

Вторая функция – развитие у студентов прагматического и аналитического мышления, формирование политической и правовой культуры.

При этом, следует отметить одну, не очень позитивную тенденцию – данная дисциплина – история политических и правовых учений, при всей ее важности, часто игнорируется в программах ряда вузов, или преподается в числе предметов по выбору.

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INSTITUTIONAL ADAPTATION IN ENVIRONMENTAL DOMAIN: THE CASE OF MOLDOVA

Environment currently, more than ever, receives high attention as (for example) scandalous cases of disturbed ecosystem due to negligent waste management system are widely distributed through media and social channels. Even if we are making abstraction of social activists that protest against, as they claim, climate change, it is true that most governments acknowledge the pressure to introduce new measures and tools for tackling environmental issues with its broad spectrum of sub-domains. Commonly there are two main methods for inducing force into producing a desirable outcome: (a) sanctions, and (b) stimuli. In macro socio-economic dimension, *sanctions* were generally viewed as a liberal alternative to war, and after a period of few decades, together with an increase of their frequency, the perception of sanctions soften in terms of aggression, concomitantly with diplomacy evolving to a more complex narrative [1, p. 91]. As a national instrument however, sanctions are targeting behavioral adjustment of the civilians and legal entities performing under a state's regime; and as the macro aspect of sanctions have soften over the history, their local version – taxes, limitations or requirements, unless renew, have been also adsorbed by the public perception. In other words, sanctions are measures of negative valence because it is oriented to restrict the

actions of a subject. *Stimuli* on another hand, is a measure of positive valence, as it is oriented to encourage a certain behavior performed under clearly stated conditions. In this context, international agreements are an example of macro stimuli [17, p. 141]. Applying this logic into practice implies creation of institutions that have the goal to enforce the regulations by executing the operational aspect of strategies implementation process. Institutional scholars have produced tremendous work on analyzing the socio-economic and environmental problems by offering their alternatives on all stakeholders' levels micro, meso and macro. It is agreed that motivation and will of the stakeholders cannot withstand in time, thus the efficiency of social innovation is possible only when these efforts are embedded in institutional conditions [13, p. 890]. More than so, even when these conditions are set, the embedding efforts require both time and persistency in fieldwork, in order to make these innovations or objectives - institutionally ingrained [15, p. 4].

In post-soviet countries, the institutional development has known a few phases. It should be mentioned beforehand, that development of any institutional form is unleashed only within a legal framework of a state and can be described through incremental improvement or continuous processed of consolidation. The transition from one governing regime to another (in the case of Moldova, from a component of Soviet Union to a full independent entity) is viewed in macro-sense on large time-scale, as *punctuated-equilibrium*. The theory of punctuated equilibrium is explaining the large-scale changes in public sector with dramatic alteration of government programs [12, p. 179]. In organizational settings, previous literature pointed that, actors with *defender* traits tend to adopt incremental improvement whereas *prospectors* and *reactors* have characteristics less compatible with behavior that require persistency in policy adjustments, thus exhibit disruptive tendencies [3, p. 107]. If we extrapolate this logic to countries as subjects, then the picture becomes complex as the orientation of government figures as cultural orientation of the country inhabitants are additional two factors that can, indicate in a degree, what is the method of adopting institutional changes across domains – incremental (transitory) or disruptive (punctuated-equilibrium via new roles and programs). In countries with various racial and ethnic compositions, inner tensions can be higher compared to predominantly homogeneous settings. In this order of ideas, Republic of Moldova, a highly homogeneous setting (language conflict is not examined in this paper), has known a punctuated-equilibrium in 1991 with proclamation of its independence as a state. The new proclaimed state has imported previous institutions, rationalizing them through the prism of western model. As most post-soviet countries, the process was influenced by two opposing social tendencies of the mass – „society against the state” with exhibited resistance toward law-enforcement authorities, and tacit admiration for European's socio-economic results from their explicit rule of law model of organization [7, p. 126]. Although diffused, similar conflicting tendencies can

be observed in current policies proposed by domestic change actors. For example, Moldova have introduced the institution of *environmental evaluation* (an essential element of international environmental law) in the context where it already contained the mechanism of *ecologic expertize* [4, p. 4], which has a different translation but same core roles; either, in terms of physical institutions, Moldova established in 2018 a new agency, as concept imported from foreign counterparts - the *Environmental Agency*, rearranging for this occasion its existing capital base functioning for more than a decade under institutions with different names [2, p. 211].

Institutional transitions of Moldova in environmental domain.

Environmental protection in Republic of Moldova is rooted in social movements from the beginning of previous century. Most prominent environmental movement was affiliated to Zoology Museum and established as *Society for Nature Protection* (1904) that took under observation 13 sectors of forests. The growing attention toward forestry culminated with promulgation of Law on Protected Areas in 1930 and formulation legal regimes for National Parks and Reservation Areas. A series of government decisions during next 3 decades, continued to specify the details regarding demarcation and management of land and its biodiversity. In 1968 it was established a *State Committee for Nature Protection* and in 1976 it was issued the first Moldova *Nature's Red List (Book) of Threatened Species*. In 1990, the State Committee took the form of State Department, which later (1998) evolved as Ministry of Environment.

The title of highest national institution that regulates environmental affairs, has known an interesting path itself. Ministry of Environment (1998) merged with Ministry of Construction and Territorial Development being renamed in Ministry of Ecology and Natural Resources in 2004, to have been later in 2009 renamed again in Ministry of Environment. In 2017, the government organized an institutional reform, compressing 16 ministries into 9 institutions. Thus, environmental affairs were knitted with other departments resulting in Ministry of Agriculture, Regional Development and Environment. Specialists in the field tend to catalogue the interest of actors that work in the agricultural and environmental field, as being opposed to each other. Both sectors represent a mutual threat because the management for each supposes a series of limitations, for example: on one hand, clearing the natural vegetation with the purpose of arranging proper conditions for agricultural activity leads to biodiversity loss and implicitly creates obstacles for the implementation of environmental protection objectives; and on another hand, the perspectives of demographic enlargement that can be statistically assessed, put pressure on agriculture to satisfy the continuously growing needs of humans and their demand for consumption [10, p. 792]. This leads to an impasse where climate change and production are threatening each other, both with valid arguments in their sense [11, p. 283]. Moldova's Ministry of Agriculture, Regional Development and

Environment has 21 agriculture-related legal entities (agencies, offices, centers, institutes etc.) out of 35 directly subordinated institutions. These are agro industrial, agrochemical, agro technical center of excellence; land processing and culture testing institutes; wine promotion offices and colleges for training in wine production. In the context where the territory of Moldova is preponderantly of agricultural nature and only 9% of the territory counts as urban area, it was specially created an official Consolidated Unit for the Implementation of Programs from International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). It is understandable that a state will develop its institutional capacity in accordance with priority niche from environmental domain. For comparison purposes: Moldova with high agricultural potential has developed a strong regulatory framework on the aspect of land-exploitation, precisely *agriculture*; the Netherlands have prioritized *water* to the degree of creating an additional Ministry that regulates all potential activities tangent with this subdomain (Ministry of Infrastructure and Water Management as a separate institution from the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality); Brazil government exhibits an interesting approach toward environment delimitating clearly its subdomains by delegating 3 separate institutions for environmental-related issues: Ministry of Environment, Ministry of Mines and Energy, Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply; in this context it can be raised the question if states that cover a larger geographic surface will be prone to separate environmental domain institutionally-wise? Russia has Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment with according agencies in subordination, Ministry of Energy, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Civil Defense, Emergencies and Disaster Relief, and an additional Federal Service for Environmental, Technological and Nuclear Supervision, this leads to fragmented approach and cross-sectorial nature of legislation per se [14, p. 6].

Institutional reforms are interdependent with country's pattern of exercising roles. Occasional politico-economic turbulences can bring punctuated-equilibrium, and from *inter-institutional perspective*, we can observe changes similar to the case of Moldova when 16 ministries were reduced to 9. From *intra-institutional perspective*, the pressure for a specific domain can increase the attention toward development of new operative attributions for answering to the foreseen demand. However, in terms of environmental *sub-domain*, the countries priority, which is translated into functional roles within agencies, remains inflexible across changes, and the mere title modifications of main institutions, is impacting only the implementation process without altering the essence of environmental protection objectives. In this order of ideas, the question that can be further addressed is: in what manner are the procedural changes of new institutions affecting the efficiency of environmental strategy implementation?

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