western agencies were seeking help from the Romanian churches; our churches are still crowded with our own kids, we have many large families with more than 5-6 children. It seemed unfair to us that the Western agencies (especially the bigger more wealthy ones) would have asked our churches to help them in caring for these at risk children, after all the Western churches had much more money than we did and they were the ones that wanted to help the street kids. (Possible case study: Mission of Mercy Familia Bucharest Project – personal interview with F.I and C.B.)

1.1. "Spiritual colonialism mentality"

> "Westerners were not aware they needed partners when they came into Romania. I think they were working from a spiritual colonialism mentality. The Western agencies came with power, finances and choices that was certainly well intended. In the West, you seem to be more given to collecting figures and numbers, we Romanians enjoy relationships and getting to know our partners. But it seemed the Western FBOs had unlimited freedoms and they did not need to involve us. I must tell you honestly, I was shocked at all the options you Western Christians seem to have, you seemed to have options that we had never been able to consider. In other words, we Romanians felt that the agencies and FBOs came with agendas which included the Romanians almost as a second thought. (Interview with SF)

1.2. Romanian evangelicals believe and state that 'the local Church must come first.'

Romanian evangelicalism had/has a very marginal understanding of the parachurch or sodality structure which has become a common term in Western mission literature and practice. The term sodality has been adopted from Ralph Winter's article, *Two Structures of Redemptive Mission.(Winter, 1981)* The concept of local church is very well understood by Romanian evangelicals but they are only now beginning to develop the idea of creating their own mission structures or mission societies. Protestant faith based mission societies have at least a 200 year history and this has been documented in recent literature (Fieldler, 1997:12-16). Certain features of FBOs come to the fore in deciding on a purpose or goal in getting certain things accomplished. These preliminary interviews have raised the questions: Have Romanians kept alive the idea of the local church in ways that the Western FBOs have not and have Western churches and FBOs been able to create a business model of mission in ways that Romanian evangelical churches have not.[28]

> "The evangelical church in Romania believes that it's important to take care of the house of God first. Large financial gifts that were given from outside Romania in the early '90s, much of this aid was given to the church and so the church and the pastors believed that the money rightfully should be used for caring members of the church and if there were poor children, financial resources should go to those poor children in the church" (interview with Evangelical professor of theology JT).

> "It seemed to me that the Romanian evangelicals were more interested in touching or knowing the hand that came to help them. So questions were raised inside the churches: *why would you go outside the church and help the*

[28] This question will be discussed in detail the thesis under the heading of 'FBO and Church'. Clearly there is a major difference in the ways Western organisations understand mission structures, institutions and organisations in doing Kingdom work and the ways evangelical churches of Romania understand them.

street children, the orphan kids, when we here in the church are your brothers and sisters and we need your help? (Interview and documents from JK)

1.3. Who most deserved the help?

On the other hand, Western FBOs (especially those focused on children) did not seem to understand or agree that the Christians inside the church needed the same level of help that the marginalized or institutionalized children that crowded and experienced the deplorable conditions of the state orphanages. Most of the leaders of the FBOs had not spent time in Romania prior to the collapse of Communism; consequently they did not understand the insider worldview, very little research was done to map or understand Romanian evangelical culture that emerged after the revolution[29]. It appears that assumptions were made that Romanian evangelicals had the same concern for the poor and children at risk as their Western FBO counterparts. The Western news and investigative media brought international attention on the needs of the Romanian institutionalized children, yet most Romanian evangelicals were unaware that CNN, BBC or ABC's 20/20 were broadcasting this story to the world.

> "Early in the 1990's – churches were given so much money and aid that power struggles within the local churches began to emerge. In every large Romanian city there were stronger, more capable churches with strong pastors. These pastors became the gatekeepers and the brokers for the aid distribution. Sadly in many Romanian towns a type of Evangelical mafia or power elite was created to handle the distribution of goods. I see parallels here to the Cargo Cults that were created in the South Pacific by missionaries following WWII. Of course the evangelical pastors thought we need to help the believers first so they had no problem making sure this material aid got to the members of selected churches." (Interview with KH who directs a large Relief and Development FBO)

2. Leadership/cooperation/partnership

Leadership issues arise in most exchanges I have with Romanian evangelicals. I have discovered that there is a rapidly growing division between the younger (< 35) evangelical leaders of Romania and their elders. Many of these emerging leaders (both men and women) have been working with Western FBOs since the revolution and have adopted some Western cultural and theological positions – especially concerning children and the poor. I refer to them in my field notes as "hybrid Romanian evangelicals" as they are distinct from their elders who in some cases have been acting as "religious opportunists" or gatekeepers and brokers for Western partners.

Romanian leadership and organisational patterns (both secular and sacred) have been shaped by a long history and culture. The current Romanian cultural and social matrix has been deeply influenced by the distrust and disinformation that was nurtured under Ceausescu and his infamous *Securitate.* In interviews, I learned that most Western FBOs seem to understand and accept this fact but failed to analyze how deeply a lack of trust affects initial or ongoing partnership dynamics. Western agencies and leaders acknowledge that a lack of trust exists in the greater Romania society but little research has been done to assess how trust issues impact Romanian-Western evangelical partnerships.

[29] I say this as I have found very little evidence to the contrary; the FBOs that I have interviewed were more concerned with developing programmatic responses to the needs of Romanian children. WVI might be an exception to this but World Vision has been working in Romania with Orthodox partners prior to the revolution.

In the years immediately following the revolution, as an outcome of the pressure of Western FBOs to begin new programs with children at risk, many new associations and foundations (*Asociatia and Fundatia*) where established - this in a country that had very little experience with the formation of civil society[30]. Some of these newly founded Romanian FBOs worked in cooperation with local churches and many others did not. The stated outcomes of all the FBOs interviewed was to reach or help children at risk; the unintended outcome has been the creation of a new FBO sector in Romania that is largely unsupported by the national churches.

> "It is very true that younger Romanian leaders were (and are) willing to learn, they have been and are now more open to the new ideas that have come from the West. In my observation, the older evangelical church leaders were (and are) not interested in learning about social programs for children" (Interview with Romanian PhD candidate serving children at risk A.V.)

> "A Norwegian missionary came to work in Romania about 1993, he was really touched by the situation of the street children, he wanted to find a way to help them. He was fortunate to meet me; he needed a Romanian lawyer, at that time I was serving as a legal advisor to my denomination. I say he was fortunate because he was making some very poor decisions or he was being given some very poor advice. I hesitate to admit this, but some of our churches were not always that ethical when they helped the foreigners that were coming to assist them…..Yes, it is true that too many Romanian pastors want to control anything that is in any way connected to their churches." (Interview with the Romanian Attorney, F.I.)

> "I arrived in Romania 9 years ago, I observed that many Western FBOs had come in and used the word 'franchise', they were actually franchising their outside FBOs here in Romania. You can imagine what began to happen when all these Western leaders and FBOs began buying or paying for Romanian pastors or local churches to become a part of their organisations. I still have not found one neo-protestant church in Romania that has not been is some way connected with outside Western support. I think that this was what the Western FBOs saw as the most practical or pragmatic way to get their 'denominational or agency flag' in the ground. This has created ongoing power struggles within and without the church. (Interview with P.B. an Australian missionary directing a small Child focused FBO)

3. Trust and Control

The issues of trust and control in Western-Romanian partnerships became increasingly obvious in the interview process. In a society that lived for years under the ever watching eyes of the *Securitatie*, where it is said every third person was a spy, it is not suprising that such a deep legacy of suspicion remains. In many interviews with Western FBO leaders the issue was often raised that, Romanian pastors will not work with anything or any project that they do not control. Romanian pastors, on the other hand speak of the Western tendency to control by the use of finances or control the people of their churches. The fear of what is not known often leads to abusive control in evangelical churches and it can also be observed in partnerships between churches and with FBOs. The Romanian evangelical church is gradually coming to terms with its place in Romanian society but it has been a very slow process.[31] The fear of the 'world' or *poftele lumiesti* the 'desires of the world' is a frequent subject of evangelical sermons. A Romanian pastor of a large church in Bucharest shared with me that his senior pastor had for many years preached a sermon twice a year that we (believers in the church) cannot trust other men (including believers in the church),

[30] For a good paper on the difficulties facing NGO sector working with children in Romania see *Empowerment in Difficulty* by Dickens and Groza (2001).

[31] Romania is a post communist country that is often singled out as very slow to transition to the free market economy and politically as it has been very reluctant to introduce deep structural reform. The Romanian culture has been resistant to change (to be discussed in more detail in the thesis).

citing the reference in Jeremiah 4:22 "*My people are fools, they do not know me. They are senseless children; they have no understanding, they are skilled in doing evil and they do not know how to do good."* The following quote is suggestive:

> **"**In the Romanian churches there has been a *distinct lack of cooperation*, churches did not cooperate with one another or trust one another so it is natural that an individual church would feel free to make an arrangement with an outside agency to collaborate with them. Romanian pastors might have made an arrangement with outsiders to start a project, but *they would not cooperate with other Romanian pastors on a project that they do not control.*"(interview with JC and SA)

3.1 Power Abuse and Spiritual Authority

The issue of power in partnership is critical to the analysis that will be developed in this thesis in Chapter 4. Western agencies have means of understanding and using power as do Romanians. Power and authority issues are seen in economic relationships, social relationships, bureaucratic relationships, political relationships and in religious relationships. When people speak of power in Romania, they are not speaking in hyperbole; the Ceausescu regime was totalitarian and left a deep legacy in the society that allows for both abuse and distrust of power. There is a Romanian proverb that says, *'The fish rots from the head'* which graphically illustrates this concept. This issue was raised especially by leaders of FBOs that had decided not to work with local church partners and I understand that the question of institutional and personal power will need more research in the case studies to follow in Phase 2 of this project. The concept of power concerning children is especially relevant to this research. Jesus confronted the disciples by placing a child in their midst when they were arguing among themselves about power in the Kingdom. "*I tell you the truth, unless you change and become like little children, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven".* (Matt. 18:3)[32]

> "Local churches are essentially *control structures*, the Baptist Union and Pentecostal Union have *central hierarchies and bureaucracies* but that's really not where the control is. If you want to get something started you have to talk to the local church leadership and that means the local pastor. The boards of most of the evangelical churches will do what the pastor wants to do. In the case of one individual from Britain who was trying to bring material, supplies and medical aid into Romania, there was an incident. It sounds to me in this case like the church was not being very honest, the leaders of the church that were setting this up said that they would act as the distribution point for the goods that were coming in. However, the Western partner did not want the aid to be identified with just one local church. He assumed that he could find several churches to work together in distributing the aid. This created a very large misunderstanding the Western partner was disillusioned when he could not get the churches to cooperate. I am not sure if he was interested in learning how we Romanians would go about doing the aid distribution. We think that the local church understands these issues better than a foreigner. I think this Western missionary was naïve and had his mind made up about how this should be done, he could have asked us and we would have helped him understand our system. (Interview with JK and CD)

> "In the early '90 nobody seemed to have a long term plan for how we would work together, many missionaries were not joining local churches, they were coming in and starting churches by themselves, many agencies bypassed the church. Some Romanian pastors that were gatekeepers and controlled the church would not offer their young people to work for agencies because of course the agency would pull people away from the church. There was a great fear that they could lose people or they would gain influence over the church. Yes I think a lot of fear exists in the Romanian pastors and leaders that is why they are so controlling and power driven."(Interview

[32] The theme "child in the midst" has emerged as a central thesis to the growing child theology movement. Child theology is a relatively new academic conversation and if readers are interested they should speak to me or Haddon Wilmer about this emerging discussion.

with Youth Pastor of large church in Bucharest – he is in his late 30's and frustrated with the power in the local church)

3.2 Leaders in the Evangelical churches are often seen as *power brokers*:

"It's important to recognize that leaders in the evangelical churches served between *the people* and *the authorities* in the communist times. The idea was not so much to serve between *the people* and *God*, we understand that is what the Orthodox priests do, not us. Leaders then began to be the mediators between *the West* and *the people*. My interpretation of what happened in the early 90's the pastors had a system that was working under Communism, and the Christian pastors thought that they served and mediated between the authorities and the local people. As the West started to come in with resources they just took it upon themselves to play the new mediator role as well. *So the leaders of the churches became the power brokers*, yes they became like the service providers. In the minds of the Romanian pastors, the power and the money that came to Romania from the democratic churches was rightly directed through the pastors and many of them felt it was fine for them to take a small percentage of the money for their personal use, after all the West was rich and could afford to help rebuild the churches of Romania. I can tell you that several, no many pastors did build homes and buy cars with the money that came from the West, remember we have no word in our language that directly translates into 'accountable' at least not the way you use that word in English". (Interview with SG)

3.3 Partnership with the West was facilitated by bridge people or 'religious opportunists'

Driven by their own agendas and pragmatic understanding of ministry, Westerners learned to work with certain bridge people who were willing to facilitate partnerships or expedite the work that was needed. These bridge people were often what I refer to in my personal notes as *religious opportunists*[33]. These facilitators could help controls the figures, handle the money, get things done the Romanian way which usually meant dealing with massive amounts of bureaucracy and paperwork. The Westerners had managerial ways and methods which they were more than willing to assume the Romanian evangelicals shared in their values and ethics. In the ensuing partnerships, there were often spectacularly huge wastes. One very honest Romanian spoke words I will never forget:

"I believe you Westerners used the weaknesses of the Romanians to accomplish some of your goals when you came to our country, they were also inherent weaknesses of the Romanian system. We come from a history of the dictator, the *boier* (feudal lord), he is the powerful person who had been empowered to act and to control decisions under Communism. It was this type of person that was often empowered by the Westerner evangelicals (and others) to continue to control people. At the same time we Romanians used or exploited your weaknesses – you are so naïve, so giving and you came with such great expectations and options to make your dreams come true. We have a word we use to describe this sort of person, he is *smecherie* (the con artist), we could see that you were not going to understand us so we worked with you to make sure you got what you wanted and at the same time we got what we wanted. (Interview with retired director of a large Romanian company now working with children)

"There is much healing that needs to take place; the Romanian church is working with old communist governmental mentality and old 'baggage'. There are divisions and mistrust in all the churches. Trust is such a lacking commodity in Romanian society and terms like honesty and family values have a different meaning in a Romanian context". (Interview with CP – World Vision Romania)

3.4 Control and power in the churches

Early in my research, I was told by a friend, "You really should not ask the question, 'How does one work with the local church?'" This is the wrong question to ask in Romania. One can say "How do I work with the pastor?" This same person told me, "I believe that many Romanian pastors would prefer to shut down everything that they can not control or at least refuse to be involved in the work." Sadly,

[33] I use this term not in a negative sense, recognizing that all societies have early adaptors and innovators who facilitate change.

many Romanian pastors are so busy that they often can't care of their own congregations. Pastors are extremely busy people, one pastor may be taking care of 8 or 9 churches simultaneously, he is overseeing elders and they are all accountable to him. There's very little energy that the Pastor can give to his own family so his idea is that his church or churches is where all his energy and control should focused

"This is one reason that I do not work closely with Romanian church pastors, the program we are doing with these kids would need to be under his control and we don't want that, I want the program to be led by our staff." (Interview with CG a Romanian FBO leader who works independently of local churches)

"You ask why a Romanian pastor would allow young leaders or young people to work with outside agencies. The pastors want to build patron-client type relationships; salary, economic help that could come in the church if somebody was working with the Western agencies; also there has always been an information gap and we live in a society of distrust and by placing someone inside a given agency they might learn what the agency is doing." (interview with OB Romanian Evangelical leader/professor)

4. Western Evangelical influence on Romanian churches

There is a new type of church leader emerging in Romania and some of these are becoming increasingly involved with at risk youth and children. The pastors of these churches fit the *hybrid* description I used earlier. They have had largely positive contact with Western leaders and are very adaptive to new ideas and do not fit the description of traditional evangelical church leaders. Their churches are more progressive in theology, consider relevance to the greater culture to be important and want to be engaged with social concern and broader cultural issues. This is not without criticism from the more traditional Romanian evangelicals.

"I am sure that all the Western evangelical activity (with churches, associations, children, youth and other sectors) is having some kind of an impact. But my opinion is that the primary outcome is creating hybrid churches and ministries that are largely dependent on Western funding and assistance. I believe it is creating a new form of Romanian evangelicalism; clearly it is not the same as it was in the early '90s, it's changed now to a new form, very Westernized – truly these are neo-protestant churches. Some of the older more traditional Baptist and Pentecostal churches are keeping to the old worship and church forms but there is great tidal wave of change taking place. My main question and concern, 'is this form of evangelicalism, the Western hybrid version, going to be able to have sustainable impact or have much of an influence on the Romanian culture, does it understand and encounter the Romania spirituality or simply avoid it?' " (Interview with Western missionary after 9 years in Romania)

5. What Western FBOs perceive as success in Romania with children

Some FBOs in Romania are very focused on a conversionist agenda for children, they speak openly of converting children, bringing them to faith, helping them live for Christ, teaching them to evangelize their friends and family. They use the type of language from the following interviewee which focuses on accelerating the gospel, helping the local church and working almost exclusively with church to see change in the lives of children. The specific cases selected for further research will explore how such FBOs perceive faith and spirituality in the lives of children.

Yes I think our ministries are having a great impact on Romanian children and families. Our mission is to partner with the Romanian national church bodies – both local churches and denominational structures. We are here to 'accelerate the spread of the gospel' by any and all means that will bring honour to Jesus Christ. Our programs with children have been successful in that they have helped young people come to Christ and understand that He died for them and He wants to set them free to live for Him. We are building future Christian leaders for the church of Romania when we care for children. I am not convinced the church should be concerned or spend its energy with trying to change the government or the unjust social systems of Romania, the church should be bringing people to Christ and helping those people to live lives that honour God. We believe that the best place to

> help children grow spiritually is through the local church, this is the institution that God has placed on earth for the evangelization of the lost and the care of Christians. Schools, social programs, Christian institutions and orphanage programs have their place in caring for the needs of children, but it is a stretch to think that the local churches of Romania should be doing this with their limited resources. We would welcome partnership with agencies that are engaged in Christian social programs but we don't want to do anything to weaken the growth and expansion of the local churches. (Paraphrase of conversation with Denominational leader of a large FBO/Mission Agency who supervises church planting missionaries)

In contrast to this perspective, other FBOs have a different idea of what represents success with children. These FBOs use more holistic language, refer to child and community development in their mission statements, and could be classified as more 'transformational' in an OCMS sense of the world. I refer to an interview with Chris Pitt – director of World Vision Romania. World Vision Romania is self defined as a Christian Humanitarian Relief Organisation. When I interviewed Dr. Pitt[34], I asked him some of the following questions: How does WV measure success, how do they judge performance? What systematic criteria are used to assess and measure impact in the lives of children and what is the bottom line? What indicates a measure of or lack of faith?

> "World Vision Romania seeks to be an advocacy agency as well as a child development agency. We have developed what we call *Transformational indicators*; these are benchmarks of performance for our actual work with children.[35] We conduct regular reviews of performance and measure our strategy and objectives, spiritual and material – every 6 months. Our reviews are based on data that is kept by our field practitioners. World Vision is not a church based agency we are a development agency so we do have the budget and manpower to carry out this type of assessment. Our field teams work with balanced forecasts, log frame analysis of inputs and outputs, they look for the right sort of impact, and our transformational indicators provide us with a score card. We are concerned with both donor accountability and community accountability, for WVI these are two sides of the same coin. When we talk about community transformation we have to evaluate ourselves do we take the risk to be prophetic? We want to speak to the Romanian government, the Romanian society and the communities where we work about children in crisis. We work to gain influence with the press and use that to our advantage. We see the Orthodox Church and the Evangelical church as both legitimate partners in our work. We believe we have a mandate to bring the churches, the NGO industry, the FBOs and the secular bodies together for the sake of children – advocacy is a key core competency." (Interview with CP –director of WV Romania)

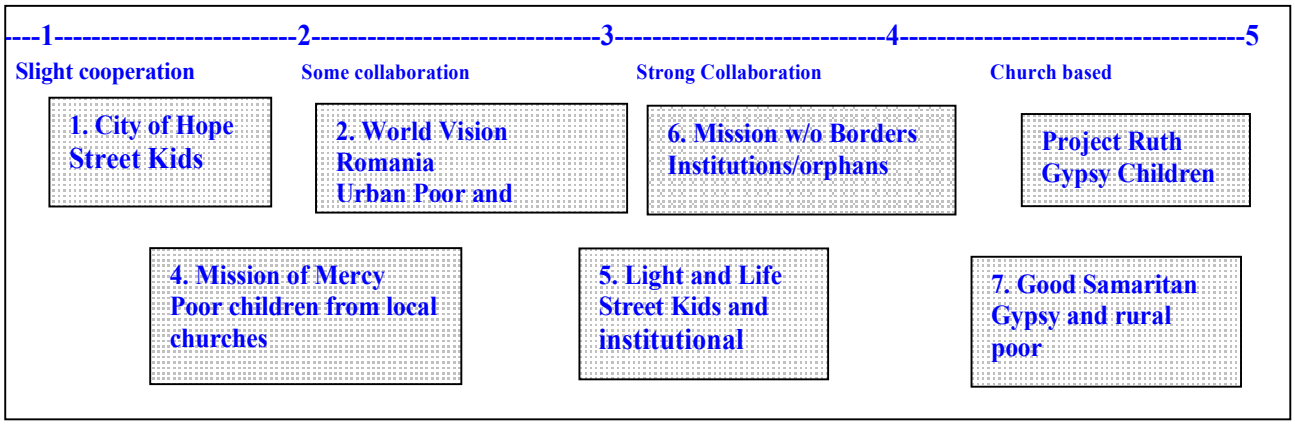
Selection of cases for Second Phase of research

After completing the preliminary interviews, I worked through the text of the interviews very thoroughly, in an effort to identify key phrases, themes and constructs to guide further analysis. I wrote short one page summaries from all interviews where I had visited projects working with children at risk. Following the suggestions found in Strauss and Corbin's *Grounded Theory*, working in email supervision with Dr. Ratcliff, a qualitative methodologist from Southern California and Haddon Wilmer, it was decided that the selection of the cases should allow for a distribution along a continuum that would display a range of partnership methodology. I have selected the cases in this diagram for further analysis and am not sure if all will be included in the final thesis. By doing more in-depth analysis of these cases the resultant data will allow for a grounded theoretical investigation of the

[34] Name used with Dr. Chris Pitt's permission, World Vision has agreed to be a case study FBO for this study.

[35] See Justin Byworth's article: *World Vision's Approach to Transformational Development: Frame, Policy and Indicators* in *Transformation 20/2 April 2003*. This article highlights 5 spheres or domains that are areas of desired change: Well-being of children, their families and communities, Empowered children to be agents of transformation, Transformed relationships, Independent and empowered Communities and Transformed Systems and Structures pp. 99-110.

categories, properties and dimensions listed in final section of this paper. In creating the continua that follow, I coded the field notes and interview notes from these specific cases while looking for "categories, actors, meanings, comparisons, similarities, differences, properties and dimensions." (Strauss and Corbin: 101) I have also begun to identify abstract assumptions, biases, perspectives, variations and general patterns – which will help inform the interview process that will be conducted with the directors, staff and children in the projects selected. In each continua below, questions are raised that will be used in analyzing individual cases and to assist in axial coding to follow in Phase 2 of the research.[36]



Continua, Dimensions and categories to be drawn from Cases

1) Kinds of Children in the projects – Gypsy, Street Kids, Institutionalized, Abandoned or Abused or from very poor families

Some children in these projects come from church families, others from institutions, others from the streets. There are some cases where the ministry is responding to families in crisis, in others the ministry is helping the children without working directly with the family. Some of the ministries are trying to work with extremely dysfunctional children (from the streets, prostitution) while others are working with neglected kids at the state institutions and orphanages. There is a wide variation in the physical, spiritual, and social conditions of the children at the time they enter the ministry. I have selected these cases to allow for a distribution of the types of children being cared for i.e. Gypsy children face a very different set of circumstances from children in state institutions or children living on the streets.

2) Types of Interventions being carried out in the projects

Primary spiritual ----------Physical or social
Focus Focus

[36] Note from Don Ratcliff: "Axial Coding allows the possibility of relating pairs of continua eventually--e.g. do the points on the continua correspond in any way, or are they independent? What happens if one is low on one continuum and high on another, versus low on both, and so on? This could be an almost endless exercise, but it might produce some interesting results." (Email communication)

Projects interventions are varied: some focus on bible studies, discipleship, child evangelism, summer camps and mentoring while other FBOs emphasize social care, physical and health care, tutoring programs, community health and community training programs for parents of children. Transformational child development schemes are used by World Vision. Many development terms have been identified in the literature and in some preliminary interviews; further case work needs to identify and record church based equivalents for terms such *as life satisfaction, well being, civil skills, etc*. Education is an important intervention being offered by almost every case selected for the study. The case analysis will describe why education is important as an intervention and ask what the intended outcome of education is. In a country which already has many thousands of educated people leaving every year, it will be important to understand if faith based education encourages children and youth to remain in the country and make a long term contribution from within Romania.

3) Methods of collaboration between FBO and the church
Little Collaboration----------Strong Collaboration

There are FBOs working with groups of churches in a given area, models where the FBO is working directly with one church, there are churches in the West collaborating directly with a Romanian church or Romanian Foundation. There are different types of churches involved in collaboration with FBOs: traditional churches, hybrids or churches that are more Westernized, and expatriate churches. Attention will be given to describe the kinds of churches and why certain kinds of churches have developed relationships and partnerships in the way they have. In some cases the FBOs have worked in partnership with both local churches and with state institutions to build relationships between churches and the children in the orphanages. Some FBOs have worked with local churches exclusively to create foster care for children, while others have almost bypassed the churches and gone directly to serving the children. The cases selected exhibit variety in collaboration models.

4) How does partnership methodology impact children?
Firmly guided partnership----------Loosely guided partnership

Who merits the care of the program (who selects the beneficiaries), i.e. in some projects the partnership methodology has directed the program interventions almost exclusively to children who are not part of local churches and in other cases the care has been to children that are connected in some way to the church that partners with the FBO. Who makes the decision about who most warrants the care and how does the choice contribute to the success of the project? Do the FBOs rely on local partners to make decisions about the beneficiaries and has any research been done by the selected cases to see who deserved the care of the church/FBO partnership? The cases selected demonstrate positive visible outcomes in the lives of children, it will be important to determine and describe ways that local knowledge was acquired in program design. These cases demonstrate a variety of ways that program interventions have been designed, the cases help illuminate the possibilities in how partnerships can be formed that are both productive and bring benefit to both the children and the partners.

5. Ways that Power and Trust have been developed or abused in the partnership.
Power is controlled ----------Power is shared
Trust is marginal----------Trust is strong

As has been pointed out in this paper, power and trust are critical areas for this research. There are issues with churches that include interest in and tolerance of at risk children. The cases selected reflect this variance as some of the FBOs have a very trusting relationship with churches and share control of power and decision making processes, in other cases there is a lower level of trust and power is controlled by one side of the partnership.[37] In some cases the project leaders control the program content, in others there are shared responsibilities. The cases analysis will describe ways that pastors of local churches view their role in the partnership. Who are the most influential people (gatekeepers) in the project and how do those people view the children? Who are people that are not influential and how do they see the children – do these two perspectives overlap and to what degree? The case analysis will note what kinds of people are effective leaders in child focused programs. Some interviewees speak of a "divine call" and have a deep sense that God has led them to do this while others are hired professionals that have come to work at the project and needed the employment. What motivates the staff in the projects – does this reflect on the partnership dynamic? To what degree has 'empowerment' taken place in the projects, who makes the decisions in a crisis or if major changes are needed in the project – how is change in the program discussed and implemented? The analysis will describe the pragmatic issues for churches that have led to misunderstandings with FBOs (and vice versa) that have most seriously affected the question of trust.

6. How is faith language used and how is development language used?
Faith Language ----------Development Language

There are biases or perspectives that emerge in the ways people talk about children and the language used to describe the program, the outcomes and the expectations of faith. What are the 'horizons of expectations' in the ways that project leaders, staff and children talk about outcomes? The cases selected demonstrate a wide variety in the use of language to describe working with children. WV (in its published literature) uses a very developmental and transformational language while projects that are rooted in local churches use a simpler, more pragmatic language of faith. The case analysis will note if the language is positivist or triumphant or does it grapple with the implications of brokenness, sin and an imperfect world. There are terms that need to be defined at the project level and compared to uses in the literature – *justice, child rights, community care, forgiveness, salvation, fruit in the children's lives, and the role of the church in social concern*. Some projects use language of the Child Protection Department of Romania while others do not – is there a reason for this? In using faith language, how do these cases describe the family (where there are families connected with the

[37] The most extreme cases of trust and power abuse were omitted from the case selection as these were not deemed to help in understanding ways that partnership could work within the framework selected.

children)? Churches seem to talk one way about families – especially if they are members of the church (brothers and sisters) and FBOs tend to talk another way (i.e. clients, beneficiaries). What implications do these uses of language have for faith based interventions with children? Attitudes towards children are reflected in use of faith language. Some interviewees have described the children as social misfits or sociopaths or outcasts that need help and are dangerous – other interviewees have described the children as "our kids" or "our girls" or "my kids" – what nuances of faith show up in these descriptions? Who speaks for the project to the community, to the church, and to the donors? In some of the cases there is a very strong connection at the grass roots with the community (especially where the church is connected with the community and the reputation of the project is seen and understood by the local community). In other cases the FBO is concerned with speaking back to the donors about the project (especially in cases where the project is based on individual child sponsorship and the FBO is very dependent of funding from those donors). We will interview several children to learn how the children talk about the project and the impact in their lives – does this vary from project to project based on the style of the partnership? Do the children know they are part of an international partnership arrangement that is working for their benefit or is this not discussed with the children?

7. Ways that cases use theology in reference to their work with children
Intentional Theology of children ----------Incidental Theology of children

Only one of the cases selected for Phase II has begun to develop any formal theology for their work with children, while the others have a very informal theology for children but a strong operative theology of church and salvation. This category and variable will help display the apparent lack of serious theologizing about children in most child care projects.[38] The case study analysis will note descriptions of how project staff and leaders talk about God, the Bible, and children and explain this as operative theology. The cases chosen demonstrate a wide dimension in how faith based organisations talk about God and His work with children, family, and community. In interviews conducted to select these cases, the issue of the Orthodox Church has come up several times. The Romanian Orthodox church in some places is very opposed to child evangelism and suspicious of evangelical motives to care for children in general. The analysis of the cases will describe the variations in responding to this theological challenge – some agencies are committed to a working dialogue with the Romanian Orthodox Church and others are not open to discussion or have been openly opposed by the ROC. In the preliminary interviews I also learned that many project leaders, staff, volunteers have been changed in their understanding of God and God's concern for children at risk by working with the children. The impact on pastors and leaders that are working with children has not been documented in Romania and will be described. In three of the cases selected, senior leaders admitted that they did not have a strong

[38] After two years of research, I have found very few projects of any kind using the term "child theology" in Romania, Haddon Wilmer has helped me in looking for operative theologies. Some of the projects have a theology of social concern or broader Kingdom priorities while other projects are more focused on salvation of children and personal transformation

interest to work with children at the beginning of their projects but their ministries have been radically transformed as a result of working with at risk children.

8. Types and kinds of Caregivers
From local church----------From FBO or community Volunteers ----------Professionals

In the cases selected, some of the caregivers are from the local church (they may be volunteers or they may be salaried) in others they are hired directly by from the FBO (including foreign staff and employees of the FBO). Staff and caregivers come from a wide range of economic and social backgrounds. Some have professional training as social workers and others do not have any formal training other than what was acquired working at the projects. This analysis will ask individual staff members and church volunteers to share their training and experiences before and during involvement at the projects. All the cases selected have some kind of in service staff training or enrichment but this varies depending on the scope, vision and goals of the FBO. What specific roles are given to the caregivers, does this vary according to the partnership? Do FBOs have different expectations of staff or caregivers than local churches – how is this managed? In the interviews we have learned that some FBOs have been criticized for 'hiring' the best qualified young people out of the local churches to work at the FBOs. Why was this done and what explanations are offered by the FBOs? It is clear from interviews that churches that have engaged with children at risk have found that their own members and volunteers have benefited in some way; the analysis will describe those benefits. How do the children affect the caregivers? Some caregivers have been hurt and burned out in the process while others have found a deep sense of satisfaction and life meaning in the work. The case analysis will describe factors that have contributed to the satisfaction or lack thereof for the caregivers and if the FBO - church partnership recorded these factors.

9) Types and ways that the project is monitored or evaluated
Formal Evaluations----------Non formal evaluations

There are several ways that evaluation is carried out at each project. The research thus far has shown that in most cases, the history of the founding agency or church has a deep influence on how project evaluation is conceived. In some cases the FBO found a local partner or created one to deliver care to children but in others the local church located a FBO to assist in caring for kids, this varies from project to project. In cases where a foreign FBO initiated a project there is a greater concern for project monitoring and evaluation. Where local churches have initiated the project, there are different kinds of evaluation taking place but it is more informal (this has yet to be fully described). The methods vary in how evaluation is carried out. FBOs and churches talk about evaluation in different ways. What goals are important to the FBO or church and what does each believe should be evaluated in a project? Goals and targets vary and it seems connected to partnership dynamics. Closer observation needs to be made in the case studies to learn how projects are actually evaluated. What are

the key indicators that the churches and FBOs use to describe success in the partnership and the lives of the children? What kinds of evaluations are important to the churches and what to the FBO? Churches tend to talk more about spiritual things: fruit in the lives of the children, conversions, life change, discipleship issues and spiritual change in the children. The FBOs tend to talk about social community change, transformation, advocacy, child rights and include a justice centred agenda for children. How are such things monitored and evaluated, does this create possibilities or problems in partnership?

10) Size and Scope of the project
Large, macro, extensive----------Small, micro and limited

Some of the cases selected (WV and MWOB) are very large FBOs with large annual budgets, numbers of paid staff, extensive program scope with project locations spread all over the country. Only one or two of their local partners will be selected for the case study analysis as examining every church partner would not be feasible. Other cases are much more local (Project Ruth) smaller in scale with only a few locations. The variance in size and financial picture of the FBO allows the research to demonstrate that a great deal of impact can be gained in both small and large organisations. The cases selected receive funding from a variety of sources – this will only be analysed to ascertain if the project plans to be financially sustainable from local sources or if the project will be dependent on outside funding in the long term. This category will help to examine: who owns the program, who pays for the program, who benefits from the investment in the program, and who will be responsible for the program long term? To what degree should a child focused program that involves the local church be sustainable on local funding? How do finances contribute or hinder the local church in caring for children at risk. If outside financing has been used in ways that enhance the partnership and the care for children – that needs to be described. The cases selected use a variety of buildings and locations to carry out ministry. Some use church buildings while others have their own ministry centres and buildings. The research will inquire if the type of facility has had impact on the health of the partnership and subsequent impact on children. The selected cases also demonstrate several models of financial ownership. Some cases are very driven financially by the FBO, in others the project is very driven financially by the initiatives of the local church. What factors contribute to this and what is the impact on partnership?

End

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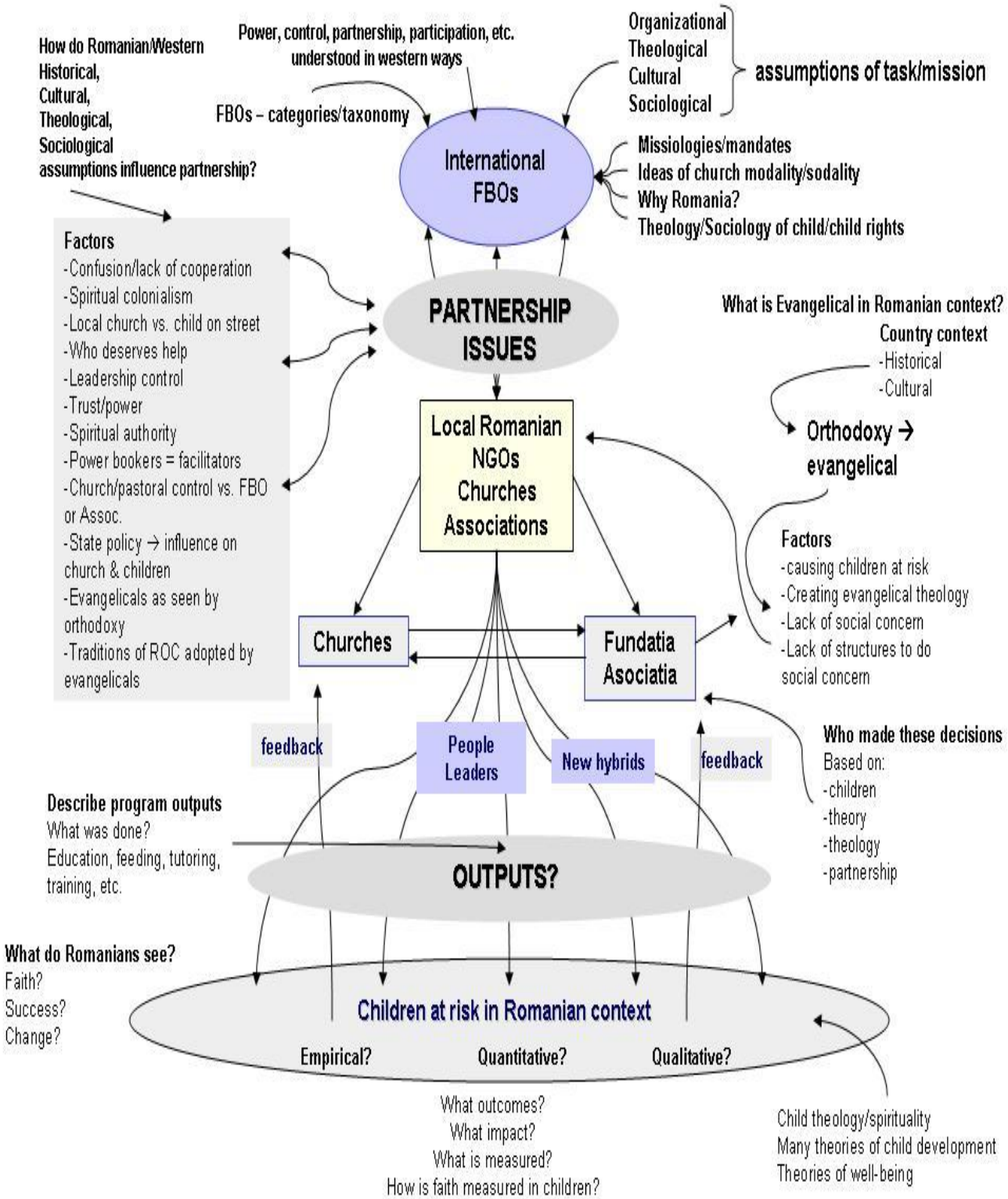
Annex 1


How do Romanian/Western Historical, Cultural, Theological, Sociological assumptions influence partnership?
Power, control, partnership, participation, etc. understood in western ways
FBOs – categories/taxonomy
Organizational
Theological
Cultural
Sociological
assumptions of task/mission
International FBOs
Missiologies/mandates
Ideas of church modality/sodality
Why Romania?
Theology/Sociology of child/child rights
Factors
-Confusion/lack of cooperation
-Spiritual colonialism
-Local church vs. child on street
-Who deserves help
-Leadership control
-Trust/power
-Spiritual authority
-Power bookers = facilitators
-Church/pastoral control vs. FBO or Assoc.
-State policy → influence on church & children
-Evangelicals as seen by orthodoxy
-Traditions of ROC adopted by evangelicals
PARTNERSHIP ISSUES
What is Evangelical in Romanian context?
Country context
-Historical
-Cultural
Orthodoxy → evangelical
Local Romanian NGOs Churches Associations
Factors
-causing children at risk
-Creating evangelical theology
-Lack of social concern
-Lack of structures to do social concern
Churches
Fundatia Asociatia
feedback
People Leaders
New hybrids
feedback
Who made these decisions
Based on:
-children
-theory
-theology
-partnership
Describe program outputs
What was done?
Education, feeding, tutoring, training, etc.
OUTPUTS?
What do Romanians see?
Faith?
Success?
Change?
Children at risk in Romanian context
Empirical?
Quantitative?
Qualitative?
What outcomes?
What impact?
What is measured?
How is faith measured in children?
Child theology/spirituality
Many theories of child development
Theories of well-being

Annex 2 Interviews conducted in 2003-04

#	Date	Person/s interviewed	Organization/church	Type	Location	Research tool used
1	April 2003	Stan Downs	OCI	LFBO	Bucharest	IG (Interview Guide-draft #1)
2	May 2003	Chris Pitt	WVR	IFBO	Bucharest	IG/survey
3	May 2003?	**Selected Organizations**	several organizations in Romania	Ch.		phone interview/guide
4	September 2003	Ioan Tipei	ITP	Ch.	Bucharest	Open interview
5	September-October 2003	Kevin Hagen	FHI-Community development	IFBO	Bucharest	Open interview
6	November 2003?	Doug Mann	Nazarene Compassionate Ministries	LFBO	Bucharest	Open interview
7	December 2003	Ioana Matei	Reaching Out Romania	LFBO	Pitesti	IG/survey
8	December 2003	Alex Vlasin	Baptist Theological Seminary	Ch.	Bucharest	informal interview

Interviews conducted in 2004

#	Date	Person/s interviewed	Organization/church	Type	Location	Research tool used
1	January 2004	Florin Ianovici	Viață şi lumină	Ch.	Pitesti	Preliminary survey – draft#2
2	February 2004	Peter Barnes	Fundația Uşă Deschisă	LFBO	Bucharest	open/survey
3	February 2004	Cristi Golaş	Never Alone Foundation	Ch.	Pitesti	PS (Preliminary Survey tool)
4	March 2004	Marcel Filip	Căminul Felix	LFBO	Oradea	PS
5	March 2004	Samy	Children of Promise	Ch.	Oradea	PS
6	June 2004	Kevin Schaffer – organizer	For God's children	LFBO	Bucharest	PS
7	June 2004	Mike York	OSCER	LFBO	Bucharest	Open interview
8	June 2004	Ştefan Ioniță, Peter Barnes	Ministry of Religion	Gov.	Bucharest	PS and Open interview
9	June 2004	Ioan Peia	WVR	LFBO	Bucharest	IG
10	June 2004	Otniel Bunaciu	Project Ruth	Ch.	Bucharest	Preliminary Survey – draft #3
11	June 2004	Carolyn Rennie	Fundația Mission of Mercy	IFBO	Pitesti	PS
12	June 2004	Rebecca Graham	Fundația Seceriş	LFBO	Câmpulung Muscel	PS
13	July 2004	Gabriel Achim	CWRWC	LFBO	Bucharest	Open interview
14	July 2004	Diana Cristea, Otilia Bocioaca	Bethany Social Services	LFBO	Bucharest	Open interview
15	July 2004	Fr. Alexandru Cobzaru	Caritas	LFBO	Bucharest	Open interview
16	July 2004	Russell Mitchell	OCI	LFBO	Bucharest	Open interview
17	August 2004	Vasilica Croitor	Biserica Betania	Ch.	Medgidia	Church survey
18	August 2004	Daniel Hadarean	Constanta Church (PU)	Ch.	Babadag	Church survey
19	August 2004	Stefan Barentsen	Livingstone Foundation (Holland)	IFBO	Babadag	Informal/open interview
20	August 2004	Beni Micle	Constanta Church (PU)	Ch.	Năvodari	Church Survey
21	August 2004	Dorel Toma	Constanta Church (PU)	Ch.	Mangalia	Church Survey
22	September 2004	Corneliu Cazaris	Fundatia Betesda	LFBO	Galati	short phone interview
23	September 2004	Ana Burtea	Fundatia Child's Heart	LFBO	Galati	short phone interview
24	September 2004	Daniel Pagu	YWAM Constanta	LFBO	Constanta	short phone interview
25	September 2004	Maria Vandra	Mission without borders	IFBO	Sibiu	IG + longer interview
26	September 2004	Cristi Soimaru	Former Director of City of Hope	LFBO	Bucuresti	Open interview
27	summer 2004	several pastors in Oradea area	PU and Baptist Churches in Oradea where students had access	Ch.	Oradea area	Questions designed by Bill for the students in Oradea
28	September 2004	Doli Bota, Richard Honacker	Asociația Centrul Vieții Noi	Ch.	Braşov	None specifically
29	October 2004	Maria Vandra	Mission without borders	IFBO	Sibiu	Open interview + IG
30	October 2004	John Kachelmyer & Catalin Dobrisan	Fundatia Familia Copiilor	LFBO	Targu Mures	Open interview + IG
31	October 2004	Nicu & Caprice Gatea	Asociatia "Bunul Samaritean"	LFBO	Ocna Mures	Open interview + IG

32	October 2004	Rene Zanelatto	GATIEF Viata si Lumina	IFBO	Targu Mures (Santana de Mures)	Open interview + IG
33	October 2004	Alina Diaconu & Paul Bulut	YWAM Cluj Napoca	LFBO	Cluj Napoca	Open interview
34	October 2004	Nicu	Manipoor Baptist Church – home	Ch.	Cluj Napoca	Open interview + IG
35	October 2004	Danut	City of Hope	LFBO	Bucharest	Open interview +IG
36	October 2004	Danut Manastireanu	World Vision	IFBO	Bucharest, Iasi	Open interview (several)
37	October 2004	Cristian Yach	TOAR	LFBO	Cisnadie (near Sibiu)	Open interview + IG
38	December 2004	Eti Vasilache	Maranatha - Penilla	LFBO	Iasi	Open interview + IG
39	December 2004	Virgil Mihaila	Fundatia Iosif	LFBO	Iasi	Open interview + IG
40	December 2004	Valentin Chirica	Calea Bucuriei	LFBO	Iasi	Open interview +IG
41	December 2004	Liviu & Mihaela Dragan	Our little house Foundation	LFBO	Iasi	Open interview + IG
42	December 2004	David Serediuc	Independent Charismatic Church	Ch.	Iasi	Open interview +IG
43	December 2004	Matthew & Selena Hanrahan	Our little house Foundation	LFBO	Iasi	Open interview +IG
44	December 2004	Sorin & Genuta Erhan	Placement Centre for Teens	LFBO	Iasi	Open interview
45	December 2004	Arpi Foszto	Link Romania Foundation	IFBO	Iasi	Open interview +IG