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TV GENRES BROADCASTED BY ROMANIAN TELEVISIONS IN 2011 AND 2012*

LAVINIA ADAM**

ABSTRACT. Television is a media permanently existing in human life. Its role is to accomplish the functions of the communication, which are, according to Lasswell, surveillance of the environment, correlation of components of society and cultural transmission between generations. The economic logic has modified the television industry which, in order to fulfill its financial plans, pays a great deal of attention to entertainment. Television genres change in order to answer to the demand of the audience. New shows are produced without being well defined or having a specific genre. This study is aimed to identify television genres used in Romanian programming and to identify the production habits of the most successful Romanian television channels.

Keywords: television, TV genres, scheduling.

“Television has been accused of many (though by no means all) of these crimes by its own contemporary critics. And yet, like the Elizabethan theatres, it is a familiar and popular experience for a large proportion of people from all sections of society.” John Fiske & John Hartley (2003, 2)

The Genre

The classification of television genres and formats is a long-debated issue within the context of the continuous development of television which, out of the desire of attracting the public and, thus, of economic reasons, always tries to come up with new programmes. Another perspective in the classification of television programmes and genres must have an eye to the socio-cultural context since the notion of genre can be defined as “the sharing between the

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public and the producers of the show regarding the classification of a television programme.” (Bignell & Orlebar, 2009, p. 65) Bignell and Orlebar have observed that the genres study aims at identifying the conventions and the features that differentiate a type of show from another, trying at the same time to spot the connections between certain texts and certain types of public.

The definition of genre in television has been tackled by numerous authors. The genre is defined in *Television Studies – Key Concepts* (Casey *et alii*, 2008) as “a way of theorizing how television programmes are classified and organized. It includes a consideration of the codes and conventions within and between television programmes” (p.135).

The television industry uses genres not only for television schedule, but also as an organizational principle for specialized television (e.g. Cartoon Network or Sci-Fi Channel). The television has long time relied on a certain regularity in scheduling various media products in order to ensure continuity and predictability, establishing the TV content according to specific time slots and to the classic division between fiction and reality. However, all theoreticians admit that a simple genre classification does not suffice to understand the television. The genres could be better understood through different types of relations among the audience, the viewing practices and strategies. The viewers could watch different genres on the same TV channel, they could choose the same genre zapping through channels or could randomly switch from fiction to factual TV and vice versa. Moreover, the TV channels tend to combine different genres and even destroy the barrier between fiction and factual TV. This fact is due to a tacit agreement with the viewers who have understood that those who decide to trespass the established borders do this thing knowingly. From this point of view, some authors speak about a loss of relevance regarding the genre classification. (Case *et alii*, 2008, pg. 135-137)

Jason Mitell (2004) commences his discussion on television genres with the famous phrase “*I know it when I see it*” uttered by judge Potter Stewart when he was not able to define pornography during the equally famous trial *Jacobellis vs. Ohio* (1964). This phrase has eventually got to be used by anyone who tries to classify a noticeable fact or event, although the category it falls under lacks well-defined parameters. In fact, the phrase “*I know it when I see it*” describes how the majority of men have their own mode of categorization when it comes to mass-media or television genres. These genres are common in many cultures. Some of them do not need a definition, being self-understood. We all know what a soap opera or a sitcom is without having the need of confirmation or definition. The problems occur when the genres are continuously changing and we are not able to decide anymore about the nature of the programme, that is if it provides us real information, a possible situation or its aim is only to amuse us. According to Mittel, the genre classification has to take into consideration esthetic paradigms and formal definitions and analyses with precise limits.

The paradigms can analyse the inner mechanics of a text, but are incapable of explaining how that text functions within a certain cultural context: “Imagine studying the mechanical composition and structure of an automobile engine — you can discover why a car runs, but you won’t find out any answers as to why people like to drive it” (Mittel, 2004, p. 3). Therefore, he suggests that the public should be examined in order to get possible various answers.

Bignel and Orlebar assert that given the expectations and the desires of the public and the focus on the viewers, the genre is a democratic concept and this is the reason the TV producers and managers do not hesitate at making shows which fall under genres requested by the public himself. Being framed by other programmes of the other genre, but having also in view the shows broadcasted in the same time slot by concurrent TV channels, the shows have to resemble one another but also to have specific features in order to get an identity. The genre classification is a difficult task because many times we deal with a mix of different genres that leads to the birth of a new genre or to the changing of an already existent one. The genre is often announced by TV guides, promos and teasers, by hidden suggestions in title of the show or by its “packing” – understood as location, *mise en scene* or narrative structure. (Bignell & Orlebar, 2009, p. 65-68) Patrick Charaudeau, also, speaks about a mix of genres especially when it comes to talk show and reality show. It is a trend of the new television which is “a television of the «hybrid» in opposition to the old television characterized by the separation of the genres” (Charaudeau, 1997). By analysing a set of programmes sharing common characteristics, one can establish relatively stable and identifiable categories. Even though they best fit to the environment analysed, within the context of globalisation where genres and formats are imported after they have proven successful in their country of origin, we will find common elements.

We could also define genres dependent on the distinction between fiction (TV movies or soap opera) and factual TV (news, documentaries, reality TV), although we’ll see these two approaches are combined.

TV Scheduling

The television schedule is at first glance a simple succession of programmes that we got used to consult or we already have it in mind when we care to spend time watching TV. Many viewers think of this scheduling as a TV offer they accept or refuse, not knowing that behind it lies in fact an equation whose variables are the audiences. The TV schedule must correspond to the interests and the requirements of the audience so that the TV channel to ensure its own prosperity by means of advertising revenue. The programme genres are thus conceived to meet the demands of the audience. Even if there already is a consumption habit that guides the TV channels when they build and set in order their schedule, they continuously search a better understanding of their audience.

The studies which measure the audience are realized with an eye to quantifying and shaping the possible “consumers”. They take into account the number of viewers during certain time slots or programmes in order to anticipate the success of feature media products. In addition to the quantitative measurement, these studies add up qualitative data determining the characteristics of the social class, genre, age and incomes, with a view to convince the advertising agencies that their commercials will reach the target audience. A third type of research is performed by academics, who are not concerned so much with the volume and the nature of the audience, but who focus on the relation between media products and the audience, also examining the effects of certain programmes on the audience. In this third sense, there was a shift in the way audiences are understood. According to Bignell, “the understanding of the viewer as a textually produced construct hollowed out by the structures of the television programme has been replaced by a more fluid notion of the dynamic interchange between the particular viewer and the flow of television, with attention also to the more diffuse social uses of television, in social talk and cultural processes of self-definition.” (Bignell, 2005, p. 144) Thus, the television is a source of information and entertainment and “a resource for constructing self-identity and/or group identity, and as a way of experiencing social interaction virtually or remotely.” (Bignell, 2005, p. 144)

The argument of the research

Television is a media permanently existing in human life and the biggest communicator, given the fact that the majority of people watch TV daily¹. Thus, its role is to accomplish the functions of the communication, which are, according to Lasswell, surveillance of the environment, correlation of components of society and cultural transmission between generations. The economic logic has modified the television industry which, in order to fulfill its financial plans, pays a great deal of attention to entertainment. The television genres suffer modifications to better respond to the public demands. New shows are created for this purpose, without having to fall under a specific genre. In the context of globalisation, in Romania for instance, some genres have become important without the need of being well-defined or categorized. It can be noticed the incoherence of the tentative to subsume TV programmes in television genres and this is precisely why I chose this topic of research. The TV schedule describes the programmes as talk shows, reality shows, entertainment shows and so on, although we often deal with programmes that even if they seem to

¹ According to the study “Attitudes and habits of media consume. Perceptions regarding CNA”, achieved by Romanian Institute for Evaluation and Strategy (IRES), in 2011, 83% of Romanians watched TV daily.

have the same content, they are described as falling under different genre. It is easily noticed in every TV guide the inconstancy in using in the description of the programmes functions that programmes can fulfill or genres. The media genres theory is underdeveloped in Romania and the producers don't manifest an interest in trying to categorize a TV show recently brought to the internal market. The TV rating that some shows reach has stirred up the curiosity of finding the characteristics of each genre and their impact on the audiences.

Aims

The research on the schedule of the main TV channels in Romania wants to determine in which way and how much are some TV formats employed and which are the characteristics of TV scheduling in Romania. Given the fact that the TV channels chosen are those with the highest ratings on the Romanian TV market, this research is going to outline the consumer preferences of the Romania audiences.

Insofar as the TV networks aim at attracting the public, many shows are described as E! shows. The entertainment is a function which can be assigned to the majority of the shows broadcasted by the commercial channels (depending of each person's perception), no matter whether they are variety shows, talk shows, reality shows etc. Our goal is to identify the television genres used in Romania and to establish the preference of their use relative to internal productions (including bought programmes that are produced by Romanian production companies). For the most part, the programmes which have the mission to satisfy the need for entertainment are classified as variety shows, talk shows or reality shows. For instance, the show "Acces Direct" ("Direct Access") produced and broadcasted by Antena 1 appears in the TV guide as a talk show, but the ProTV show "Happy Hour" is described as an entertainment one, notwithstanding the fact these two programmes have almost the same format and content. In fact, the TV programme description in Romania is a mixture of genres and functions which does not offer stability to the programmes themselves and does not give the possibility of imprinting the genres in the collective consciousness.

Questions of the research

- Which are the TV genres used for internal production by Romanian TV channels?
- Which are the most visible TV genres in internal production of the mainstream televisions?
- Which are the characteristics of TV scheduling in Romania?

Methodology

The research has analysed the 2011 and 2012 schedules of the following generalist TV channels: TVR1, Pro TV, Antena 1, Prima TV and Kanal D. We chose these five TV channels due to their national ratings. In 2011, Pro TV was the TV channel with the highest rating among all generalist TV channels (2,7 % average rating per day, 6,1% in prime time), followed by Antena 1 (2% average rating per day, 4,2% in prime time) and Kanal D (1, 1% average rating per day, 2,8% in prime time). The TV channels TVR 1 (2,5% prime time) and Prima TV (2,4% prime time) also rank among the audience preferences, but less than the TV channels previously enumerated. In 2012, Pro TV kept the first position among audience preferences (with an average rating per day of 3.3% and 7,8% in prime time), followed by Antena 1 (2,5% average rating per day, 4,7% in prime time) and Kanal D (1,4% average rating per day, 2,6% in prime time). As prime time ratings was concerned, the next in line were Prima TV (2,5% rating) and TVR 1 (2% rating). We view the public TV channel (i.e. TVR) also as a particular case given the fact that the service offered by public broadcasting should be diversified: in terms of the genres of programmes offered, the audiences targeted, and the subjects discussed. The commercial channels aim in general only at satisfying the public need for entertainment, providing shows on light topics from the social sphere they can identify with.

Content analysis

We have analysed the proper production of each TV channel for 3 weeks per year, illustrative of the TV scheduling for their spring, summer and fall seasons. Each production that has been analyzed was subsumed to a television genre (according to the genre theory). We have also measured the length of each programme on the purpose of obtaining a panoramic view on the time that each TV channel under examination bestowed on a specific television genre.

Our research method was to analyse the content of both TV schedule and each identified programme. Our paper has had in view the intrinsic production of each TV channel under examination in 2011 and 2012. In each year, we have analysed those three weeks illustrative of the TV scheduling for spring, summer and fall seasons, in order to establish the genre, the number of broadcasts and the duration of shows broadcasted during the periods in question, and also to determine the subject covered by each show apart. However, our most eloquent result was the broadcast time bestowed on each genre.

On the purpose of extracting the own production of each TV channel, we analysed the following weeks of 2011: April 11-17, July 11-17, November 7-13; and in 2012: April 02-08, July 9-15 and October 15-21, using the archives of

<http://tv.acasa.ro/>. The genres to which we subsumed the analysed programmes are: news, factual television, feature report, interview, documentary, talk show, reality show, variety show, magazine show², press review, quiz show, sitcom, and soap opera.

Limitations and advantages

One of the limitations of this research is the impossibility of a complete examination of the schedules, because some programmes broadcasted during the night are missing from the TV guide. Another limitation is the lack of success to identify the genre for some programmes to the public channel, because they do not exist anywhere online and is not available any description for them. Advantages consist of outlining the habits of usage of the TV genres in Romania and identifying audience's favorite genres.

Comparative analysis of TV schedules during April 11-17, 2011 and April 02-08, 2012

Each TV channel produces programmes which cumulate a certain number of hours out of its weekly broadcasting time. The maximum production for one week is 168 hours. The share conferred by each TV channel to its internal production can be found by converting the values of the internal production time and the broadcast time in one week. In 2011, Antena 1 had an internal production share of 51%, more than Kanal D (with an internal production share of 40%) and Pro TV (39%). The TV channel with the smallest share was Prima TV (26%). In 2012, we had the same ranking. Antena 1 had an internal production share of 62%, followed by TVR 1 (39%), Kanal D (38%) and Pro TV (34%). The TV channel with the smallest share was again Prima TV (22%).

By analysing Figure 1, we noticed that, in 2011, in one week, Antena 1 produced 85 hours, Pro TV, 66 hours, TVR 1, 62 hours, Kanal D, 67 hours and Prima TV, 44 hours. In 2012, the production of Antena 1 increased at 105 hours, that of TVR 1 at 65 hours, whereas for the rest of the channels the internal production time decreased.

² In generally, in Romania, the magazine show is created on French model. According to Charaudeau (1997), *le magazine* is a hybrid genre that combines the feature report, the investigation and the debate. Charlotte Worthington (2008, p.134) defines the magazine show like a programme that is constructed from "features linked by in-vision presenters, or out of-vision voice-over. Similar in concept to the printed magazine, they offer a range of items packaged within a single programme." The magazine show may contain a range of content including news, documentary, drama, interviews, graphics and archive footage.

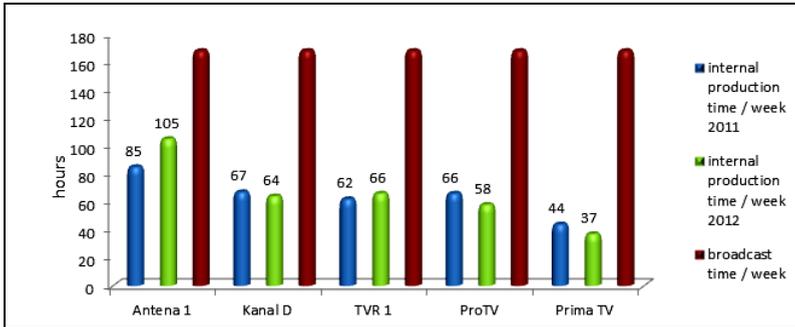


Figure 1. Comparative analysis of the internal production time during April 11-17, 2011 and April 02-08, 2012.

TVR 1

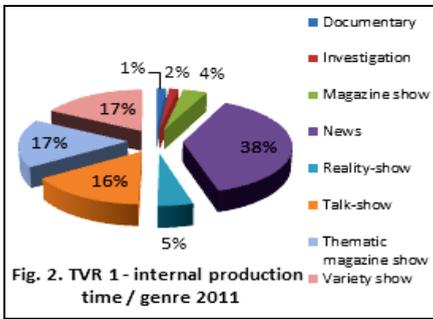


Fig. 2. TVR 1 - internal production time / genre 2011

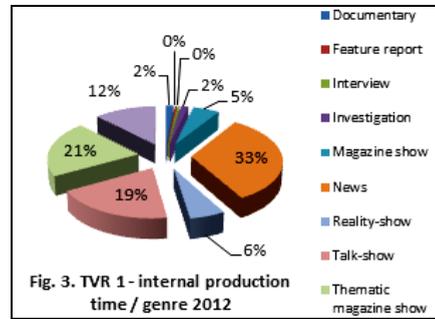


Fig. 3. TVR 1 - internal production time / genre 2012

Both in 2011 and 2012, the public channel gave an increased importance to news programmes (38% share in 2011 and 33% share in 2012) and to thematic magazine show (17%, 21%). E! shows as variety shows were also present in the schedule in big number (17% in 2011 and 12% in 2012). In 2012, TVR1 used as freestanding television genre the feature report and the interview, although they held a very small share of the internal production (under 1%). In the spring schedule, the public channel also had reality shows and its internal production covers all television genres.

ProTV

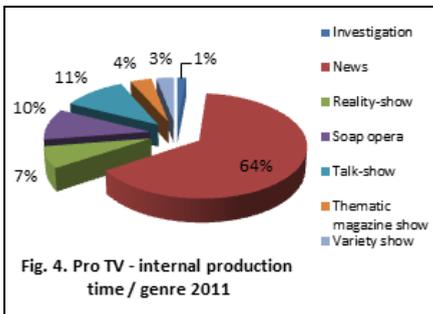


Fig. 4. Pro TV - internal production time / genre 2011

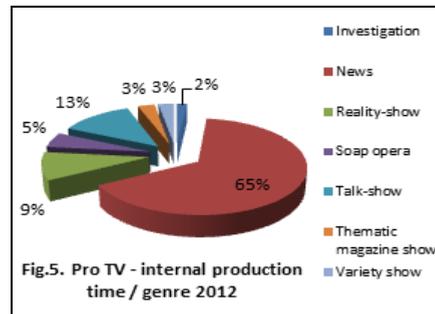
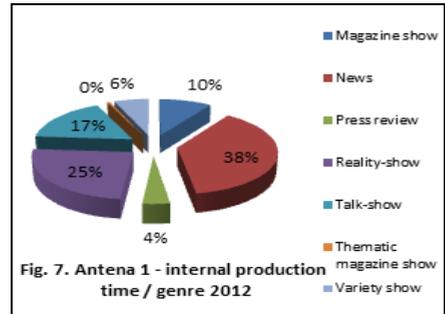
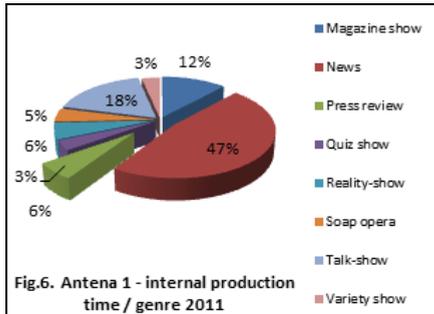


Fig.5. Pro TV - internal production time / genre 2012

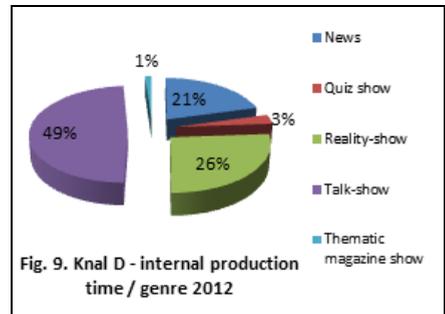
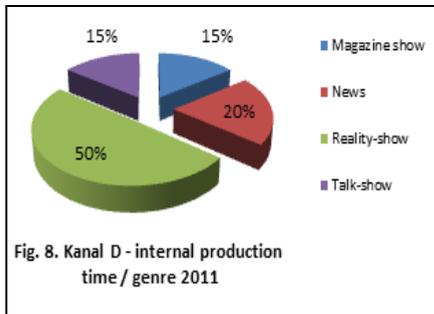
In 2011 and 2012, ProTV had the same preferences in production matters, the genres remaining the same and having the almost same share out of the internal production total time. The news shows held the first place (with 64% in 2011 and 65% in 2012, followed by talk-shows.

Antena 1



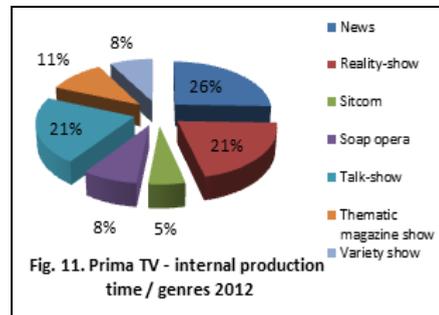
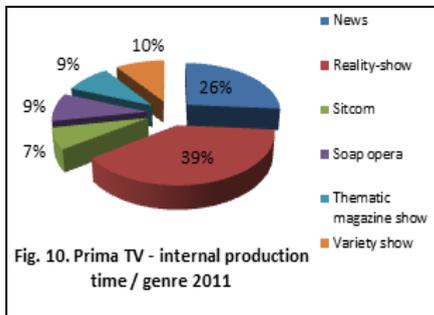
In 2011, half of the internal production time of Antena 1 was dedicated to news programmes (47% share), but in 2012, the share decreased with 10 percent, making more room for reality shows (25% share, up against 6% share in the spring of 2011) along with the insertion in the schedule of the show “Mireasa pentru fiul meu” (“Bride for my son”), with several broadcastings during one day. In 2012, Antena 1 gave up both soap operas and quiz shows production.

Kanal D



Kanal D focused only on several TV genre. These genres stayed the same in 2011 and 2012, except one quiz show which appeared in 2012, (i.e. “Who wants to be a millionaire?”), but the proportions change significantly. In 2011, the favorite genre was the reality show (50%), followed by news (20%). In 2012, the first place was held by talk-shows (49% share), followed by reality shows (26%).

Prima TV



Prima TV did not give a great deal of importance to news programmes, having one news programme per day (at 18:00 o'clock), at which we could add the show "Focus Monden" with a news format, but on fashionable topics. In 2011, we could also notice Prima TV preference for reality shows (more than 17 hours a week out of 44 hours of internal production time) and the lack of interest in talk shows, a thing that had to change radically in 2012, when talk shows held a 21% share from the total duration.

Discussions

During the analyzed weeks for the spring schedule, one could notice the preference of TVR1, Pro TV and Antena 1 for news programmes. Kanal D (with a 50% share) and Prima TV (39% share) focused more on reality shows, a genre that was outrun in 2012 by the talk show (a choice they made to diminish the production costs). The public channel covered different television genres on various topics, due to fact that it has to target a vast audience. The thematic magazine show formed the preference of this channel, in the attempt of putting out the biggest amount of information in a short period of time.

Comparative analysis of TV schedules during July 11-17, 2011 and July 09-15, 2012

Relative to duration, the production habits stayed the same from one year to another. The first place is held once more by Antena 1 with near 50% share, followed by Kanal D, Pro TV, TVR 1 and Prima TV.

During July 11-17, 2011 and July 09-15, 2012, the internal production time decreased significantly. In 2011, out of 168 hours of broadcast time, Antena 1 produced almost 81 hours, Pro TV 51 hours, TVR 1 produced 51 hours, Kanal D, 53 hours and Prima TV, 23 hours. In the summer schedule of 2012, the production increased for all analysed TV channels except Pro TV: Antena 1 covered with its own shows 95 hours, Kanal D - 65 hours, TVR 1 - 61 hours, ProTV - 48 hours and Prima TV - 28 hours.

TV GENRES BROADCASTED BY ROMANIAN TELEVISIONS IN 2011 AND 2012

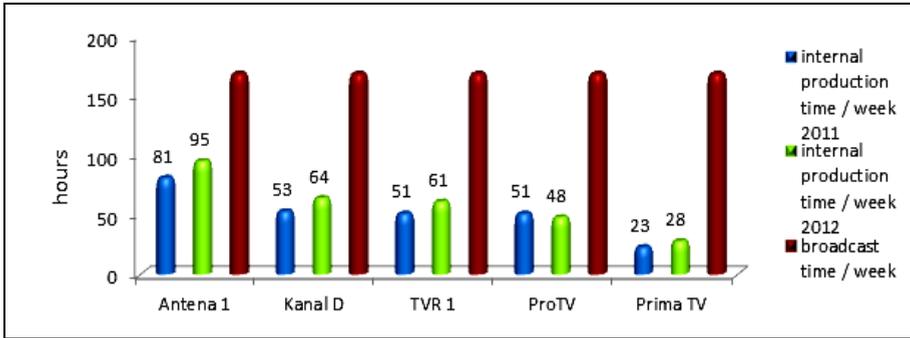


Figure 12. Comparative analysis of the internal production time during July 11-17, 2011 and July 09-15, 2012.

TVR 1

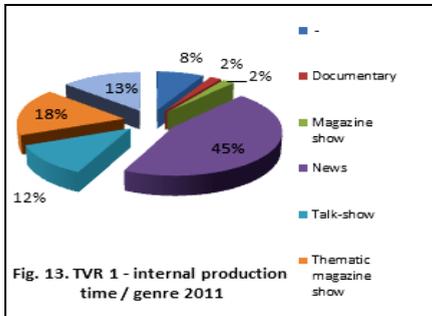


Fig. 13. TVR 1 - internal production time / genre 2011

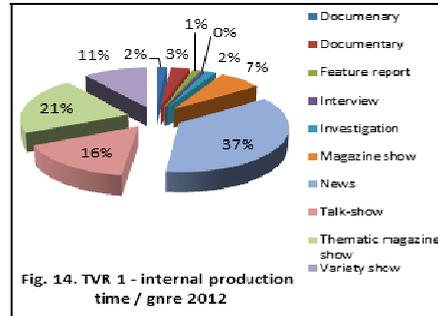


Fig. 14. TVR 1 - internal production time / genre 2012

The main goal of TVR 1 remained the news. The news programmes held the biggest share out of the internal production time (almost 50%), followed by informative thematic magazine shows and talk shows. In 2012, in the summer schedule, the investigation genre held a share of 2% out of the production time.

ProTV

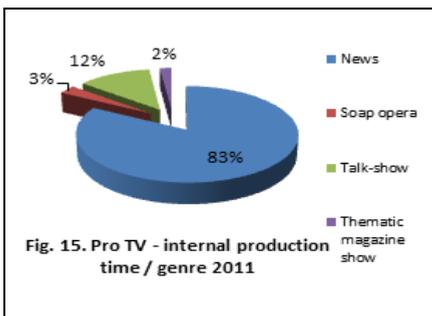


Fig. 15. Pro TV - internal production time / genre 2011

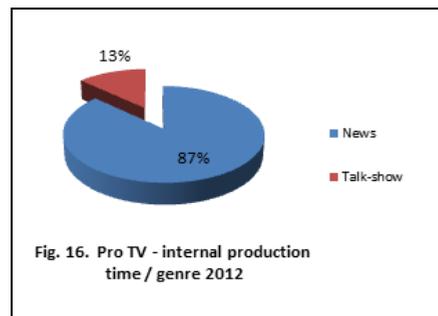
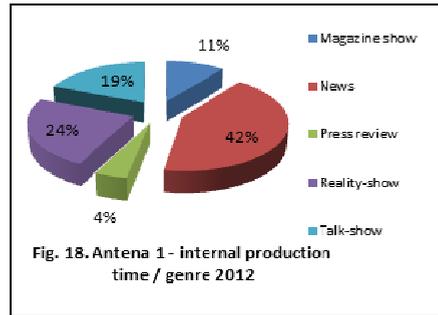
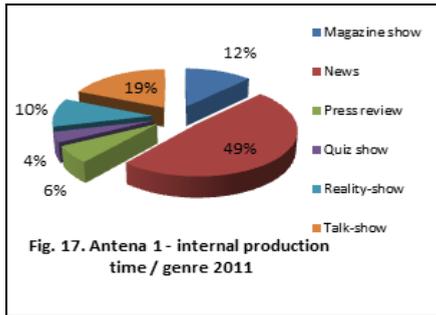


Fig. 16. Pro TV - internal production time / genre 2012

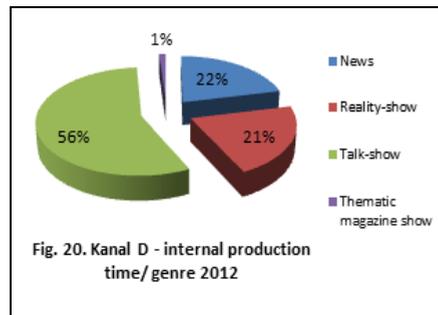
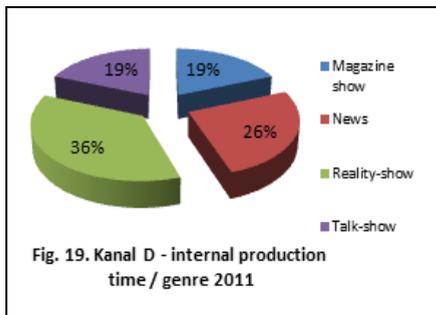
In the summer schedule of 2011, Pro TV kept the news programmes (broadcasted throughout the year, for that matter), the talk show Happy Hour with five broadcasts per week, one episode of the soap opera “Cu un pas inainte” (“With one step forward”) and one edition of the sport magazine show “ProMotor”. In this manner, more than 80% of Pro TV internal production in July was held by news programmes, which extended to 100% in August. In the analysed week of 2012, ProTV produced 87% news and 13% talk shows.

Antena 1



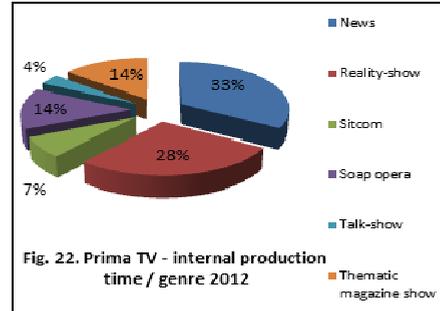
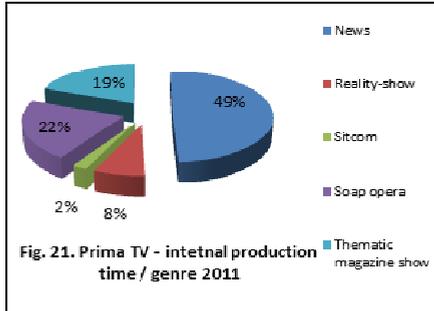
In July, besides news programmes, Antena 1 continued with two talk shows, namely “Acces Direct” (“Direct Access”) and “Un show păcătos” (“A sinful show”), and also with “Dimineața cu Răzvan și Dani” (“Mornin’ with Răzvan and Dani”) morning show. The genre reality held an important place too, with 10% in 2011 and 24% in 2012. The enhancement occurred 2012 was due to the show “Mireasă pentru fiul meu” (“Bride for my son”), broadcasted throughout the year.

Kanal D



During July 11-17, 2011, Kanal D kept its preference for reality, with a 36% share out of the production duration. Next were news programmes (26%). In the summer schedule of 2012, their favorite genre was talk show, with 36 hours, that was more than half out the total production time, followed by reality shows.

Prima TV



During summer, Prima TV preferred news programmes with 49% share in 2011 and 33% in 2012. Second in place for 2012 was the genre reality. The genre talk show was still present with a share of 4%. The thematic magazine shows were broadcasted during the week-end and held a share of 19% in 2011 and 14% in 2012.

Discussions

The summer TV schedules are generally built with less money due to the loss of audience. Therefore the production time decreased.

Since one of the main functions of television is to inform the public, we had news programmes throughout the year, the rest of the genres receiving little attention during the summer. Consequently, during this interval of time we found preponderantly news programmes. Only Kanal D perpetuated its production habit, so that its favorite genre for the summer of 2011 was reality and for 2012, talk show.

Comparative analysis of TV schedules share during November 7-13, 2011 and October 15-21, 2012

During November 7-13, 2011 and October 15-21, 2012 over 60% of Antena 1 broadcasting time was formed by internal production. Kanal D, ProTV and TVR 1 produced their own shows in a proportion of 30% to 40% in both 2011 and 2012, whereas Prima TV cumulated a total production time which represent 20% out the broadcast time per week.

By analysing Figure 16, we noticed that, in both 2011 and 2012, in the analysed weeks, Antena 1 produced 104 hours. During November 07-13, 2011, ProTV produced 60 hours, TVR 1, 62 hours, Kanal D, 57 hours and Prima TV, 41 hours. In the fall schedules of 2012, during October 15-21, the production increased for Kanal D (62 hours) and decreased for ProTV (57 hours), TVR 1 (57 hours) and Prima TV (39 hours).

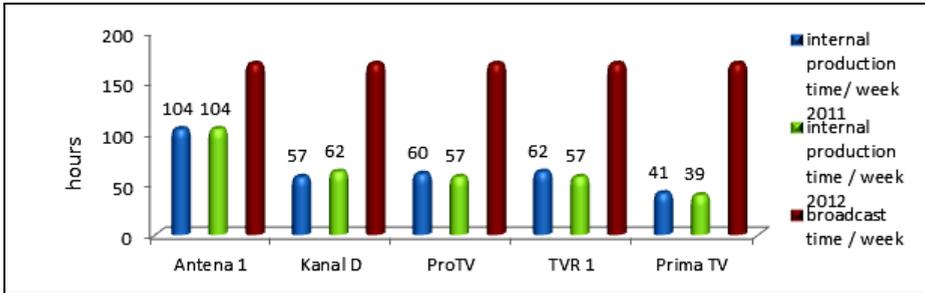


Figure 23. Comparative analysis of the internal production time during November 7-13, 2011 and October 15-21, 2012.

TVR 1

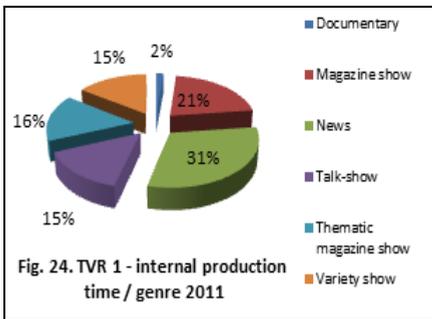


Fig. 24. TVR 1 - internal production time / genre 2011

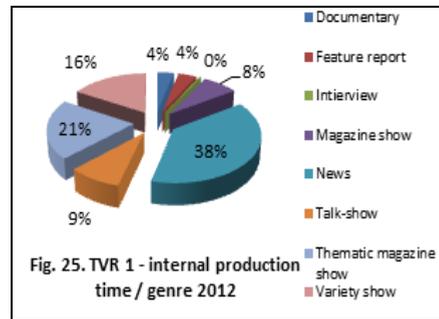


Fig. 25. TVR 1 - internal production time / genre 2012

For TVR 1, news programmes remained the most important genre. The percentage difference between 2011 (21%) and 2012 (8%) for the genre magazine show was due to a morning show, that is “România zi de zi” (“Daily Romania”), which stopped being produced in 2012. The thematic magazine shows with informative purpose were still present in the schedule and they targeted all sorts of audience. The variety shows produced for entertainment held a 15% share in 2011 and 17% in 2012.

The public channel maintained a good balance among the genres it produced.

ProTV

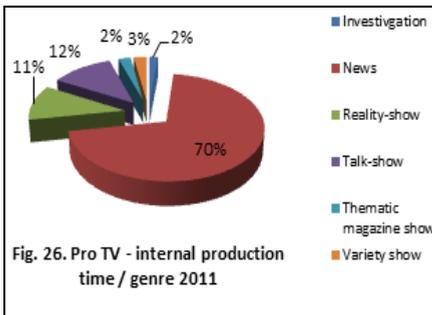


Fig. 26. Pro TV - internal production time / genre 2011

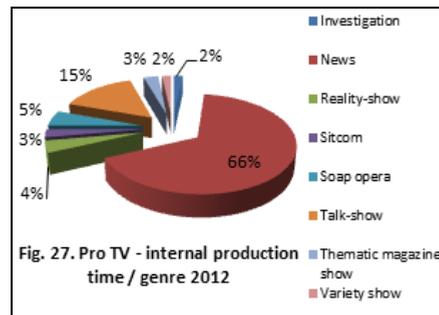
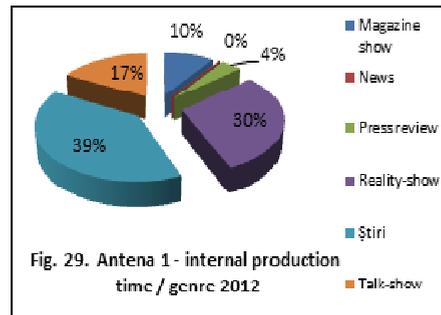
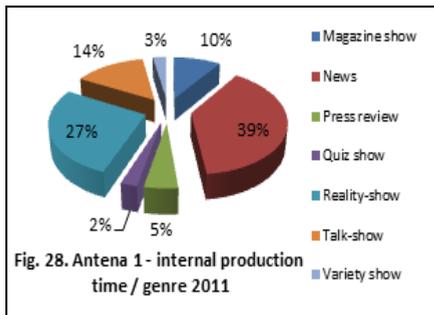


Fig. 27. Pro TV - internal production time / genre 2012

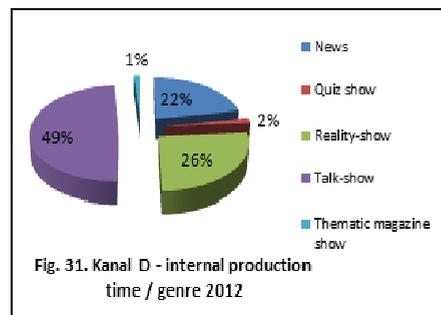
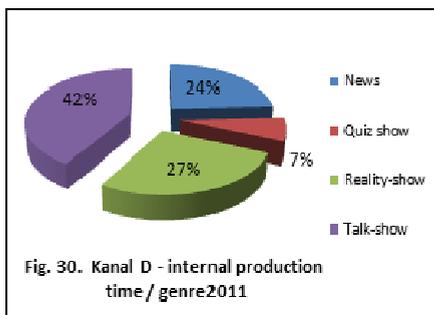
The production of news programmes remained stable during the fall season, too, holding a 70% share in 2011 and a 66% share in 2012. Then we had the talk show (12% in 2011 and 15% in 2012) and the reality show (11% share in 2011 and 4% share in 2012). The other genres produced by ProTV held a share between 2% and 5%. In 2012, the fall schedule contained a new television genre, the sitcom - represented by two shows, “Tanti Florica” and “Spitalul de demență” (“The Mental Hospital”) -, with a share of 3% out of the internal production.

Antena 1



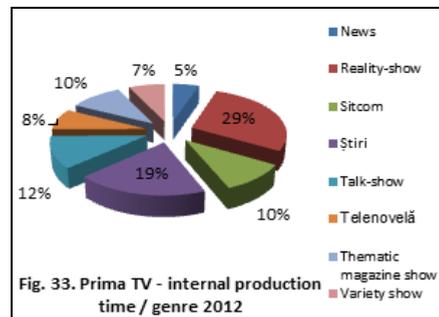
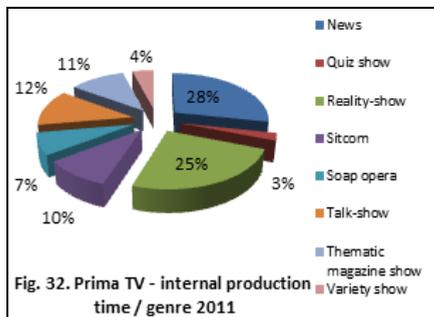
Antena 1 kept its production habits from one year to another regarding the broadcasting time accorded to each genre (news, talk show, reality, thematic magazine show, press review) with similar shares, but during the fall of 2012 it gave up two programmes, that was the quiz show “Super Bingo Metropolis” and the variety show “In puii mei”.

Kanal D



Kanal D kept its preference for the genres: talk show (42% in 2011, 49% in 2012), reality show (27%, 26%), news (24%, 22%). The genre reality was outrun by the talk show due to the occurrence of new programmes (Cancan TV in 2011, Wow biz in 2012), broadcasted four times per week.

Prima TV



Prima TV fall schedule also contained the same production habits from one year to another, the most frequent genres being the news programme and the reality show, with a share of more than 25% out of the internal production. In 2011, the talk show was represented by “F Pod. Podul lui Fințescu” (“F Bridge. The Bridge of Fințescu”) with five broadcasts per week, whereas in 2012 this talk-show was reduced at two broadcasts, the rest of the percentage being covered by the morning show “Totul despre mame” (“Everything about mothers”). The week-end thematic magazine shows were present throughout the year, holding a share of 11% in 2011 and 10% in 2012.

Discussions

From one year to another, the TV schedules we have examined did not change significantly and maintained the continuity and the predictability of their shows. Few television genres disappeared (only in the case of Antena 1 – the quiz and the variety show) from production. In the fall schedule as in the spring schedule, TVR 1, ProTV and Antena 1 preferred the informative genres, whereas Kanal D and Prima TV manifested a bigger interest in reality show and talk show.

Conclusions

The TV channels we have analysed produce their own media content which covers all television genres: news, feature report, interview, documentary, talk show, reality show, variety show, magazine show, press review, quiz, sitcom and soap opera.

By examining the duration of the internal production of each targeted TV channel, we could notice that, from one TV schedule to another and from one year to another, there were few changings and the internal production total time increased or decreased. Antena 1 held the first place in terms of internal production total time, followed by Kanal D, TVR1, ProTV, the last one being Prima TV.

TVR 1, Pro TV and Antena 1 emphasized the news programmes, whereas Kanal D and Prima TV preferred reality shows or talk shows. The reality shows held the third place in terms of production preference for all four commercial TV channels, namely Kanal D, Prima TV, Pro TV and Antena 1.

Another change was in the way the genres are approached. The TV channels can change their production habits from one year to another, therefore the share of each genre varied, although we noticed that in general the production habits stayed the same.

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“I WAS JUST GOING TO THROW IT AWAY”: ULYSSES AS THE ANTI-NEWSPAPER

KANTA DIHAL*

ABSTRACT. James Joyce is, like many other modernist writers, often considered to have strongly rejected the newspaper as the medium of choice for the newly literate masses. However, *Ulysses* borrowed a lot from the form, style and selection of content that is applied in newspapers. In this essay, I will consider the various ways in which Joyce employed newspaper techniques in this work. I argue that *Ulysses* is an anti-newspaper, as it borrows heavily from the newspaper, yet it serves to inform the reader about life in general rather than about the events of a single day. At the same time, I will look into the ways in which Joyce used the newspaper as a medium himself to convey his opinions to a larger audience and to advertise his works, how the publication of *Ulysses* clashed with the idea of mass printing, and how Joyce was already looking ahead to the next big medium in which he saw more possibilities of depicting daily life, that of the film.

Keywords: newspaper, modernism, James Joyce, *Ulysses*

James Joyce wrote his modernist masterpiece *Ulysses* in and for a time in which the newspaper was slowly taking over literate Europe. The newspaper, despite its being introduced in the sixteenth century, is most often seen as a major new development of the early twentieth century. It was only then that the newspaper could truly have an impact by reaching a mass audience, with the Daily Mail being the first newspaper to distribute a million copies a day in 1902 (McDonald 2003, 224). This mass audience was created firstly through literacy becoming widespread through educational reforms after 1870, which made education accessible for the masses. Secondly, promotional strategies and cheap printing technologies made it possible to reach this new mass readership with printed works that nearly everyone could afford to buy (225). It was also only at the turn of the twentieth century that the newspaper evolved into the daily format as we know it today, since only then the technology had become

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advanced enough to be able to print a new issue of a newspaper every twenty-four hours (Kiberd 2009, 117). This proliferation of the newspaper seems to be at first sight a positive development, since it allowed the working classes to use their newly acquired knowledge to develop their own ideas and opinions. The coming of the newspaper, however, was a development that was not universally welcomed. Many modernist writers were not happy with it, especially not with the sensationalist way in which newspapers reported events to attract the attention of their potential readers. They feared that a new way of reading would develop, because readers were getting used to skimming through newspapers and discarding them after a day. In their works, many of these writers represented mass media as “a major threat to elite taste or knowledge, and they often figured printed mass culture ... as a monolithic entity, opposed to high culture and the progress of civilization” (Avery and Brantlinger 2003, 245). An example of a writer taking this stance is Joseph Conrad in *The Secret Agent*: In front of the great doorway a dismal row of newspaper sellers standing clear of the pavement dealt out their wares from the gutter. It was a raw, gloomy day of the early spring; and the grimy sky, the mud of the streets, the rags of the dirty men, harmonised excellently with the eruption of the damp, rubbishy sheets of paper soiled with printers’ ink. The posters, maculated with filth, garnished like tapestry the sweep of the curbstone. (Conrad 1907, 72)

Conrad here implies how well the newspapers blend in with the filthy city in which they are sold. His contemporary James Joyce, on the other hand, was not as skeptical toward the newspaper as many other modernist writers. *Ulysses* uses many techniques that the reader would recognise from newspapers. However, the work takes these techniques to a new level, integrating them with literature in a way never before seen. In this light, I will here argue the case that *Ulysses* can be seen an anti-newspaper, that perhaps already is trying to move on to the next news medium, that of the film.

Describing only one day, as a news report would, this book is made to resist skimming through, and has lasted for more than a lifetime.

Many critics have in the past accused Joyce of expressing a thorough dislike for newspapers in his writings. In 1977, Richard Ellmann claimed that Joyce thought the newspaper was “wasting the spirit with its persistent attacks upon the integrity of the word, narcotizing its readers with superficial facts, [and] habituating them to secular and clerical authority” (1977, 78). This claim can only be valid when exclusively considering Joyce’s early works. In *Dubliners*, he would indeed in a number of stories depict the press as having power over life and death, and over the Irish people in particular, by using an image of “the Irish people as silenced and thereby condemned subjects of a newspaper” (Donovan 2000, 28). This can be seen, for instance, in ‘A Painful Case,’ in which Mr Duffy is at the mercy of the newspaper for hearing about the death of the young woman who

had once confessed to him that she was in love with him (Joyce 1914, 109). However, Joyce no longer depicts the press in an exclusively negative light in *Ulysses*. Recent scholarship has pointed out the dialectic manner in which Joyce here uses the language of the press, pointing more towards a parodic view than a strongly criticising one (Donovan 2000, 25). The simple fact that Leopold Bloom works for a newspaper seems to be enough proof in itself that Joyce was not entirely turned against the press. When looking closely, one can also see that many comparisons can be drawn between the form and style of the newspaper and of *Ulysses*. Where other modernist authors were afraid that people would satisfy themselves merely with newspapers and would no longer need literature (Avery and Brantlinger 2003, 243), the idea of mass literacy appealed to Joyce, and the fact that the newspaper was helping literacy spread would have excited him. For him personally, newspapers were an essential part of his daily life: in 1906 he complains to his brother Stanislaus that he has "had no breakfast and read no papers for five days" (Joyce 1966, 162), equalling the need for newspapers with that for food. Newspapers seem to be similarly vital in *Ulysses*: dozens of real newspapers are mentioned, carried around, read or otherwise named in the work. What bothered Joyce about newspapers, however, was the fact that they did not allow the reader to develop their true reading potential. The reader was developing a short attention span combined with a high reading speed, which resulted from the sheer number of different short messages vying for attention in the newspaper (Kiberd 2009, 75). The clearest example can be given by comparing *Ulysses* to an actual newspaper of 16 June 1904. Bloom himself recalls reading the results of the Gold Cup races in the "late pink edition" of the *Evening Telegraph* (Joyce 1922, 789). Looking at an archived edition of this newspaper, it is not the sports announcements that immediately draw attention, even though the fact that the newspaper was the last of the day to appear meant that more attention was given to sports in this newspaper than in any other during the day (Gifford 1988, 551). The first page is entirely devoted to advertising, and the ensuing pages are littered with advertisements in between the articles. With so many short messages on such a large area, it is no wonder that modernist writers feared for a decline of the attention span and an increase of the reading speed of the modernist literate citizen.

Ulysses most closely resembles a newspaper in the fact that it, too, is a report of a single day. However, in this characteristic the largest point of difference also becomes clear. The aforementioned *Evening Telegraph* measured only four pages, albeit of a much larger size than the pages of *Ulysses*. Still, these few pages stand into stark contrast with the hundreds of pages that *Ulysses* counts. The work is riddled with details, unlike a newspaper, which would only give the facts that were considered most important on that day. By capturing a

single day in such minute detail, Joyce meant to surpass the newspaper in its ability to describe a day (Kiberd 2009, 12). What helps him in this, is that, judging from the *Evening Telegraph* of 16 June 1904, no major events happened that day. Joyce is thus free to integrate factual details in his plot, without having to allow them to take over the story and the characters, the way major events can take over an entire newspaper. In this way, *Ulysses* is both a description of one specific day and of the way a day in general could be lived, following the old Gaelic saying “It’s only a day in our lives” (Kiberd 2009, 49). This personal, local account of a day in late spring is created in contrast to the shocking tales that filled the newspapers during the First World War that could not but have influenced the writing of this work. Where newspapers only report the extraordinary, Joyce wished to recover the status of the ordinary as the basis of life (96). He expressly claimed to only want to write about the ordinary, as he told Djuna Barnes: “A writer ... should never write about the extraordinary. That is for the journalist.” (qtd. in Ellmann 1959, 457).

The temporariness of the newspaper was also an issue that goes straight against the premises on which *Ulysses* is written. In the work, newspapers are constantly recycled and given different uses, upon which Leopold Bloom at one point muses: “What becomes of it after? O, wrap up meat, parcels: various uses, thousand and one things.” (Joyce 1922, 152). A newspaper is used as a placemat (216); an advertisement is cut out of a newspaper, implying that the rest of the newspaper is useless (148). In fact, when Gerty MacDowell likes a poem that she finds in a newspaper, she copies it instead of keeping the newspaper (474). And of course, the most famous example of all is the moment where Bloom uses a piece of *Titbits* to wipe his bottom with after having read it (82-85). This last example, while implying gross disrespect, is of course also a manner of using cheap print matter that was very common at the time; however, what it implies as well is that this magazine could first of all be read in the time one spends on the toilet, and secondly, that no content worth retaining might be expected to be found in it: Bloom had only started to read the periodical after having chosen to use it as toilet paper. With the introduction of the daily newspaper, this disposability was only a natural development: newspapers were only current until the next edition came out. Due to the overload of reading material, people had to start throwing away some, which is a new manner of reading that had not yet come into being before the proliferation of cheap newspapers. Where people used to re-read because printing was so expensive and they could not afford to buy much reading material, by the early twentieth century people had moved to reading a certain text just once, since there were so many affordable texts available that it was not necessary to hold on to them (Vincent 2000, 103). This manner of living influenced the way in which journalists had to write their stories: journalists were urged “to strike readers

'right between the eyes,' now that newspapers were no longer read 'in the secrecy and silence of the closet' but rather 'picked up at a railway station, hurried over in a railway carriage, dropped incontinently when read' (Donovan 2000, 31). *Titbits* was in fact a periodical based solely on this premise: "some historians of journalism suggest that modern popular journalism ("oddments and persiflage") was born with the first issue of *Titbits* in 1881" (Gifford 1988, 80). The journalist therefore chose to adapt to this new pace of living, whereas modernist writers chose to attempt to influence the reader: they tried to write in such a way that the reader would be forced to slow down and consider the details of the writing. Joyce also tried to find a way in which people would not discard his own books like newspapers.

The manner in which he eventually decided to publish the first edition of *Ulysses* expresses this fear and a desire to counter it as much as possible. The first edition of *Ulysses* was a limited edition, with no more than a thousand copies, which were quickly sold out. The price for this edition, which was again divided in three editions ranging from luxury to very luxury, was sixty to 350 per cent higher than other 'limited editions' of novels in that decade. This made it a collector's item, which is proven by the high percentage of copies being bought up by investors and tradesmen (Rainey 1998, 50). By making the first edition of *Ulysses* so exclusive, the novel was guaranteed to be remembered for many decades to come (76). Here, Joyce seems to oppose the disposable aspect of the newspaper so much that he reveals a sense of elitism in his actions that goes against his desire for the masses to be able to read his writings. In this choice of publication, he seems to have overlooked the fact that the dispensableness of the newspaper also carried with it the ability to be passed on, as happens in *Ulysses* itself: Bloom passes his newspaper on to Bantam Lyons, mainly in order to get away from him, since he "was just going to throw it away." (Joyce 1922, 106). The fact that a person at a certain point does not feel the need to hold on to a newspaper any more means that it can be shared, passed on, and enjoyed socially by a large audience, which in the case of *Ulysses* is impossible. Joyce made his novel one for reading and enjoying privately.

This seeming exclusiveness of *Ulysses* is what makes the work so unlike and against the newspaper in most people's eyes. Certainly, it is the case that Joyce seems to write solely for the cultural elite. Nonetheless, the idea that *Ulysses* is an elitist book might be an elitist take on it in itself. As Derek Attridge argues, it is certainly the case that the book is riddled with intellectual references and allusions to other literary work; however, it is not the case that the work revolves around these, "it is only taken to be such by those who assume that the more learned or 'high-cultural' the reference the more central its place in the work's scheme and value" (2000, 31). Certainly it is true that Joyce used these learned references to ensure his work's immortality, as he was not afraid

to admit: "I've put in so many enigmas and puzzles that it will keep the professors busy for centuries arguing over what I meant, and that's the only way of insuring one's immortality," he claimed in one letter (qtd. in Ellmann 1959, 521). However, *Ulysses* can be enjoyed without knowledge of all these references. In fact, it is hardly possible for anyone reading the work in this century to understand every single reference. Annotating *Ulysses* led to a reference book that is almost as big as *Ulysses* itself, and the use of *Ulysses Annotated* is actively discouraged to first-time readers by some (Turner 2010). The work, various authors argue, can be enjoyed by everyone, in different ways. Every reader has some specialist knowledge that others do not have, that will make each reader enjoy the work differently. There is not one form of knowledge that is preferred over another: the employee of a water-supplying company will enjoy the section of 'Ithaca' in which its process is described as much as another reader will cherish Stephen Dedalus's lecture on *Hamlet*. Even the notoriously 'difficult' *Finnegan's Wake* could thus be enjoyed by many, Attridge claims, as different parts will be obscure to different people: "The reader of *Finnegan's Wake* who is unfamiliar with 'Humpty Dumpty' loses as much as the reader unfamiliar with the *Scienza Nuova*" (2000, 32). There is thus no cultural hierarchy encouraged in Joyce's works, in the same way that a newspaper is meant to cater for the tastes of an enormously varied audience. Nonetheless, one could claim that Joyce's works should be read in the opposite way of reading a newspaper: textual mastery is not the most important skill necessary in reading *Ulysses*. Rather than having to know what all the words mean, the reader should enjoy the form, the way in which the words are organised and the effect this organisation has on the reader.

Though at first sight the publishing of *Ulysses* can be seen as an elitist deed, the publishing history of *Ulysses* in one way does resemble a newspaper. The work took Joyce nearly a decade to write and get published, and during those years, the work was extensively rewritten. Just as *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and *Finnegan's Wake*, the text of *Ulysses* kept changing, both before and after its being published. The manner in which *Ulysses* in particular was published makes it resemble the printing of a newspaper. Every new edition that was published was different from the previous one: it had some errors corrected yet put others in. These new editions give a newspaper-like dimension to the work: a newspaper prints a new edition every day (Kiberd 2009, 119). At the same time, *Ulysses* itself can be seen as a new 'edition'. In rewriting the *Odyssey*, the work becomes a new edition of the epic, updating it to make it current in the twentieth century (120). In considering the relation of *Ulysses* to the newspaper, the origins of Joyce's works also cannot be ignored. He actively engaged in correspondence in the press, both to voice his opinions and to promote his writings, "keenly aware of the usefulness of newspapers for 'push[ing] one's own wares'" (Donovan 2000, 27). His texts furthermore first appeared in newspaper-

like magazines such as *The Irish Homestead*, which were filled with advertisements. A text by Joyce could thus appear next to an advertisement listing the prices of manure. Prose and poo were listed on a similar level, and in this way newspapers effectively bridged the gap between 'high' and 'low' culture, which is exactly what Joyce repeats in *Ulysses*. Advertising, Leopold Bloom's trade, is what keeps the newspaper alive: "It's the ads and side features sell a weekly, not the stale news in the official gazette" (Joyce 1922, 150-51). It is also advertising that made the first edition of *Ulysses* such a success: the book is intrinsically connected to the newspaper. Even the language in it is influenced by that of advertising: Leopold Bloom often thinks in the telegraph-style language that he will often have to use at the newspaper office: "Tight boots? No. She's lame! O!" (479). Advertising meant to Joyce that his works were publicly present, that his work was talked about, even if it wasn't as widely read (McDonald 2003, 228). By advertising his books and writings, he thus seems to attempt to overcome the high/low culture gap after all, even though his audience did not always see the content of his writings as achieving this goal.

In the form of *Ulysses*, Joyce's intention of making a counter-newspaper certainly becomes clear. Where in a newspaper the content dictated the form, in *Ulysses* the form is clearly anterior to the content. Joyce takes as his example both impressionist painters, who claimed that a sense of time was more important than a sense of place in painting (Kiberd 2009, 70), and Cubist painters, who tried to depict an object from many different perspectives at once. Joyce thus conveys the impression of a day by showing it through various perspectives, from both major and minor characters, while giving the clearest impression of a day passing that had ever been attempted in literature. The problem with this "aesthetic philosophy", however, would be that Joyce seems to have taken an elitist stance in the application of these stylistic methods. If Stephen Dedalus's words are to be taken as a reflection of Joyce's, a view Avery and Brantlinger seem to endorse, then "Stephen does illustrate Joyce's general disbelief that a mass readership could or even should understand the complexities of the increasingly experimental style he developed in his fiction" (2003, 247). However, though the manner in which *Ulysses* was printed seems to support Joyce's elitism, "there is no *intrinsic* reason" why the majority of the people should not be able to read a 'difficult' text like *Ulysses* only because not every reader would be able to grasp the philosophy behind it (Attridge 2000, 33, his emphasis). After all, the classical works that Joyce uses in *Ulysses* often had lowly origins themselves, yet scholars reveal layer after layer of significance in them that the common reader or listener could not always have grasped (Kiberd 2009, 148). In modernist times, people more and more had to filter the excess of information that was being hurled at them from dozens of sources; the same objective can be stated for *Ulysses*, especially in the paragraphs that display the 'stream of

consciousness' style (Armstrong 2003, 170). Joyce is merely taking the potential of language and the written word to a higher level, believing that journalists did not use this potential fully in newspapers. He celebrated the newly arrived technology and mass culture, but believed that newspapers were not using it well enough (Kiberd 2009, 123). Where Joyce shows the power of language, journalists only used language as a tool in their articles (Attridge 2000, 81). Journalists were only able to write sensationalist texts, texts that were *about* something, whereas Joyce managed to employ the same language to write about seemingly nothing at all. He believed that mass culture could and should contextualise this daily news they were able to diffuse so well. Rather than criticise newspapers outright, he uses them, parodying various different kinds of articles that had appeared in newspapers. The things newspapers wrote were good to use, but far from complete. In his time, newspapers still threw too much away, and did not grant the full context to their stories. They could not yet seize "the insignificance of everyday," which is what Joyce did in *Ulysses* instead (Kiberd 2009, 113).

The form of *Ulysses* can be seen to be based in orality. The work is a collection of unique, surprisingly accurate onomatopoeia, that give animals and objects voices sometimes almost equal to those of the humans in the work. Many parts are written for their sound qualities only, and a stretch of text that seems at first incomprehensible might turn out to become much clearer if the reader reads it aloud. The newspaper, too, is rooted in orality. Being a part of the public sphere, sold on the streets, newspapers had to be advertised orally. This explains the need for headlines: they had to be catchy and short enough to be shouted out on the streets by vendors (Vincent 2000, 94). In the cacophony that street life was in 1904, *Ulysses* itself, too, is far from quiet. In this work, sounds are also vying for attention, and the ones that are noticed have become special through the way in which they are incorporated in the storyline. Stylistic aspects make sure that certain sounds are emphasised. In the Aeolus chapter, for instance, the rolling of the Guinness barrels becomes emphasised through its chiasmic description: "Grossbooted draymen rolled barrels dullthudding out of Prince's stores and bumped them up on the brewery float. On the brewery float bumped dullthudding barrels rolled by grossbooted draymen out of Prince's stores" (Joyce 1922, 148). It is not so much the thudding itself that gets the attention of the reader, it is the way in which the sound is described. This use of language is the exact opposite of that of the newspaper headline: in *Ulysses*, the ordinary is made extraordinary through a proliferation of language, in the newspaper headline only that which was extraordinary to begin with is allowed in, in as few words as possible.

When discussing headlines in newspapers, one of course cannot ignore the 'headlines' used in the Aeolus chapter. This use of headlines is both a parody and a criticism of newspaper headlines. In many newspapers at the time, headlines

often did not quite match the content of the story they headed, since they were added to the articles at the last minute. This could cause quite some confusion as they would emphasise only a minor detail of the article or miss the point made in the article entirely (Kiberd 2009, 118). The headlines in the Aeolus chapter are made on these premises: they confuse the reader and sometimes have nothing at all to do with the ensuing text. Irony, too, is often employed in the headlines of Aeolus, whereas this was discouraged in turn-of-the-century newspapers for fear that readers would not understand them (Donovan 2000, 36). The headlines slowly seem to start leading a life of their own, sometimes commenting on the ensuing text, sometimes nearly blotting out the text they are heading, sometimes hardly adding anything, as the final headline and the lines it covers show:

HORATIO IS CYNOSURE THIS FAIR JUNE DAY DIMINISHED DIGITS PROVE TOO
TITILLATING FOR FRISKY FRUMPS. ANNE WIMBLES, FLO WANGLES—YET
CAN YOU BLAME THEM?

—Onehanded adulterer, he said smiling grimly. That tickles me, I must say.

—Tickled the old ones too, Myles Crawford said, if the God Almighty's truth was known. (Joyce 1922, 189)

This heading covers an 'article' that is only two lines long, whereas the heading itself contains two full sentences. The alliteration in the heading is a well-known characteristic of newspapers, yet it does not add to the clarity of the message in the headline. The header does not summarise what follows, as is usually the case with newspaper headings; rather, the message in the headline and that in the following lines seem a continuation of each other. Joyce here shows how a summary of the story in a headline would be entirely superfluous if people would only take the time to read the full story carefully, as they are forced to do in *Ulysses*.

At the same time that Joyce was criticising the newspaper for its lack of detail and context, the medium itself was already threatened to be overtaken by another, very recent news medium: that of the film. This medium might well have been a better example for Joyce than the newspaper, being the new medium in which the reporting of a single day could be done in the way he desired it to be. Short films, such as the news reports by R.W. Paul, had already been appearing quite widely by the time Joyce wrote *Ulysses*, and he himself would be the one to open the first cinema in Dublin. Most notably, Joyce was the first to discuss a film adaptation of *Ulysses*, consulting none other than the famous Sergej Eisenstein for this project. Surprisingly, however, the first film adaptation of *Ulysses* was not produced until 1967, and it was received with mixed reviews from various sources who considered it impossible to film such a monumental work as *Ulysses*. *Ulysses*, however, in itself contains various film

techniques, the most obvious of which can be found in the *Nausicaa* and *Wandering Rocks* chapters. Cinema's predecessor, the mutoscope, may well have inspired Joyce to write the *Nausicaa* chapter (Kiberd 2009, 201). Looking through the mutoscope, an apparatus through which a man could privately look at short risqué films, was a form of voyeurism. Since the man would operate it himself, he would thus be in control of the length of the viewing. When Leopold Bloom is on the beach looking at Gerty MacDowell, he too is a voyeur, masturbating secretly. There is a difference between the viewing through the mutoscope and the viewing in this chapter: Gerty does notice Bloom, the two even have a short conversation. The *Wandering Rocks* chapter could also be described as filmic, now exclusively in style, not in content. The short sections, describing people's movements and changing the focus abruptly from one person to another, can be compared to shots in a film. The way in which certain phrases describing an action in one section return, seemingly randomly, in another section, shows that these parts of the sections happen at the same time. In one particular instance, three utterances are merged. When Leopold, Simon and Lionel finish singing their song, they end it by all shouting their names together, which is written as "Siopold!" (Joyce 1922, 356). This is reminiscent of the way in which pieces of film could be layered over each other to convey to the audience that these events were happening simultaneously, and it is the closest writing can get to the use of the split screen in a film. Film was thus much more capable of supplying the viewer with those elements that the newspaper lacked according to Joyce. If film can be seen as an anti-newspaper, due to its permanence and capability of conveying detail, this nonetheless does not mean that *Ulysses* was 'pro-film'. In the work, the potential of film, like that of the newspaper, is pointed out, yet there do not seem to have been any films yet which exploited this potential. Films play no active role in the storyline of *Ulysses* the way newspapers do. Naturally, the fact that there was no cinema in Dublin until Joyce founded one himself in 1909 might add to this, yet it is striking that a technique that he found so interesting is only present in the style of the work, and I think that this could only be the case if Joyce did not think the film of the early twentieth century worthwhile yet.

James Joyce has often been depicted as being squarely opposed to the way in which the newspaper had become the medium of choice for the newly literate masses. Though this may have been the case in his early works, *Ulysses* borrowed a lot from the form, style and selection of content that is applied in newspapers, showing that the newspaper had the potential of depicting a single day in its entirety, yet that it failed to fulfil this potential. Judging from his use of the newspaper in *Ulysses*, Joyce seems at this stage in his career to have encouraged the idea of newspapers being used in the era of mass literacy, not in the least because he used it as a medium himself to convey his opinions to a

larger audience and to advertise his works. However, since he tried to write a work that was supposed to last longer than a newspaper, he had to implement various stratagems that would make the work last – yet this would also mean that it would be less accessible to a mass readership. This made *Ulysses* an anti-newspaper, as it borrows from the newspaper but serves to inform the reader about life in general rather than about the events of a single day. At the same time, Joyce was already looking ahead to the next big medium in which he saw more possibilities of depicting daily life, that of the film. Through his aim to create an anti-newspaper, a work that aims to the opposite effect of that of the newspaper, he has succeeded in creating a work that indeed covers a day but lasts for a lifetime.

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BRANDING AND IRRATIONAL THINKING. A SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE INTERACTION BETWEEN THE SELF AND THE BRAND

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ABSTRACT. Although brand choice should be precisely that, a rational, unequivocal choice, it is often the case when rational thinking is replaced with self-deception, disbelief, inadvertencies, in fewer words, choice blindness. But what is it that detours the individual from the real self and turns him/ her into an irrational consumer? Which are the factors that prioritize irrational thinking, leaving aware deliberation far behind? What are the consequences of such an unreflective behavior? How do they manifest themselves in day to day life and how far can the effects reverberate? These are only few of the inquiries that reside at the foundation of the interaction between the self and the brand, and each of them will be answered by the end of this exploratory study.

Keywords: branding, irrational thinking, self and the brand, consumer

I. Introduction

When building a brand identity, focus goes on Brand Name, Graphics, Selling Strategies, Market Communications, Merchandising, Brand Positioning and the core of it all, Strategic Personality¹. But who is all this designed for? The entire cosmogony of a brand is aimed at the one who will see the image of the brand, appeal to it, try it and turn it into a long-term experience. The consumer is the one who dictates the rise or the fall of any product or service, and for this reason, getting inside the mind of this key actor is fundamental.

A substantial amount of literature has been focused on researching the multiple behaviors of consumers, what triggers their attention and what dismisses it, what keeps them engaged and what makes them lose interest in less than five

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¹ Uppshaw, Lynn B. (1995), *Building Brand Identity: A Strategy for success in a hostile marketplace*, John Wiley and Sons Inc., New York

seconds, what seeds a sense of belonging to a defined group and what makes the consumer leave the premises of a product simply because there's no one around.

Many researchers have looked into the rationale behind a consumer's choice of product, and their focus went into the personality of a brand, how it offers the consumer the possibility to express his or her own self², an ideal self³ or different dimensions of the real self⁴. It's in this area of self-evaluation and the interaction between the self and the brand that this research will follow its course. What are preferences and how exactly do they come to surface? How do consumers follow their preferences when choosing a certain product? How much of the decisional process is real and how much is ideal? How much of this process can be attributed to the irrational and how much to the rational?

II. Literature review

Before going any further, what exactly is the personality of a brand?

According to Jean Halliday⁵, brand personality is what enables the consumer to make the difference between two brands that deliver the same product/service. It is the set of features that determine preference and the subsequent usage, and at the same time, it is the one fundamental factor that broadcasts the brand across countries, and more importantly, across cultures⁶.

Of course, Kotler⁷ was another brand scientist, probably the most renowned one, who dissected brand identity in order to get a clearer grasp of what goes on inside a consumer's mind, what are the triggers on which a brand can thrive and what is the nemesis that can burn it into ashes. Kotler asserts the crucial importance of a consumer's perception and develops an exhaustive analysis of the sinuous emotional channels that a brand must cross in order to reach the one hot spot that will define the connection between the human and the brand (not necessarily the product). In Kotler's opinion, this spot is most prone to be hiding a need that requires satisfaction, a need that may not even be conscious and may not have exposed itself at any time prior to brand's apparition.

² Belk, Russell W. (1988), *Possessions and the extended self*, Journal of Consumer Research

³ Malhotra, Naresh (1981), *A scale to measure self- concepts, person concepts and Product Concepts*, Journal of Marketing Research

⁴ Kleine, Robert E., Kleine, Susan Schultz and Kerman, Jerome B. (1993), *Mundane Consumption and the Self: A Social-Identity Perspective*, Journal of Consumer Psychology

⁵ Chrysler Brings Out Brand Personalities with '97 Ads, Advertising Age, 1996

⁶ Plummer, Joseph T. (1985), *Brand Personality. A Strategic Concept for Multinational Advertising*, Marketing Educators' Conference, New York, Young and Rubicam

⁷ Kotler, Phillip, Armstrong, Gary, Saunders, John, Wong, Veronica (1999), *Principles of Marketing*, Second European Edition, Prentice Hall Europe

Where there is a need, there will be someone to satisfy it. Taking the syllogism one step further, one may say that anything can be turned into a need. The imminent question that arises is therefore: What is a need after all?

Murray⁸ introduced a theory that unveils the existence of a range of unique needs that basically determine human nature and behavior. He sees these needs as having different intensities for each individual, a variation that is justified by dispositional tendencies for each need, given that some are more important to some individuals than to others. The listed needs are the need for achievement, recognition, exhibition, acquisition, order, retention, construction, infavoidance (concealing a handicap or a failing), defendance, counteraction, dominance, deference, autonomy, contrarience, aggression, abasement, rejection, nurturance, play, sentience, sex, cognizance and exposition⁹. But what if some of these needs do not make themselves visible, instead they are retained in the obscure corners of the subconscious?

This is where the struggle between the rational and the irrational emerges, and also the validation of the objectives and goals foreseen throughout the present thesis. The goal of this paper is to research the extent to which consumers' decisions are rational outlets and how much of the decisional process may be adjudged to irrational thinking and the entailed behaviors. The objectives are to:

1. Get a clearer grasp of the mechanisms that combine the rational and the irrational, leading to the final, applicable decision of the consumer
2. Dissect the process of consumers' perception of a brand, in order to gain more understanding on how much of the perceived reality is the objective reality and how much is imagery, an ideal reality.
3. Research and analyze how exactly irrational thinking impacts consumers' preferences, motifs and finally, decisions.

Psychologists have attributed a notable amount of their time and analysis to irrational thinking. Also economists have found irrational drive quite intriguing. The interesting part of the entire debate and research on irrational behavior can be identified right in the point of congruence between the psyche and economy, and by economy the sum between marketing, branding and advertising, plus the consumer's choice and product usage is entailed.

*The Thinker's Guide to Fallacies*¹⁰ is a punctual and unequivocal depiction of the mental stream that spawns what the author calls "fallacies", a mix between Latin terms "fallax"- deceptive and "fallere"- to deceive. According to Paul and Elder, fallacies constitute a concept of high importance in human life as much of human thinking deceives itself by deceiving others. In order to

⁸ Murray, H.A. (1938), *Explorations in personality*, New York, Oxford University Press

⁹ Idem 9, pg. 78-85

¹⁰ Paul, R., Elder, L. (2006), *The Thinker's Guide to Fallacies. The Art of Mental Trickery and Manipulation*, The Foundation for Critical Thinking

explain further this mental behavioral equation, Paul and Elder state that the human mind has no natural guide to the truth, nor does it naturally love the truth. What the human mind loves is itself, profoundly selfishly, what serves it, what flatters it, what gives it what it wants and what strikes down whatever threatens it.

As a host of love or hate, beauty or ugliness, ethical or unethical, kind or cruel, knowledge or error, humble or arrogant, empathic or narrow-minded, open or closed and the list goes on, the mind becomes an inconsistent amalgam of the rational and the irrational. Why? Because of something called “self-deception”, and the individual can deceive itself proficiently.

Paul and Elder went on with their research and identified three categories of thinkers, a division that sheds extra light on the purpose itself of this thesis.

The first is called **Uncritical Persons**, or in other words, intellectually unskilled thinkers. These are the people, the consumers, that have not yet decided what to believe, instead the socio-cultural proximate environment has nurtured their beliefs. These individuals are unreflective and their concerns may have nothing to do with their actual beings. Irrational fears determine motivation and attachments, and also preferences. The Uncritical Person is the perfect bait for marketing sharks, easy to persuade and to turn into faithful, irrational consumers.

The **Skilled Manipulator** is the weak-sense critical thinker. These people are proficient manipulators and are distinct from Uncritical thinkers. Splendid rhetoric, sophistication, great status, these are his perks. These thinkers will rationalize product decisions, but they are susceptible to enter specific argumentative gaps.

The third group is the **Fair-minded Critic**, the strong-sense critical thinker. They are intellectuals with no intention of manipulation, because they feel no need of persuading others of their convictions. They combine thought, fair-mindedness, self-insight, sophistication, with sleek ability of identifying a manipulator. These are the consumers that are least prone to be tricked into buying, unless it serves a real, authentic utility and personal purpose.

With this range of human thinking and behaviors, fallacies become somewhat see-through and identifiable. Paul and Elder list only few of the tricks that mind can play on its very self, when placed in a context of conflict, either introspective or determined by exogenous factors. There is confusion, jumping to conclusions, failing to think-through the implications, losing track of goals, being unrealistic, focusing on the trivial, failing to notice contradictions, using inaccurate information in the thinking process, lacking insight into their own ignorance, and so on and so forth. Although impressively long, this list synthesizes only relatively the traps of mind, in which the rational actor may fall, no matter how skillfully he or she uses intellect.

Further in this quest of irrational behavior, the question that arises is: What is linking the human personality to brand personality? What is the neuralgic spot where marketing may protrude and ultimately and make the individual a viable target?

Utility, this is where the promises of a brand meet the anticipated outcome, where the price is paid, where “I’ll try it once” has serious chances of becoming a long-term experience.

Ariely and Norton propose an incursion into the psycho- economical foundations of actions and reactions aimed at reaching utility. According to the authors, both economists and psychologists consider the construct of utility to have massive importance. It plays the role of the central driving force in human motivation and behavior. Economists assign utility to more hedonistic views, mainly based on pleasure versus pain expectations, such as buying a trip to the Tahiti versus going to the dentist. Positive and negative utilities serve as the common denominators for decision - making and therefore, shape people’s behavior.

On the other hand, the psychological perspective intervenes with a more impulsive, ad-hoc emergence of the sense of utility. This perspective builds on the argument that people don’t have well—formulated preferences and therefore, often define and construct utilities in the spark of the moment. One of the consequences of this instable relation utilities- action is that people seem to remain somewhat insensitive to the impact of these situational factors in shaping their behaviors, and consequently, misattribute the behavior caused by these fleeting factors to stable preferences, concluding that their past actions indicate their utilities.

In fewer words, actions can create rather than reflect, preferences. The second consequence is that people rely on memories of utility for their past behaviors, but the trick is that memories of utility of some action may have been biased by situational factors that were not in fact relevant when enacted, which leads to erroneously imputed utility.

A revealing paradigm on the utility-preference relation was introduced by Edwards and Newman¹¹, Keeney and Raiffa¹². It prescribes the utility of a choice as equivalent to the sum of its preferences, therefore the sum of weighted values and attributes. A notable amount of research shows that preferences are constructed, rather than stable, well-defined and discernable¹³.

¹¹ Edwards, W., Newman, J.R. (1982), *Multiattribute evaluation*, Beverly Hills, CA:Sage

¹² Keeney, R.L., Raiffa, H (1976), *Decisions with Multiple Objectives: Preferences and Value Tradeoffs*, New York: Cambridge University Press, pg. 25-28

¹³ Markman, A.B., Zhang, S., Moreau, C.P. (2000), *Representation and the Construction of Preferences*, In E. Dietrich & A. Markman, *Cognitive Dynamics: Conceptual and Representational Change in Humans and Machines*, pg. 343-265

To some extent, preferences are labile, reversible and obscure. As the following research will show, preferences are also deeply irrational, peer-pressured and also, indicate the presence of the persona, distinct from the real person.

III. Research design and methodology

III. 1. Research Hypothesis

Hypothesis 1: Consumers' preferences are not always products of a rational process, instead they are stimulated by the features of a brand's appealing personality.

Hypothesis 2: Consumers make choices based on irrational triggers that aim at emotional satisfaction- frustration is turned into vision, dissatisfaction becomes joy, absence is turned into ideal, lack of appreciation is turned into recognition, anonymity is replaced by uniqueness while consuming product X.

III. 2. Research methodology

In Schindler's opinion¹⁴, a good, valid research respects the standards of a scientific method, which implies the existence of a clear definition of the purpose, a concrete and detailed research procedure, a thorough research plan, revealing of research limitations, unequivocal analysis and data presentation, justified conclusions and a reflection of the researcher's experience.

The present thesis will contain part of these criteria, and given the proposed psychological immersion, an in-depth understanding of the researched area is appropriate and necessary. In consequence, a qualitative approach fits best the purpose of this paper. The rationale behind this choice consists of the interest of meaning and people's interpretations and more relevantly, the interest in observing and analyzing behavioral patterns¹⁵. In part, qualitative research serves as source of information collection, therefore owns a value of itself, and also acts as basis for building theory. It is based on meanings expressed through words, therefore a standardized method would only suppress the richness of researched data¹⁶.

The strategy that in the end best fits the interests of this thesis is a case study, given the qualitative approach. A case study doesn't come with predetermined research methods, instead it allows the researcher to choose the most appropriate methods and techniques, while maintaining a flexible attitude in front of special

¹⁴ Schindler, D.R., Cooper, P.S., (2001), *Business research methods*, 7th ed., New York, McGraw Hill

¹⁵ Huberman, Michael A., Miles, Matthew B. (2002), *The Qualitative Researcher's Companion*, Sage Publications, London, pg. 46

¹⁶ Saunders, M., Lewis, P., Thornhill (2003), *Research Methods for Business Students*, 3rd ed., Harlow. Financial Times / Prentice Hall

situations that may occur and may be relevant to the investigation¹⁷. Both secondary and primary data have been used to develop this study¹⁸ which perfectly matches the exploratory purpose of this study¹⁹. There is no prior data on irrational consumer behavior towards the Starbucks personality, and for this reason the exploratory approach will be more conclusive than a formal research, as it will provide much stronger evidence on the cause and effect relation²⁰ between brand image strategy, brand variables and consumer behavior.

III. 3. Collecting data

A pre-test questionnaire was applied in order to sample the population of the study. This questionnaire had one question: Are you a Starbucks consumer?

For the primary data, the instrument used was the open-ended questionnaire. Through this primary step, the intention was to collect initial data to subsequently compare throughout live interaction during the focus groups.

The questionnaire consisted of 4 questions for each respondent to answer in written paragraphs.

Q1. What makes you a Starbucks consumer? What thoughts and emotions come to mind?

Q2. How often do you consume Starbucks products? Do you prefer coffee-to-go or would you rather spend some quality time at a Starbucks coffee shop?

Q3. When and where did you find out about Starbucks?

Q4. If Starbucks were a person, what would he or she be like? What occupation would it have? What would it wear?

A distinction is to be made between information and data²¹, and for the validation of this research, both sources will be used.

Questionnaires and focus groups are the most effective methods to be used when the researcher is interested in understanding the perceptions of participants²², which is the exact case throughout the entire plan of this research.

¹⁷ Strauss, A., Corbin, J., (1998), *Basics of qualitative research*, 2nd ed., Sage, pg. 79

¹⁸ The secondary data is data that has already been collected throughout previous investigations, while primary data is collected for the specific needs of the research. Parasuraman, A., Grewal, D., Krishnan, R., (2004), *Marketing research*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, pg. 113-115

¹⁹ An exploratory research helps investigators gain initial insight and ideas for further research. At the moment of the study, it runs no prior assumptions. Proctor, T. (2003), *Essentials of Marketing research*, London: Pearson Education limited

²⁰ Idem 18

²¹ Data is a collection of unorganized news, fact and figures about any type of topic. Information is a body of facts that is built up around a specific topic, with the intention of subsequently creating a plan. Idem 19

²² Berg, B. L. (2007), *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*, Boston: Pearson

Focus groups were also conducted in order to cross-examine the responses gathered during application of questionnaires and the ones given during live examination, this way collecting valid, meaningful data.

Focus group moderator guide

- Objective: To pursue an in-depth investigation of consumers’ perceptions of Starbucks through group interaction.

- Method of analysis: Qualitative research by means of free association. Participants were asked several questions with the intention of unveiling the ways in which they perceive Starbucks personality correlated to their own personality features.

1. If Starbucks were a person, what type of personality do you think it would have?

2. What would Starbucks wear?

3. What would Starbucks talk about?

4. If Starbucks were an occupation, what would it be?

5. If Starbucks were a VIP, who would it be?

- After being given a list with association items, the participants were asked a series of questions, to further determine in detail the triggers that determine their interaction with Starbucks:

1. How often do you consume Starbucks products?

2. What do you like about their products?

3. What do you dislike about their products?

4. What do you think is unique about this brand? Does it resemble to other brands? In which ways?

5. What kind of person do you think is the typical Starbucks customer?

6. How do you think usual customers use this brand and what do they use it for?

7. What do you feel you get out of consuming Starbucks products?

8. Where did you find out about Starbucks?

- As a final step of the focus group, a table with different characteristics numbered from 1 to 5 (1, the weakest/ 5, the strongest) was created for each participant to match with Starbucks personality, as perceived by him, her²³.

	1	2	3	4	5
Healthy (natural ingredients)					
Sincere					
Daring (exciting, innovative, up to date)					

²³ This measurement method was inspired by Kevin Lane Keller’s guide on brand analysis in *Strategic Brand Management: Building, Measuring, and Managing Brand Equity*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2003

	1	2	3	4	5
Sophisticated					
Tough					
Fair prices (for maximum quality)					

III. 4. Sampling

The sampling method used was convenience sampling²⁴. There were 50 pre-test questionnaires administered, of which a sample of 20 participants were chosen for the primary data questionnaires and 2 focus groups, of 10 participants each.

III. 5. Text data analysis

For' data analysis and interpretation, Berg's content analysis²⁵ was performed.

Table 1.1. Primary perceptions as resulted from the open- ended questionnaires

A place for boys & girls, women & men, grandmothers & grandfathers	Innovative
A place where the rich go	It's where I fit in
A space where you can be creative	It's where I spend my Saturdays
Affordable	Lively
Attractive	Love
Best coffee ever	Luxurious
Classic jeans and a white T-shirt, that's all you need at Starbucks	Nice packaging
Community	Original
Cozy on a cold winter morning	Original
Easy- going	Quality of life
Energy	Refreshing

²⁴ This method lowers costs, provides high result accuracy, increases speed of data collection and population elements availability. This method fits best the outline of the research as it is not founded on sample size, but on forming constructs. Schindler, D.R., Cooper, P.S., (2001), *Business Research Methods*, 7th ed., New York: McGraw-Hill

²⁵ Berg, B.L.(2007), *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*, Boston: Pearson. Berg considers content analysis to be a detailed and systematic type of examination, which is the best suitable method for the open-ended questionnaires. The questionnaires were organized and analyzed in the respondents' own words. Content analysis consisted of: Recording consumer perceptions, Identifying most frequent perceptions, Group the most recorded perceptions into a primary perceptions framework, Record each respondent's perceptions of the brand in an individual worksheet, Analyze each worksheet by comparing them to the primary perception framework and Analyze what perceptions were recorded simultaneously.

Enjoying company, even if I just met them	Refreshing on a hot summer day
Enjoying friends	Sense of belonging
Enjoying the present	Sophisticated, but not pretentious
Exciting	Surprising
Fair prices for high quality	The perfect date
Fancy	The perfect place to relax at lunch during work days
Fit in	The place where something always happens
Healthy lifestyle	The staff is friendly, they make you feel like you're among friends
High-class	Unique
I could never drink a Starbucks coffee with no make-up on	You always get what you pay for
I want to be there every morning	

Consequently to Step 1, a table of most frequent responses can be created.

R1- Respondents who are not heavy coffee consumers + respondents who started drinking coffee once they found out about the brand

R2- Respondents who were already coffee drinkers

1/ 0- mention of perception X according to each category of respondents

Color codes- similarity between perceptions

Table 1.2. Most frequently mentioned perceptions

	Perceptions	R1	R2
P1	A sense of community/ belonging	1	0
P2	Innovation (provides a sense of creativity within consumers)	1	1
P3	Fashion statement. Chic means jeans and a basic T-shirt	0	1
P4	Fashion statement. Drinking coffee at S. requires a fancy look (make-up, fancy attires)	1	0
P5	Fair prices for high quality	1	1
P6	Great tastes	1	0
P7	Nice packaging	1	0
P8	A guarantee for enjoying yourself & company	1	0
P9	An exciting and refreshing atmosphere	1	1
P10	Refreshing	0	1
P11	The perfect place for cold days/ hot summers (any season)	1	1
P12	Trendy	1	0
P13	Challenging environment	1	0
P14	Great marketing campaigns	1	0
P15	The simple things are the ones that matter	0	1
P16	A place for intelligent people	1	0

Step 3 consisted of creating a sheet of most frequent perceptions mentioned, by grouping the ones presenting similarities into single categories.

Table 1.3. Categories of most frequent perceptions

	Perceptions	R1	R2
P1	A sense of community/ belonging	1	0
P2	Innovation (provides a sense of creativity within consumers)	1	1
P3	Fashion statement	1	1
P4	Fair prices for high quality	1	1
P5	Appealing tastes	1	1
P6	Trendy appearance	1	0
P7	Enjoyable, appealing, exciting atmosphere for any day of any season	1	1
P8	Great marketing campaigns	1	0
P9	A place for intelligent people	1	0

Step 4 consisted of analyzing sources of information, as responses to Q3, compared to frequency of visits to Starbucks. Table 1.4 presents the correlations between source and frequency.

Table 1.4. Sources of information compared to frequency of visits

Source of info	Frequency of visits
Reading the news	1/ year
Close friends	1/ 4 months
Random people met at parties, clubs etc.	1/ month
Business partners	1/ 2 weeks
Work/ school colleagues	2/ week
Social media (Facebook, Twitter etc.)	2, 3/ week

Step 5 provided a cross- examination between perceptions, frequency of visits and associations that participants were asked to offer.

Table 1.5. Cross examination: Perceptions vs. Frequency of visits vs. Associations

	Associations	Frequency of visits	R1	R2
1.	Starbucks would be a young guy with a trendy look, who loves coffee and who prefers to diversify this pleasure . It suits his lifestyle	1/ 2 weeks	×	
2.	A person who enjoys a good coffee with a kick. He/ she may either be a bank clerk or a creative director	1/ 4 months	×	
3.	A trendy teenage girl who enjoys spending time with her girlfriends in between classes	2/ week	×	
4.	A top manager with a sharp, fashionable look	1/ 2 weeks		×
5.	A girl who likes to have fun and enjoys a tasty coffee with something sweet on the side	2/ week	×	

	Associations	Frequency of visits	R1	R2
6.	A young writer finishing his book	1/ 4 months	×	
7.	A middle aged father who enjoys some alone time in a space where in fact he's not alone at all, he's part of a community and that's something he enjoys	1/ year	×	
8.	Someone who enjoys a hot drink on a cold day	1/ 4 months		×
9.	Someone who likes mornings	1/ 4 months	×	×
10.	A jogger during a hot summer day, looking for a refreshing drink	2/ week	×	
11.	A young artist who can appreciate an interesting package	1/ 2 weeks	×	
12.	A people person who frequently ties up new friendships	1/ 2 weeks	×	
13.	A 30-year old cute girl in a pair of blue jeans and a white shirt looking for travel destinations on her Apple notebook	1/ 4 months	×	
14.	Someone who enjoys a little coffee on a nice morning and parties hard at night	2/ week	×	
15.	A young guy wearing Ray Ban -s and a COS shirt, waiting for his girlfriend	1/ 2 weeks	×	
16.	Anyone who enjoys a good coffee while reading the morning news	1/ year		×
17.	A marketing director able to identify balance between product & price	1/ month		×
18.	Someone's best friend	1/ year	×	
19.	Someone who likes tastes that are not overwhelming, not too strong, simply enjoyable	1/ year	×	
20.	A traveler discovering a new city	1/ year		×

Subsequent to Step 5, it becomes clear that each answer that associates Starbucks with the image of an individual offers different sets of image, emotional and rational features, of which all are in a way or another directed towards enjoyment.

When thoughts about the **image** that person Starbucks would have are expressed, they conduct to a hip and cool appearance of fine taste, chosen by individuals who know how to relax and have a good time. Also, they are able to distinguish between qualities and in effect, they know how to choose the best coffee, the Starbucks coffee.

Closely linked to image stands **enjoyment**, spending quality time drinking quality coffee. Words such as pleasure, love, enjoys, likes, appreciate are mentioned 13 times. An emotional state of mind is in fact hinted at in every response: “a young writer finishing his book” – a source of excitement and thrill, “a middle aged father spending some alone time”- the pleasure of spending quality time on his own, away from the worries of day to day, “a people person who frequently ties up new friendships”- a person who enjoys meeting new people, “someone’s best friend”- the friendship connection between 2 people.

An aspect that emerged throughout the research was **brand association**. Starbucks was linked to Apple, Ray Ban and COS, three renowned, high-end brands, deeply seated in the participants' minds through attributes that came into the respondents' mind when Starbucks was talked about. All 4 brands were recognized as being part of the same category or class. The respondents' who associated the brands found out about Starbucks from business partners, were not coffee drinkers prior to the brand discovery and the visit frequency is 1/ 2 weeks.

A key element that was mentioned during this stage and which also coincides with the Starbucks brand strategy is the concept of being part of a group, even community, even among people one doesn't in fact know²⁶. The majority of respondents depicted a broadened experience, with imagined characters of which each has a different story. All depictions had a few elements in common: deeply emotional perception, the thrill of being part of the Starbucks atmosphere, the opportunity for intellectual performances. Throughout the analysis and interpretation stages, this research shows clearly that each participant perceives Starbucks as the place where characters are built, where stories begin, where any experience is possible, be it solitary, in groups or in a larger community, the Starbucks community. Out of 20 participants, all of them consider themselves to be Starbucks consumers, but only 6 of them were coffee drinkers even before discovering Starbucks. Becoming a Starbucks consumer, therefore a coffee consumer, was in reality a process based on pleasures, emotions, expectations, wishes, ideal selves, longing for new experiences and desire of belonging. Starbucks was insidiously perceived as the brand that can deliver all these emotional, profoundly personal outlets to its customers.

As far as visits frequency goes, 6 dimensions were identified: 1/ year, 1/ 4months, 1/ month, 1/ 2 weeks, 2/ week and 2, 3/ week. 3 of the respondents who only go to Starbucks 1/ year were not coffee drinkers before learning about the brand, while 1 was already a heavy coffee drinker. Despite the gapping frequency, these respondents still consider themselves Starbucks consumers. Another conclusion that can be drawn from collected data is that being a Starbucks consumer is more of a lifestyle, rather than enjoying a cup of coffee.

Another conclusion becomes clear, in the case of these particular participants, the trigger that made them Starbucks consumers is embedded in the idea of image, built on brand choice and what the products they choose translate about their own personalities. This example becomes the most obvious indicator of irrational thinking and behavior throughout the entire research.

²⁶ Ballal Manish, Kothawade Niraj and Iyer Sairam pursued a research on Starbucks customer service and concluded that Starbucks' value proposition focuses on the creation of an experience around the consumption of coffee, creating an uplifting experience in customer intimacy and creating an ambience based on human spirit, sense of community and the need for people to come together. <http://www.slideshare.net/Spartanski/starbucks-case-analysis>

III. 6. Analysis of Focus Groups data

The purpose of conducting 2 focus groups of 10 participants each was to compare previous data gathered through questionnaires with present data and cross-examine the similarities and differences that would arise. Timing proved to be a key factor in assessing the accuracy of the responses. For the majority of the participants, perceptions, associations, thoughts and feelings turned out to be similar to the first version, but in keeping with the emotional tone.

	S. personality traits	Uniqueness	Last S. visit	The S. customer	Personal outcome
1.	Extroverted, fun	Packaging	1 month ago	Curious	Friendly atmosphere
2.	Exciting, cool, easy-going	Atmosphere	3 weeks ago	Up-to-date	Suits my expectations
3.	A friend indeed	Always someone to talk to	This week	Compassionate	Friends
4.	Professional, sleek image	Always on top of the situation	Today	Focused	Fits my requirements
5.	Joyful, thrilling, unexpected	Best cakes	Last week	Has a smile on	Living the present
6.	Creative, looking for the unpredictable	Inspires people	2 weeks ago	Popular	I can smell the coffee as it is made
7.	Assertive, knowledgeable	You feel like home	3 months ago	Sometimes happy, sometimes sad	Familiarity
8.	Cool, open-minded	Welcoming	6 months ago	Easy-going	It's there if I want it
9.	Cool, lives in the moment	You can always meet new people	1 months ago	Curious	Inspires me
10.	Partner in life	You can be who you are	Last Saturday	Clever	Company & nice tastes
11.	Artistic, professional	Innovative	More than 3 months ago	Insightful	Inspires me
12.	Inviting, appealing, interesting	Community sense	Last week	Social- oriented	Fun
13.	Informed, appreciates quality	High-end quality	1 year ago	Up-to-date	Sense of belonging
14.	Fun, unpredictable	Meets your needs	3 weeks ago	Out- going	Intense coffee to wake me up
15.	Relaxed, enjoys quality of life	Doesn't compromise	More than half a year ago	Partner in "crime"	Complicity
16.	Informed, enjoys a good book	Diversity of tastes	More than 3 months ago	There when you need him/ her	Great coffee

	S. personality traits	Uniqueness	Last S. visit	The S. customer	Personal outcome
17.	Analytic skills, always delivers quality	Fair price for high quality	5 months ago	Competent	I get what I pay for
18.	Empathetic, positive attitude	A match for every taste	More than 4 months ago	Looking for a challenge	Sense of freedom
19.	Knows what people want	Customer-wise	More than 6 months ago	Wants to be impressed	Challenge
20.	Intelligent, adventurous	Omnipresent	5 months ago	Traveler-material	Pleasure of having a good coffee

First of all, as the table above shows, in the Personal Outcome category, the word “coffee” was only mentioned twice, whereas coffee is the first product that Starbucks is known for. Second of all, the sequence of answers each respondent offered follows a particular path based on a cause-effect pattern, which ultimately reveals personal expectations, wishes of fulfillment and personality traits underneath the brand choice. At this point during research, a competent background in phenomenology becomes substantially useful. Perceptions over Starbucks are clearly deviated by a plasma of emotions that, as can be observed, are not conscious and therefore are not rationalized when making the brand choice.

As this research is an exploratory investigation, the data collected offers only partially an interpretation of irrational behavior towards a brand, therefore it is imperative that an extended research with focus on psychology is conducted in order to protrude even further the decisional process of brand consumers.

For the next step, each respondent was asked to state his/ her opinion on the Starbucks logo. Each received a sheet of paper with the logo and available space for a short description. Out of 20 participants, only 2 noticed that the logo had been changed. Recently, Starbucks initiated a rebranding campaign with the purpose of extending on the services market. The word “coffee” has been removed from the new logo, which was a daring move, since nowadays coffee and Starbucks have become synonymous. The logo has no text, only the branded image of the siren. Out of 20 Starbucks consumers, only 2 noticed the logo difference that has been implemented in early 2011. Once again, it becomes clear that the respondents do not perceive Starbucks as it actually is, but as they want it to be in order to match their own requirements, needs and expectations.

As a final step of the investigation, an experiment was performed. Each respondent received a Starbucks cup as they were told that Starbucks is intending to launch a new coffee flavor and therefore, are currently pursuing market surveys. The coffee used for this step was nothing more than ordinary coffee, it had no special flavor. The feedback was impressive. Out of 20 respondents,

none recognized the coffee as having an ordinary taste, instead they appreciated the freshness of the taste, the quality of coffee beans and Starbucks' strive for innovation. At the end, they were informed that the price for this particular flavor will be 20% higher than the average Starbucks price, as costs of production are much higher. The result was that all participants agreed on the reason of the price increase and confirmed that they are willing to spend extra money on quality, freshness and entailed satisfaction.

IV. Conclusions

The entire research performed in a total period of 3 weeks seems to revolve around one core concept: self-deception. Why do people deceive themselves? William von Hippel and Robert Trivers²⁷ started an investigation that ultimately shed some light on evolution and psychology of self-deception. Many ways can be used to deceive people: avoiding the truth, obfuscating the truth, exaggerating the truth, or casting doubt on the truth. By using these means, it is as facile to deceive others as it is to deceive the self. Avoiding critical thinking, using biased information strategies, biased interpretations and very important to the present research, biased memories. Favorable information, preferences and experiences reflect one's goals or motivations²⁸, therefore it becomes easy for the self to consider a lie as being true.

The analysis and interpretation of collected data shows with clarity that the studied population misinterprets reality from an unequivocally self-deceiving perspective, a behavior which leads to continuous brand trust and consumption.

Self-deception has the intrinsic ability to facilitate the deception of others in a broadened sense, to the extent where it can convince others that one is better than what he/ she really is. Benefits of deception go deeper than specific lies towards others, in fact it is most active when it is used for self-enhancement or self-inflation²⁹. People are impressed by confidence they see in others as consumers are impressed by brand power. Brand power is quantifiable in an increasing number of consumers, the type of consumers and equally importantly, the unique factor. In fact, these are the criteria that turn an ordinary individual into a leader³⁰, therefore one can infer that brands do in fact act as market leaders. As the research shows, according to this theory, Starbucks is a validated leader on the coffee market and acts like one.

²⁷ *The Evolution and Psychology of Self-Deception*, Behavioral and Brain Sciences (2011) 34, 1-56

²⁸ Kunda, Z., (1990), *The case for motivational reasoning*, Psychological Bulletin, 108:480-98

²⁹ Idem 27

³⁰ Price, P.C. and Stone, E.R. (2004), *Intuitive evaluation of likelihood judgment producers*. Journal of Behavioral Decision Making, 17:39-57

According to Paul and Elder³¹, three categories of irrational thinkers can be distinguished: the Uncritical Persons, the Skilled Manipulators and the Fair-minded critical persons. The Uncritical persons have not decided what to believe, instead they have been socially conditioned into their beliefs. They are unreflective, their thoughts are products of social dynamics, they are often based on prejudices, stereotypes and oversimplifications. Motivations are traceable to irrational fears, attachments and preferences. These are the individuals that mass-media are structured to appeal to. From this particular point of view, such persons reduce complex issues to basic formulas, such as "Get tough on crime!", "Three strikes and you're out!", "You are either for us or against us". The spin is all that matters, what lies beyond that is irrelevant. This type of mental structure became transparent by the end of the focus groups, when only 2 participants out of 20 noticed they were given the sheet with the wrong Starbucks logo. They did not perceive elements of the objective reality, such the wrong logo or the fact that the coffee they were offered to taste was a fake Starbucks coffee. Even more, they were willing to pay the extra 20%, because according to their own assessment, it was worth it.

This research confirms the two hypotheses on which it was based, but it is constrained by study its own methodological limits. For a more in-depth analysis on how mechanisms of irrational thinking lead to irrational, self-deceptive behaviors, an extended psychological study is necessary. The present study only delivers the outlets of an exploratory research, leading the way to further examination of irrational consumer behavior.

³¹ Idem 10

THE EFFICIENCY OF LEGAL AND ETHICAL NORMS PROTECTING THE IMAGE OF A DECEASED AND ITS' FAMILY

SÎNZIANA-MARIA JURĂU*

ABSTRACT. Although the Romanian press has had its' fair share of scandals relating to the private lives of celebrities, it seems no lesson was learnt. As harsher provisions were stipulated as part of the New Civil Code in order to achieve an improved protection, the current research was designed in order to assesses the efficiency of previous legal norms regulating the issues, from the standpoint of their dynamic evolution, and their relationship with the respectively significant ethical recommendations. The merit of the paper resides in the fact that it introduces a form of measuring the efficiency of the legal norms by creating a test similar to the DIT (Defining Issues Test), adapted to the Romanian reality, based on the most famous, commonly cited and publicly condemned celebrity suicide case of the past decade, and it presents the results of this evaluation concluding on the moral development of journalists as a response to the regulations that were enforced or just introduced these past years.

Keywords: ethical norms, image protection, legal norms, Romanian press

Research Design

The following case-study is one of the three case-studies that were designed for research purposes, as part of a research project conducted in 2012 that aimed to determine the moral development stage of Romanian journalists by assessing how they relate to the professional ethical dilemmas they have faced in the last five years and the recent legal developments that took place. The cases were designed based on the model of the DIT (Defining issues test), with regard to Kohlberg's work for the connection that it attempts to draw between moral development, intellectual development and education.

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The research method was chosen based on the analysis of the current legal and ethical framework, as well as on the analysis of the regulatory proposals of self-regulation, while observing the major sanctions applied by control organisms such as the National Audiovisual Council, court practices and professional self-regulatory forums. After identifying a number of legal and ethical dilemmas of the Romanian journalist nowadays, we created a test similar to the DIT (Defining issues test), which sought to reveal how journalists relate to each set of dilemmas.

As we've previously stated¹, the analysis of the deontological provisions and current regulatory framework on one hand, and the analysis of the law proposals and self-regulatory proposals that occurred in the past three years on the other hand, indicate that the journalistic profession is perceived very differently by activists and by the national legislator. Whilst NGOs that have traditionally supported independent media and freedom of expression have proposed a form of self-regulation as a viable solution (which means that most journalists would observe the reasoning and motivations that characterize post-conventional level of moral thinking development), the legislator indicated, through the legal proposals based on sanctions and restriction, that it supposes that journalists would respond best at stimuli that are characteristic to the pre-conventional level of moral development.

The current case submitted for evaluation as part of the above-mentioned research, proposes, as an aligned goal, the determination to serve for a better understanding of the professional environment and provide a potential future database for the assessment of legislative or ethical solutions that attempt to regulate the profession.

The general research hypotheses tested in order to achieve this goal were:

1: There is a significant correlation between the type of media in which the journalist is active and his current moral development stage.

2: There is a significant correlation between his work experience and his moral development stage.

3: There is a correlation between the journalists' education and his moral development stage.

Sample characteristics

An estimated number of 1000 journalists were invited to participate to the research anonymous by filling online a questionnaire about "current journalistic ethics". Journalists were informed that the research aims to establish how they relate to current ethics rules. Newsrooms from the North-West area of the country

¹ Jurau, Sinziana, *The efficiency of the norms protecting the public image of the public officials on the moral development of journalists*, in *Studia UBB Ephemerides*, Cluj-Napoca, LVII, 2, 2012, p. 41-59

were contacted by telephone and asked for a valid email address and a consent to participate in the survey, while for other regions the database provided by the Centre for Independent Journalism was used.

The research was performed online on approximately 10% of the initial sample, on Romanian journalists representing the written, online and audiovisual media out of which 52% of the respondents were men and 48% were women. The top three counties in terms of respondents in the current sample were Cluj with 31.6% of the respondents, Bihor with 15.8% and 9.5% in Hunedoara. Out of the total number of respondents, 52.6% of them had graduated from a specialized higher degree (that includes having a bachelor in Journalism, Media or TV production or Cinematography), followed by 46.3% that have graduated from other social sciences studies. Some of the journalists that responded to the questionnaire followed specialised legal or ethical education (23.2% and 22.1% respectively).

The criteria used in order to assess their work experience were the type of media, the number of years of work experience, and the position occupied within the team. We observed that the majority of the respondents were working for written media (66.3%), followed by television (20%) and radio (15.8%). Out of the total of respondents, 51.6% worked also for the online environment. An outstanding majority of the sample (49.5%) had over 5 years previously working experience in the media, followed by 33.7% with 2-5 years of working experience and 16.8% of the sample with less than 2 years of working experience. The majority of the respondents were journalists that did not occupy a management position, (52.6%), followed by 27.6% of the journalists that were occupying a top management position (editors in chief and deputy editor in chiefs) and 20% of the journalists that occupied middle-management position (coordinating editors, editors, other "intermediate" positions).

We found the sample to be relevant in the current context, as the economical crisis caused a lot of human resources restructuring, with the more experienced journalists continuing working and the less experienced being either fired or witnessing serious wage cuts. But what was even more important for this questionnaire was the fact that a significant number of the respondents had more than 5 years of work experience, which means that they had been exposed to all the major debates that the Romanian media had in the past years.

The research case

"A famous singer is found dead in her own home. The news regarding the death spreads rapidly and becomes soon the event that focalized public's attention. A newspaper journalist is contacted by a source that gives him a file containing "exclusive" pictures. Among the pictures included in the received file there can be found pictures of the singer in her heyday, recent portrays together

with her minor child and photos of the ongoing police investigation representing her the lying on the floor in a pool of blood, among the few objects that appear to have caused the death. Would you recommend to the reporter to publish the photos or not?"

Alignment of the research case with the research scope

The case was built having as starting point the suicide of singer Madalina Manole (event occurred in 2010). The celebrity suicide case caused a series of violations of the Romanian Journalism Code of Conduct as well as of legal norms. Numerous non-governmental organizations active in the media field, amongst which the Centre for Independent Journalism, Active Watch, Media Monitoring Agency, Employers Association of Local Editors Association of Media Professionals Cluj, the Journalists Union of Hungarians in Romania and Media Organizations Convention expressed their concern and issued a press release condemning the "strongly aggressive mode, irresponsible and devoid of ethics in which some Romanian media have treated the death of singer Madalina Manole", qualifying the detailed presentation of the suicidal technique used as dangerous and irresponsible. The organizations have recommended media to comply with Article 12 of the Code of Ethics that stated that "journalist should avoid detailed descriptions of techniques and criminal methods, techniques suicide and addictions and will not use violent or morbid images."

The manner the information on this event was presented and disseminated drew sanctions from the National Audiovisual Council for both television and radio. The Council imposed the following sanctions:

- Antena 1 - fine of 10,000 RON for submitting details of methods of suicide (name and quantity of the toxic substance used), for invasion of privacy in difficult times such as a bereavement or a tragedy, and for showing the image of the star's son;
- Antena 3 - 7,500 RON fine for submitting the details of the methods of suicide and invasion of privacy in times of tragedy;
- Realitatea TV - a fine of 7,500 RON for submitting the details of the methods of suicide and invasion of privacy in times of tragedy;
- TVR - 5,000 RON fine - for submitting the details of suicide methods;
- OTV - notice for submitting the details of methods of suicide and presenting the image of the child;
- B1 TV - notice for submitting the details of the suicide methods;
- National TV, Prima TV, Pro TV - summons for presenting the child's image.

The case conceived for research purposes included the "basic" range of violations and was enriched by adding discussion on the "evidence" arising from the ongoing investigation, in order to determine the values and loyalties

playing a role in the decision making process. In 2010 surveys were undertaken by courts in order to identify the ways in which the press accessed copies of evidence consequently made public. Most of the times it turned out that the “source” of these “leaked” information was the “registry”, “archive” and other places of the “file track” in the justice system. For research purposes we included the assumption that an “anonymous source” provides information and clues, in order for the journalists to be faced with the provisions of the New Civil Code which came into force on 1 October 2011 when deciding whether to report or not. Thus, the inclusion of “anonymous sources” that provides a picture of the ongoing investigation forces journalists to confront the local deontology and the Civil Code on practices that may harm the image of a person (defendant, victim, victim’s family) and the due course of justice.

From the legal point of view, journalists are asked to refer to the provisions of the New Civil Code on the protection of image and reputation and to the provisions regarding the protection of the minors included in the Audiovisual Code. Among the ethical issues to be evaluated we included the family’s consent to publish pictures and provisions relating to interference with ongoing investigations. Journalists are also asked to refer to the recommendations of the Unique Code of Ethics relating to privacy, protection of minors, avoiding publication morbid items and special techniques of data collection.

The analysis

Bearing in mind the scope of determining how journalists relate to the issues presented, they were firstly asked to write in brief their motivation for their disclosure recommendation. Their answers were then analyzed based on the content analysis method, in order to determine if there are recurrent values taken into consideration and what is their influence on the decision making process.

Secondly, after freely expressing their motivations, journalists were the required to grade on a Likert scale how motivating they would find for their final recommendation (opinion) a set of statements that were designed to reflect the six stages of moral development. The following answers that were correlated with the six stages have been proposed for evaluation:

Table1. The correlation between the levels and the stages of moral development and the incentives and suggested motivational sentences

Level	Stage	Incentive	Motivational sentence
Pre-conventional	Punishment and obedience	Punishment (avoidance of)	Publication of evidence gathered during an official open investigation and the publication of pictures of minors without their

Level	Stage	Incentive	Motivational sentence
			parents' consent is punishable by law.
Pre-conventional	Naive instrumental hedonism	Reward	The hiring media institution will reward the journalist with a bonus.
Conventional	Morality based on interpersonal relationships	Position within the group (pursuit of recognition based upon observing the norms)	The other journalists of the newsroom would do the same without hesitation, and we all have to have the same standing on this.
Conventional	Morality of order and social relationships	Duty to observe the norms and preserve the social institutions	Ethical norms support/ suggest this decision.
Post-conventional	Observation of the individual rights and social contract	Social contract, civil duties	Journalist' decision is based on the relationship between the public's right to be accurately informed, respect to the public image of the person and the right to have a family life
Post-conventional	Self-chosen ethical principles	Own beliefs	The journalist decides as reason and conscience dictates him.

A chart was designed for each Likert scale in order to facilitate the analysis of the extent to which journalists considered motivating statements.

Content analysis of the motivational essays

A content analysis was performed on the motivational essays written by the journalists in order to identify their spontaneous motivation and the values that they take into account when faced with a similar case. If the inexperienced journalists (less than 2 years of experience) have not formed a clear opinion, most responses of "we will not publish" were provided with no additional explanations, criteria or argument, the 2-5 years experienced ones expressed their predominant stand on publishing the photos whilst protecting the minor's identity. Their intention was followed closely by the respect shown towards the ongoing investigation and the desire to preserve the memory of the public "memory of the deceased," as one respondent put it. Among these respondents the solution of blurring in order not to individualize a person first appears. The same technical solution is recommended by journalists who have over 5 years of experience. Their views and values appear more clearly outlined; with a notable almost majority of respondents choosing to respect the memory of the deceased as well as to protect the identity minor.

Table 2. Subjects' motivations correlated with the years of work experience in the media

Work experience			Yes, but without showing the child	Yes, but without the morbid elements	Yes, but without the pictures relating to the investigation	Yes, but only the pictures taken during the « golden years »	No, because the family would suffer	No, because the violence would be shocking for the publi	No, because the minor must be protected	No, because the investigation isn't finished yet	Blur	Private life/dignity
	Yes	No										
Less than 2 years	4	7	3	2	2	5	3	3	3		2	2
2-5 years	5	6	10	6	7	7	1	4	4		7	1
More than 5 years	3	13	4		1	21	4	7	19	10	7	7

Results reported based on Likert scale

1. *Disclosure of information relating to an ongoing investigation and publishing pictures of children without their parents' consent is punishable by law*

Table 3

Degree of motivation	Number of respondents	Percent
1	11	11.6%
2	6	6.3%
3	9	9.5%
4	17	17.9%
5	52	54.7%

Over 73% of respondents considered this statement highly motivating while deciding whether to publish or not the photos. The percentage places most respondents at the first level of moral development; signaling an overwhelmingly 55% at the first stage aimed at avoiding punishment. Kohlberg notes that individuals at this stage show little (or no) interest to complementary elements that could form the basis for a more complex decision (such as consideration of other stakeholders' interests), the respondents' main focus being that of avoiding a potential punishment.

2. *The hiring media institution will reward the journalist with a bonus***Table 4**

Degree of motivation	Number of respondents	Percent
1	43	45.3%
2	19	20%
3	17	17.9%
4	11	11.6%
5	5	5.3%

45% of respondents find the possibility of a reward following the publication of these photos “not at all motivating,” and another 20% find this possibility “little motivating”, the two categories accounting for a majority of 65% who consider that a reward would not be an incentive to consider publishing exclusive photos from an ongoing investigation

3. *The other journalists of the newsroom would do the same without hesitation, and we should all have the same standing on this***Table 5**

Degree of motivation	Number of respondents	Percent
1	35	36.8%
2	14	14.7%
3	22	23.2%
4	10	10.5%
5	14	14.7%

The respondents manifested a very low interest in other professionals' attitude and willingness to adopt similar behavior, as 51% of respondents found the conduct of others and the notion of “group solidarity” “little motivating” or “not at all motivating”.

4. *It is a difficult decision, but the ethical norms support/ suggest this decision***Table 6**

Degree of motivation	Number of respondents	Percent
1	11	11.6%
2	6	6.3%
3	19	20%
4	19	20%
5	40	42.1%

The willingness to make a rational decision supported by the rules of ethics and professional ethics was expressed by more than 63% of respondents, only 18% of respondents indicating the fact that they do not consider the rules of ethics to be important in this decision. Despite the exaggerated desire to avoid a potential legal punishment, expressed by a majority of respondents, this response indicates that journalists' ethical decisions are almost as predominant.

5. *The decision should be based on the relationship between the public's right to be accurately informed, the right to image of the person and the right to a private family life*

Table 7

Degree of motivation	Number of respondents	Percent
1	5	5.3%
2	1	1.1%
3	11	11.6%
4	16	16.8%
5	62	65,3%

Achieving a fair balance between the public's right to be informed, the right to a dignified public image of the person and the right to a private family life was considered decisive for 82% of respondents. The response puts the overwhelming majority of respondents to the third level of post-conventional morality; at the 5th stage, which is characterized by the willingness of individuals to make a "fair" decision, considering the conflicting interests of all parties involved. At this stage the individual assesses are moral principles applicable to the ethical dilemma and adjusts his attitude to these moral principles, deciding on how he wants to express this attitude by transforming it into action. Informally this stage has been called "the social contract".

6. *The journalist should decide as reason and conscience dictate him*

Table 8

Degree of motivation	Number of respondents	Percent
1	9	9.5%
2	10	10.5%
3	18	18.9%
4	20	21.2%
5	38	40%

The willingness to make difficult decisions independently of other considerations relating to punishment or benefit, either definite or potential, was manifested by a percentage of 60% of respondents.

At the conclusion of this stage of the research, the respondents were asked to rate on a top 3 scale the motivations that they considered to be “the most motivating” for themselves.

Table 9

Motivations	Top choices
The decision should be based on the relationship between the public’s right to be accurately informed, the right to image of the person and the right to a private family life.	1
Disclosure of information relating to an ongoing investigation and publishing pictures of children without their parents’ consent is punishable by law	2
It is a difficult decision, but the ethical norms support/ suggest it.	3
The journalist should decide as reason and conscience dictate him.	4
The other journalists of the newsroom would do the same without hesitation, and we should all have the same standing on this.	5
The hiring media institution will reward the journalist with a bonus	6

We can see from the above table that the majority of interviewees based their decision on the balance between the public’s right to be informed, the right to image of the person and the right to a private family life. Therefore, the journalists who expressed their option and reasoning of the case considered arguments relating to the 5th stage of the development of moral thinking, that state of “the social contract” at which respect for the interests of all those involved is considered to be a fair and just part of a rational decision.

On the second place, however, we encounter motivations that formed the pre-conventional moral state based on avoidance of punishment. These journalists will consider their decision whilst observing the legal norms, to the extent that they believe that there is a reasonable possibility for them to be penalized for infringing the law. It is worthwhile to observe that in the Madalina Manole case, out of which this analysis is inspired, notable penalties were applied, reason for which the preference shown by the majority of journalists for motivations relating to the social contract are outstanding. This result of the ranking choice was however dependent on the large number of respondents in the global print and online, respondents that are regulated by an external control mechanism, namely the courts and the public justice system, with a different ranking being recorded for respondents working in radio and television whose external audit body is represented by the National Audiovisual Council.

Third place in terms of motivational statement was occupied by the conventional morality stage characterized by order and respect social norms. Respondents to this stage consider that the duty to respect the norm is the reason for making a choice, regardless of the benefits or problems that might be caused because of following the rules. Considering the fact that this case is based on a relatively recent and famous precedent that stirred professional ethics debates, we believe it is remarkable that most journalists are willing to behave ethically, regardless of punishment.

The moral development stage of the respondents – first level – pre-conventional stage (punishment and obedience orientation)

The “final” stage of moral development was based on choosing the most important motivational affirmations and motivational essay based on the analysis of each respondent.

The following distribution of respondents by stage of development of moral thought was discovered:

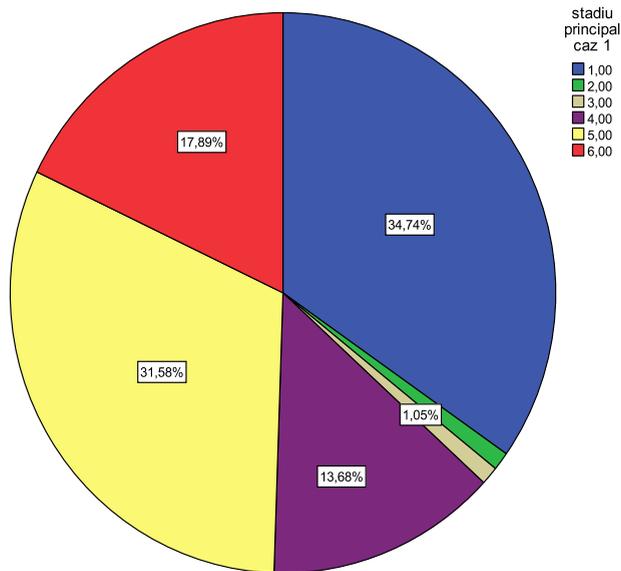


Diagram 1. Structure diagram illustrating journalists' moral development stage (main stage)

We note that an almost similar percentage of respondents are included in the first stage of the pre-conventional level (34.74%) and in the second stage that relates to the post-conventional level of morality or moral autonomy (31.58%). An equal number of respondents are included in the second and

third stages, characterized by interests in obtaining a benefit or an advantage and orientation towards complying with what is believed to be the professional group expectations.

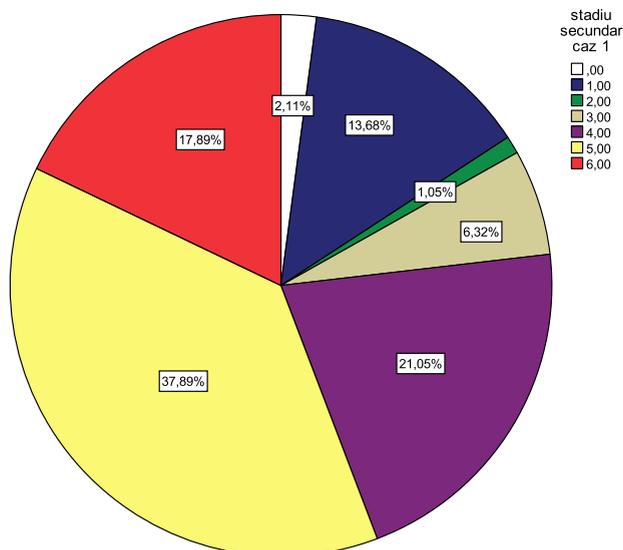


Diagram 2. Structure diagram illustrating journalists' moral development stage (secondary stage)

Regarding the second choice on the motivation scale, the analysis of the statements reveals a significantly higher percentage of respondents who are willing to guide their behavior according to what they believe to be the norm of the professional group with which identify. A group significantly decreased is represented by journalists motivated by avoidance of punishment. We can conclude that when it comes to a secondary trend, the groups of respondents that find themselves motivated by arguments defining stages five and six of moral development increase significantly.

The analysis of journalists' moral development stage correlated with the type of media that employs them

Because the sample includes both print and online media, as well as radio and TV, and the regulations governing audiovisual media, enforced by an external body – the National Audiovisual Council - are more explicit and specific than those governing the press, we performed a breakdown of the respondents' groups and their moral development stage depending on the type of media hiring them. We thus obtained the following results:

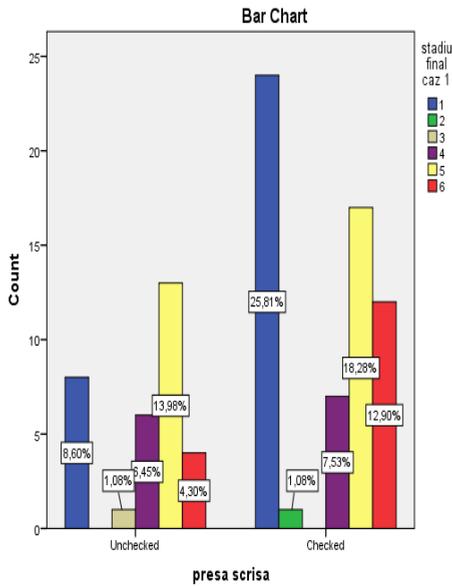


Fig. 1. Moral development stages histogram for journalists employed by written media

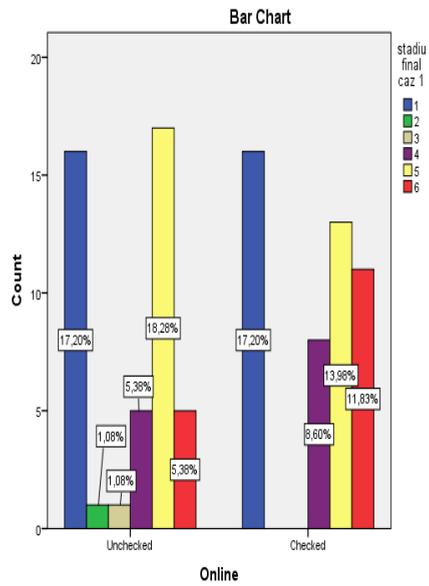


Fig. 2. Moral development stages histogram for journalists employed by online media

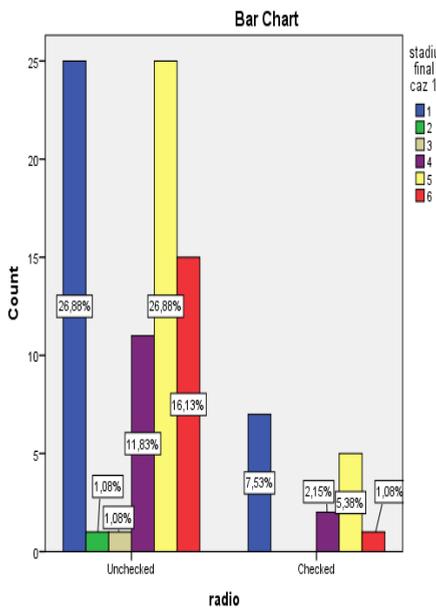


Fig. 3. Moral development stages histogram for journalists employed by radio

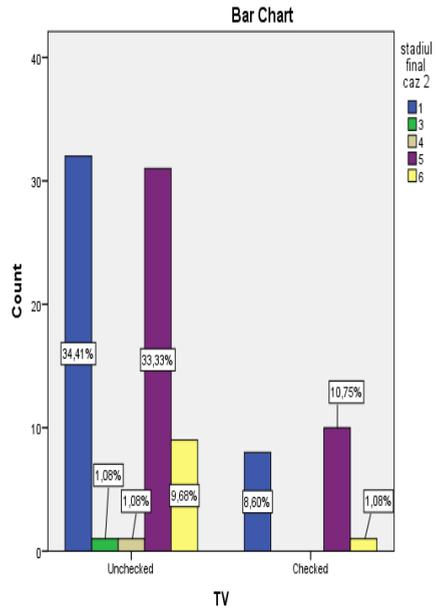


Fig. 4. Moral development stages histogram for journalists employed by televisions

The analysis of the results reveals the similarities between the moral development of journalists working in the print media and the journalists working in online media. However, unlike the online media, print media journalists are found to be, on the one hand, more motivated than those of the online media by direct material benefits, but on the other hand, most “fearful” and eager to avoid a potential penalty that could arise from the disregard of legal norms. Most likely due to the visibility of print, but also due to its’ historical existence, print journalists are able to have a more accurate representation of an open failure to comply with legal norms. The basics of the probation process (“how will it be proven that I committed the act?”) is more clearly represented, leading, most often in the reasoning of the potential “criminals” to an increased conviction relating to the existence of a sentence.

Regarding the regulated broadcasting sector, we noted a relatively equal proportion of respondents attaching significance to the possibility of a punishment in deciding their future conduct. It is also worthwhile to note the fact that journalists in both areas declare themselves “not at all motivated” by a potential direct benefit, the percentage in both fields being null. Significant differences between the two fields (radio and TV) appear in terms of the percentage of respondents who are in the last stage of development of moral thought. The radio journalists are found in a greater extent in the 5th stage of development of moral thinking, unlike the relatively equal distribution of the TV journalists between stages 5 and 6 of the last level.

The analysis of journalists’ moral development stage correlated with the hierarchical position within the media institution

Significant differences of the moral development stage can be noted between functions that involve direct responsibility in deciding whether material is appropriate or not publication, journalists without management powers and higher management. Notably, for journalists without management powers, is the fact that some of them say that they have an incentive to obtain a potential benefit. Meanwhile, coordinating editors, seem to have no interest in acting as expected by the professional group, either to support or comply with the rules, as they state that they would not be motivated by any direct benefits or bonuses. Given the constitutional provisions regulating civil liability for material published, both a bonus and the approval of the professional group are no longer considered motivating enough to risk a potential “penalty” and violate legal or ethical norms. The position of general manager or editor however, requires a low legal risk, which is possibly why this group supports in a higher percentage compliance with ethical and legal norms or with what they identify to be the groups’ professional standards.

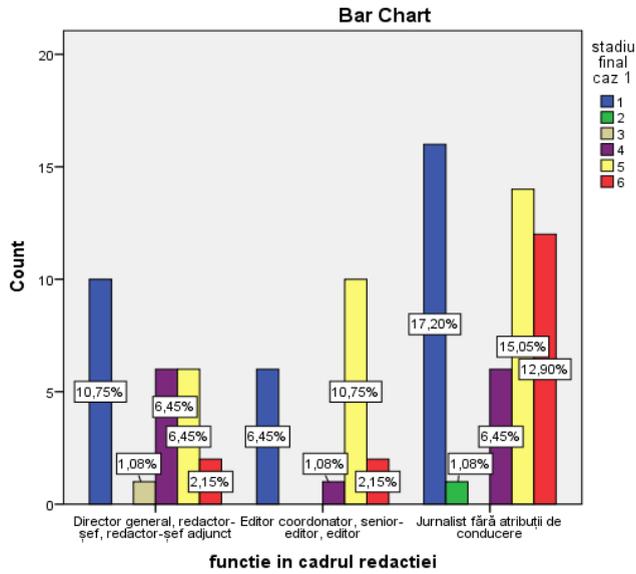


Fig. 5. Moral development stages histogram for journalists depending on their hierarchical position

The analysis of journalists' moral development stage correlated with their education

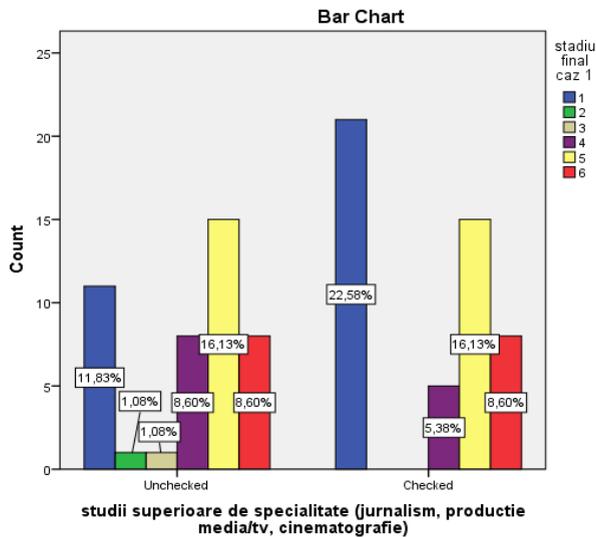


Fig. 6. Moral development stages histogram for journalists that have a specialized higher education training

As for the educational differences as a possible cause of the stage of development of moral thinking journalists reported on the case, the absence of a significant difference between respondents who attended ethics and those who attended the media law is the probably because we are talking about the same category of respondents.

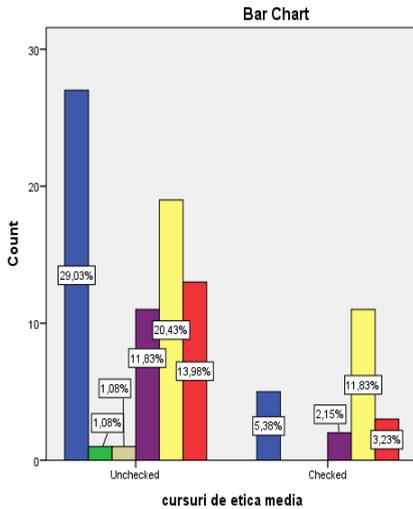


Fig. 7. Moral development stages histogram for journalists that followed media ethics training

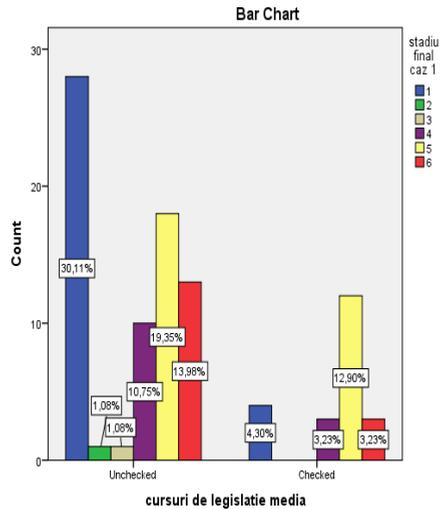


Fig. 8. Moral development stages histogram for journalists that followed media legislation training

A significant difference was noted, however, between respondents who are specialized graduates and respondents who attended ethics or law. The number of respondents who are in the first stage of development of moral thinking is significantly higher among respondents with higher education specialized courses not included ethics and law. Since it is assumed that the contribution of information contributes to the development of specific experience and training of the moral reasoning, ethical or legal, encouraging individuals to consider legal or ethical dilemmas, to develop their own judgment on them and configure their possible solutions, respondents who attended ethics or legislation seem to be able to relate and reason for legal or ethical issues, while university graduates who have completed a course of ethics or law with less accurate information on which to reason, are more motivated by the desire to avoid a potential penalty unknown, “fear of punishment” turning them into less rational actors, and thus probably less useful to society and the public.

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CONSIDERATIONS ON THE RECENT ROMANIAN LEGAL DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO CRIMINALIZATION OF DEFAMATION

SÎNZIANA-MARIA JURĂU*

ABSTRACT. The current article presents the current Romanian developments of the legislation relating to defamation offences, from both a historical and regional perspective. A brief overview of Romania's neighboring countries and their legal systems regarding defamation trends is included and provides with comparative points on the regional trends regarding the phenomena of re-criminalization of defamation in the latter years (2010 - 2012) in the region, as well as the debates surrounding it. The article concludes with an analysis of the compatibility between the legal provisions and the proportionality principle promoted by the practice of the European Court of Human Rights and suggests perspective changes that should lead to an optimization of the legislative process.

Key words: defamation, criminal law, civil law, Romania, current developments, regional practices

1. Introductory remarks

Romania carried, for the last decade, its own debate on whether or not protection against defamatory remarks should be afforded under criminal law. The fact that it inherited a "tradition in criminal prosecution" of insult and slander and that tradition is similar to the practice of its neighbor's (Serbia, Bulgaria, Moldova, Ukraine, Hungary) as well as to other EU member states (Germany, Italy), were argument supporting the policy.

However, in 2006, prior to Romania joining the European Union (1st January 2007), the Law 278/2006 (art 1, pt 56) promoted by the Justice Minister of that time, Monica Macovei, and supported by a number of lobbyists and NGO's, explicitly abolished the provisions of art. 205-207 of the Romanian Penal Code.

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The preamble of the law provides three reasons that were taken into consideration: (1) the constant threat of a criminal penalty has as a consequence the widely recognized “chilling effect” that hinders freedom of expression, (2) a criminal penalty is a disproportionate means to achieve the scope of affording appropriate protection of reputation or personal dignity and lastly (3) the aggrieved party can obtain a compensation for the damages incurred through a civil trial. The revision was widely welcomed and seen as a step in the right direction that acknowledged the importance of free speech in a democratic society.

The freedom euphoria that followed was brief as in January 2007 a Decision of the Romanian Constitutional Court stated that honor, dignity and reputation of a person cannot be monetized, therefore the only means that can be used to ensure protection are the ones provided for by the criminal law. Many of the judges in the Romanian Courts interpreted the Constitutional Courts’ decision as awarding constitutional legitimacy to convictions based on the provisions of the articles 205-207 of the Romanian Penal Code. Contradictory interpretations created a situation of cross-country contradictory practices, which determined the General Public Prosecutor to promote an appeal in the interest of the law in front of the Supreme Court of Justice, in order to obtain an official interpretation that would subsequently lead to the unification of court practice. In a 2010 decision, Romanian Supreme Court of Justice ruled that the 2007 decision of the Constitutional Court should not be interpreted as a re-enactment of the provisions of the Penal Code. The decision was reflecting what seemed to be the “future policy”, taking into consideration the fact that in 2009 the Parliament adopted the New Penal Code that no longer included the crimes of insult or slander, and projected its entry into force in 2014. The current for decriminalization became less of a matter of interpretation and more a matter of objective reality in 2011, with the entry into force of the provisions of the New Civil Code, which stipulated, under an especially dedicated chapter, the possibility of a damage award for the tort of defamation.

2. Legal provisions concerning defamation in Romania. Current developments

29th of April 2013 might be one of the dates the Romanian journalists will not forget as it was the day when the Romanian Constitutional Court unanimously concluded that “the legal solution adopted by the Romanian Supreme Court of Justice in the decision no. 8/2010 is unconstitutional and contrary to the previous decision of the Romanian Constitutional Court no. 62/2007”. The meaning of this decision is simple and it has as a direct consequence the fact that Romanian journalists can be convicted for defamation. The Constitutional

Court decision re-enacts the provisions of the articles 205, 206 and 207 of the Romanian Penal Code concerning insult and slander, legitimizing, from the constitutional stand point, the criminalization of defamation.

According to article 205, it may be considered an insult “harming a person’s honor or reputation by using words, gestures or any other means, or by exposing the person to ridicule, or by assigning a person a defect, illness or disability that, even if real, should not be revealed.” Slander adds on the previous definition two conditions. Article 206 provides that, in order for a potential slander to exist, “a public claim of a fact regarding a person must be made, and the fact, if it would be true, would expose that person to a penal, administrative or disciplinary, or public contempt.” The offender can be sanctioned with a penal fine ranging between 250 RON and 13000RON (aprox 55 EUR – 3000 EUR). The proof of the truthfulness of the allegations, stipulated by art. 207, is admitted in Court on the condition that the claim was legitimized by the existence of a public interest related to the issue.

The motivation of the decision no. 206/2013 of the Constitutional Court, published on the 13th of June 2013, comprises, alongside with the arguments for the re-enactment of the legal provisions of the Romanian Penal Code regarding insult and slander, a harsh critique of the decision of the Supreme Court of Justice. In the opinion of the Constitutional Court judges, the Supreme Court of Justice pronounced a decision of admissibility on an appeal in the interest of the law clearly inadmissible. By doing so it also abused its role, status and powers, as the Supreme Court cannot decide on matters already settled through decisions of the Constitutional Court, nor can it pronounce unconstitutional decisions that would bear compulsory enforceability characteristics for the courts. By doing so, the Constitutional Court was also abusing its powers and misinterpreting its role, since, according to the Romanian Constitution, the role of the Constitutional Court is to perform a constitutionality control of laws, not of court decisions.

Whether or not journalists will be convicted in practice remains an open debate. The decisions of the Constitutional Court are compulsory enforceable after their publication in the Official Gazette. The decisions of the Supreme Court of Justice are also compulsory, after their publication in the Official Gazette (a.n. 14 June 2011). As other legal scholars have pointed out¹, the regular court judges are now facing an impossible choice, in which both courts that issued the decisions have presumably done so by abusing their powers; however not respecting nor enforcing either of the decisions would expose the judges to disciplinary sanctions, since both courts are issuing compulsory decisions.

¹ Neacsu, Adrian Toni, *Despre (ne)incriminarea insultei si calomniei* in Monitorul Jurisprudentei, nr. 3/2013, p. 69, <http://www.wolterskluwer.ro/data/manuals/3d9c614d5db97b31d3317c74fdac3601.pdf> accessed at 30 July 2013

The open conflict between the two Courts has no known solution, as the Romanian legal system never considered the hypothesis of a conflict between them regarding decisions pronounced while both abusing their powers and extending their jurisdiction. Considering the political context, as well as the potential entry into force of the New Penal Code in February 2014, we believe that the likelihood of convictions pronounced based on the provisions of current Penal Code corroborated with the decision of the Constitutional Court is high. The decision of the Constitutional Court was clearly a political one, which was intended to have a chilling effect “twist”. As one of the most outspoken judges² of the Superior Council of Magistracy stated on his personal blog “I believe starting today the press will become more responsible (and, in the case of the televisions, not only the editors but also their guests). I hope that personal attacks will be replaced with factual arguments about the persons being criticized, just as several honest journalists and professional analysts are doing it already for a long period of time.”

Convictions pronounced based on art. 205 - 207 of the Penal Code, though vulnerable if they would be facing the analysis of the ECHR, are “protected” by the insurance policy of constitutionality. In the case in which the New Penal Code enters into force in February 2014 without any new amendments, all persons and media organizations convicted based on the art 205-206 will be exempt from the execution of the penalties since the more favorable penal law (in this case a Penal Code that does not criminalize insult and slander) applies retroactively. An amendment of the New Penal Code, reintroducing insult and slander as crimes, would place us however back to the unresolved situation of the conflict between the two regulatory courts, whose decisions are both compulsory.

3. Regional status and trends

Romania ranked 42 on the World Press Freedom Index of 2013. Thought it can be argued that the country was doing noticeably better than last year, when it ranked 47, it remained classified as a country with “noticeable problems”. Through this characteristic, Romania integrates without any difficulty in the region, sharing the same classification as its direct neighbors (Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria, Moldavia), its legal system ancestors (Italy), its cultural and political siblings (Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, Macedonia, Greece).

By the end of 2012, all Romania’s neighbors were sharing similar problems and debates benefitting from international attention and pressure.

Serbia’s Criminal Code has been undergoing a revision process in order to achieve a higher degree of compliance with the EU membership criteria.

² Daniet, Cristian, *CCR a decis: Insulta si calomnia inapoi in Codul Penal*, <http://cristidaniet.wordpress.com/2013/04/30/ccr-a-decis-insulta-si-calomnia-inapoi-in-codul-penal/> accessed at 2.05.2013

After the Public Information Law of 1998 was declared unconstitutional, the provisions of the Serbian Criminal Code, adopted in 2005 limited the criminal sanctions that could be imposed for cases of insult and defamation, from the six months to three years of imprisonment to fines ranging between 800 Euro to 8.800 Euro³. Regardless of the high number of civil procedures against media owners, journalists and editors⁴, officials⁵ intended to follow the example of EU senior member countries Germany and Italy and maintain the crimes of libel and defamation in the New Criminal Code, rather than follow the example of Moldova or Georgia that decriminalized them. Although the ECHR found Serbia guilty of violating art 10 (freedom of expression) of the European Convention of Human Rights in all four cases it examined on the subject, preceding the discussions on the provisions of the New Criminal Code, Zoran Stojanovic, the head of the Ministry's working group for changes to the Criminal Code was reported⁶ stating that decriminalization of libel and defamation "had nothing to do with meeting European justice standards". International attention and NGO pressure lead, however, to the adoption of a New Criminal Code that no longer included the crimes of libel and defamation, fact that was consequently reported as a progress by the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy in its Report to the European Parliament and The Council⁷.

A look at the 2011-2012 Press Freedom Index⁸ informs us that Romania's neighbors, Serbia and Bulgaria were ranking 80st, the same as Chile and Paraguay.

In Bulgaria, insult and defamation are criminal offenses, stipulated by art 146-148 of the Criminal Code. Consecutive reforms of the Criminal Code (1998 and 1999) included a change of the respective criminal penalties, from imprisonment to criminal fines. Claims of civil damages seem to be limited by the maximum criminal fine, with surveys indicating them to up to 20,000 lev (aprox 10.000 euro) and are considered⁹ "extremely high in a country where

³ According to Lucic, Danilo, in the art *Serbian move to retain crime of libel criticised*, <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/serbian-move-to-retain-crime-of-libel-criticised> accessed at 29.07.2013

⁴ Over 242 civil law suits only in 2011, according to the same author, Lucic Danilo, *ibidem*

⁵ Zoran Stojanovic, head of the Ministry's working group for changes to the criminal code

⁶ Lucic, Danilo, in the art *Serbian move to retain crime of libel criticised*, <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/serbian-move-to-retain-crime-of-libel-criticised> accessed at 29.07.2013

⁷ High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy in *Joint Report to the European Parliament and The Council on Serbia's progress in achieving the necessary degree of compliance with the membership criteria and notably the key priority of taking steps towards a visible and sustainable improvement of relations with Kosovo*, Brussels, 22.04.2013, p. 6, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2013/sr_spring_report_2013_en.pdf, accessed at 29 July 2013

⁸ <http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-index-2011-2012,1043.html>, consulted on 29.07.2013

⁹ Dzhambazova, Boryana, *Bulgaria's New Libel Law Dismays Key NGO*, <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/bulgaria-plans-for-anti-libel-law-dangerous>, accessed on 31 July 2013

the average salary is only 300 euro". In a "Study on the alignment of laws and practices concerning defamation with the relevant case-law of the European Court of Human Rights on freedom of expression, particularly with regard to the principle of proportionality" published in 2012 the Bulgarian Ministry of the Judiciary is quoted claiming that "the Bulgarian defamation law is in conformity with the obligations following from the international human rights treaties ratified by the state and having become a part of its domestic legislation pursuant to Article 4 of the Constitution and more precisely with the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms"¹⁰.

However, human rights NGO's have signaled¹¹ that freedom of expression in Bulgaria has been gradually worsening over the years, with Bulgaria dropping from the 68th to 70th place in 2010 Reporters Without Borders' ranking, placing 80st in 2011-2012 index and dropping another 7 places, to 87th place in 2013¹².

Defamation laws seem to have little impact on the overall Press Freedom Index ranking¹³, with other two of Romania's neighbors ranked 55 (Moldova) and 126 (Ukraine).

A closer look into their legal tradition relating to defamation reveals that although Moldova decriminalized defamation offenses in 2004, imprisonment for up to 30 days for defamation offences is still possible under the Administrative Code, and can be as long as seven years for "defamation of state symbols". The previously-mentioned legal provisions corroborated with the constitutional obligation for journalists to provide with accurate information¹⁴, without the possibility to distinguish between facts and value judgments, stimulate self-censorship.

Civil cases, mostly based on art 16 – the right to require a refutation of the published information that infringes upon someone's dignity and honor, include the possibility for the plaintiff to ask for compensation proportional to the damage suffered. The potential damage award is not legally limited, leading

¹⁰ Council of Europe, Directorate General of Human Rights and Legal Affairs, Council of Europe, Information Society Department, Media Division, *Study on the alignment of laws and practices concerning defamation with the relevant case-law of the European Court of Human Rights on freedom of expression, particularly with regard to the principle of proportionality*, p.48, http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/media/CDMSI/CDMSI%282012%29Misc11Rev2_en.pdf, accessed 29th July 2013

¹¹ Bulgarian Helsinki Committee, *Human rights in Bulgaria in 2010*, Sofia, 2011, p. 17, <http://issuu.com/bghelsinki/docs/report2010-english>, accessed on 31st July 2013

¹² <http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-index-2013,1054.html>, accessed on 31 July 2013

¹³ Reasonably motivated by the scoring methodology used, that can be found at Reporters without borders, 2013 *World Press Freedom Index -Methodology*, http://en.rsf.org/IMG/pdf/2013_wppi_methodology.pdf, accessed on 31 July 2013

¹⁴ Art. 34.4 Moldova's Constitution

to potential exaggerated or disproportional awards, as a study¹⁵ conducted on the 2005-2009 trials that involved journalists indicated maximum awards as high as 32.000 Euro.

With regards to the new law protecting freedom of expression, Law 64/2010, Moldova's legislator considered the previous critiques formulated by ECHR and made efforts to "adjust" provisions accordingly, by providing with alternative possibilities for compensating for damages suffered, as well as with more clear procedural standards. A study¹⁶ conducted after only two years of its implementation revealed the fact that the law hasn't significantly changed judicial practice, as courts continue to base their rulings on the provisions of the European Convention of Human Rights, and media organizations declaring themselves mostly uninformed about the specific provisions of the law.

In Ukraine, defamation is no longer a criminal offence since 2001. Currently, defamation victims can claim compensation based on the protection afforded by the Civil Code (art 277 and art. 302). Disproportionately high awards of damages were reported and included in a recent study¹⁷ that signaled their chilling effect.

An attempt to re-criminalize defamation, making it punishable with imprisonment, faced a strong national and international opposition in 2012, having as a consequence the withdrawal of the draft law. The debate doesn't seem to be approaching its conclusion, as in 2013 First Deputy Prosecutor Kuzmin published an opinion article about "the technology of defamation", suggesting defamation should be included in the New Criminal Code, due to be revised by parliament in early 2014, based on his analysis of "criminal codes of European countries and the problems faced by the Ukrainian justice system."

In Hungary, defamation is a criminal offence that exposes the accused to a sentence varying between one to two years of imprisonment, work in the interest of the public and a fine. Recent developments¹⁸ in Hungarian laws included defamation in a class of "petty offenses", punishable by a fine or by community service.

¹⁵ Costin, Doina, *Freedom of Expression and Defamation: Legal Provisions and Actual Practice*, p. 56-57, http://www.api.md/files/defaimare_eng.pdf, accessed at 3rd Aug 2013

¹⁶ Hanganu, Janeta, Postica, Alexandru, *Impactul legii cu privire la libertatea de exprimare*, Chisinau, 2012, p. 21, http://www.ijc.md/Publicatii/studii_mlu/Impactul%20legii%20cu%20privire%20la%20libertatea%20de%20exprimare.pdf, accessed 3rd Aug 2013

¹⁷ Council of Europe, Directorate General of Human Rights and Legal Affairs, Council of Europe, Information Society Department, Media Division, *Study on the alignment of laws and practices concerning defamation with the relevant case-law of the European Court of Human Rights on freedom of expression, particularly with regard to the principle of proportionality*, p.115, http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/media/CDMSI/CDMSI%282012%29Misc11Rev2_en.pdf, accessed 29th July 2013

¹⁸ Act 2/2012, in force since April 2012

Under 1959 Civil Code, victims of defamatory remarks can demand the court to issue injunctions against perpetrators, issue decisions of mandatory public restitution as well as ask for punitive damages, and if the damages are considered insufficient, consider additional fines to be paid in the interest of the public. Punitive damages, ranging between 3000 and 6000 Euro are considered to be the smallest damages awarded compared per capita GDP, as a global survey¹⁹ conducted in 2009 revealed. However, the likelihood of punishment increased significantly, even after the new Media act of 2010 was amended in March 2011, upon the request of the European Commission, with the removal of the “defamation” offense²⁰.

4. Alignment with the European Convention of Human Rights and the ECHR practice. Conclusions

The question of whether or not the above-mentioned practices take into consideration the European Convention of Human Rights standards’ and the practice of the European Court of Human Rights is certainly not a new one.

In its 2012 “*Study on the alignment of laws and practices concerning defamation with the relevant case-law of the European Court of Human Rights on freedom of expression, particularly with regard to the principle of proportionality*”, the Council of Europe, Directorate General of Human Rights and Legal Affairs, Council of Europe, Information Society Department, Media Division, recommend pursuing several stages of examination by the national courts in order to comply with the ECHR’s case-law in defamation cases. National courts should therefore first assess whether there is an interference with freedom of expression, and then proceed to verify the foreseeability of the norms restricting freedom of expression and analyze the legitimacy of the aim sought in interference and consider whether the interference is proportionate to that legitimate aim. The ECHR would take into consideration whether there is a clear, relevant and sufficient reasoning presented by the judge to support a conviction or a damage award.

In the latter years, the jurisprudence of the Court evolved to a stage in which the assessment of the existence of an interference with freedom of expression no longer takes into consideration the sanctions applied, construing that the mere existence of a law that, through interpretation, might lead to a real risk for a person to be prosecuted, supports “the chilling effect”. Too general

¹⁹ Callamard, Agnes , Spencer, Oliver, for Article XIX, *Civil defamation undermining free expression*, London, 2009, p.7, <http://www.article19.org/data/files/medialibrary/1427/civil-defamation.pdf>, accessed 3rd aug 2013

²⁰ Bayer, Judit, *The New Hungarian Media Law Substantially Curtails Press Freedom*, p. 13, http://www.seemo.org/hungary/files/Bayer_Media%20Law_IFEX_ENfinal220311.pdf, consulted 3rd aug. 2013

wording of a law was considered to hinder significantly the foreseeability of the norms, however, the ECHR holds that persons carrying on professional activity are recommended to pursue legal advice and proceed with a higher degree of caution²¹. Assessment of whether or not a measure that restricts freedom of expression is proportionate to the aim sought implies analyzing both the nature and severity of the sanctions applied, as well as the consequences of the decision, like the chilling effect of a measure in a specific circumstance or case, or the attention and respect awarded for procedural guarantees, including *exceptio veritatis* and the burden of proof and the presumption of good faith. The threshold set by the ECHR for the case of journalists proving the factual basis for their value judgments is relatively low, but opinions or value statements can still amount to excessiveness if they are not supported by a factual basis, and therefore determining / motivating a potential (censoring / “chilling”) interference from a national Court²².

In several of its decisions, including *Cumpana and Mazare vs. Romania*²³, the ECHR found sanctions of a criminal nature to have a disproportionate chilling effect and stressed that disproportionately large civil awards in damages are also in violation of art. 10. What exactly means “disproportionate” remains a matter of interpretation, on a country by country and case by case basis. The situation, extremely adequate for a court setting, leaves however States, Governments and policy-makers to discover by themselves, sometimes through a trial & error process, on whether or not their legal solutions provide for disproportionate measures. As we concluded previously²⁴, we believe that the wiser solution might reside in a clear definition of the goal aimed to be achieved (whether it is protection of public officials, protection of the reputation of regular citizens, or even protection of freedom of speech) and an analysis of the incentives potential perpetrators take into consideration. A higher civil damage award might not deter the journalist from committed a defamation tort, if required by his editor-in-chief, for instance, if it is his employer that is found, in the end responsible. In the end, rather than politicizing the debate, policy makers, including politicians, might consider the more realistic rational behavior

²¹ *Chauvy and others vs. France*, no. 64915/01, ECHR 2004 – VI, 29th June 2004

²² *De Haes and Gijssels vs Belgium*, (1997); *Europapress Holding d OO vs Croatia*, no 25333/06 – 22 oct 2009, in High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy in *Joint Report to the European Parliament and The Council on Serbia's progress in achieving the necessary degree of compliance with the membership criteria and notably the key priority of taking steps towards a visible and sustainable improvement of relations with Kosovo*, Brussels, 22.04.2013, p. 18 http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2013/sr_spring_report_2013_en.pdf, accessed at 29.07.2013

²³ *Cumpana and Mazare vs. Romania*, no. 33348/96, 17th December 2004

²⁴ Jurau, Sinziana, *The efficiency of the norms protecting the public image of the public officials on the moral development of journalists*, in *Studia UBB Ephemerides*, Cluj-Napoca, LVII, 2, 2012, p. 41-59

perspective suggested by Becker in his paper “Crime and Punishment. An economic approach”²⁵, and conclude that since the probability of getting caught has a more deterrent effect on criminality than the term of the punishment, a focus on the enforcement of the existing laws, that presumably are Constitutional and aligned with the European Convention of Human Rights requirements, might lead to a more efficient and effective result.

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²⁵ Becker, Gary, *Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach* in *The Journal of Political Economy* 76, p. 169–217

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IOAN PETRU CULIANU AND CIVIC JOURNALISM

ADRIANA DANA LISTES POP*

ABSTRACT. This paper analyzes the columns signed by Ioan Petru Culianu in Romanian-language publications issued abroad. The New York *Free World* newspaper ran most of the columns in “Scoptophilia” section starting from 23rd of June 1990 until 22nd of December 1990. The target is to study the articles published by Culianu, especially the political ones, and assess the impact of these texts on the assassination that occurred on 21st of May 1991. History of religion American scholar, writer and columnist, Ioan Petru Culianu is well-known worldwide as a disciple of Mircea Eliade, pundit and world authority on the history of religions. Culianu still exerts a unique fascination on successive generations of Romanian readers. Because he has built his career abroad (he left the country in 1972 and never returned), his research works were published only posthumously in Romania. After the Revolution, Culianu’s name became famous to his fellow countrymen interested in his religious studies and prose fiction. His columnist activity hasn’t arisen much echo, even though it is considered that the political articles published abroad could have been the direct cause of his death.

Keywords: civic journalism, public journalism, Ioan Petru Culianu, Romania, human rights, democratic society

The articles written by Culianu in the pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary period were collected in the volume *Sin against the Spirit* initially published by Nemira in 1999 and then by Polirom in 2005 and 2013. The volume contains media articles published in various publications: *Free World*, *Agora*, *Limits*, *Nouvelle Acropolis*, *Panorama*, *MondOperaio* and *Meridian*, some of them written in Italian and French. “Exile” was the first article that featured in August 1975 in *Limits* magazine in Paris, while “Orthodox Ku Klux Klan” was the last one, published in *Meridian* magazine in May-June 1991. Culianu started to publish his political articles in the aftermath of the Romanian Revolution of 1989, in the Romanian language newspaper *Free World* based in New York. The weekly

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Free World was founded in 1988 by a group of Romanian intellectual refugees living in the United States: Andrei Bardescu, Dan Costescu, Cornel Dumitrescu, Catalin Georgescu, George Pietraru, Valentin Verzeanu etc. The newspaper's address was initially located at Rego Park, moved to the 5th venue after a few years, and since 2004 it functioned on Madison Avenue. According to Mihaela Albu, the author of the book *Memory of the Romanian Exile: Free World Newspaper in New York* (2008), the editorial board's intention was for the newspaper to become "a source of real, undistorted information from inside the country, but also from Romanian diaspora living in the United States and Europe, and act as a moral support for those who were trying to draw attention to the disaster that Romania was going through" (2008, 25).

The editorial staff as well as permanent and casual contributors will try by all means to undermine the communist government in Bucharest: "The editors of the *Free World* will prove to be the fiercest opponents of the regime in Bucharest and will use the word as weapon to inform the international community about the situation in Romania, to help overthrow the communism" (Albu, 35).

Romanian intellectuals in exile were aware of what was happening within the country. They advocated for human rights and for the release of the persecuted and detained intellectuals. They organized street protests, wrote open letters addressed to the international institutions to fight the disinformation strategy designed by the communist government. All the relevant information censored by the communist government inside the country was published in the Romanian exile press one of the most active in this regard being *Free World* newspaper in New York. It regularly disclosed factual information about the difficult conditions in which Romanian citizens lived at home, unimaginable hardships they faced, persecutions practiced by the totalitarian political system, the political detention, the destruction of villages and places of worship. Since January 1990 (issue 68), the weekly *Free World* changes its title into *Romanian Free World*. The publication was printed until 2005, when it disappeared all of a sudden. The newspaper generally consisted of thirty to forty pages and while initially the front page was printed in black and white, the drafters finally decided to switch it to blue. The newspaper archive is deposited at the Romanian Cultural Institute in New York. According to the American journalist Ted Anton (2005, 234), *Free World* magazine became in 1990 an important publication of the exile, which managed to reach many Romanian homes abroad. Most of Culianu's articles, twenty-three in number, were grouped in "Scoptophilia" section, ran from 23rd of June to 22nd of December 1990. Three more articles, namely "The future of Romania in Eleven Points", "Open letter to Andrei Plesu" and "A political lesson" were published before "Scoptophilia", between 6th of January 1990 and 16th of June 1990. In the article "Goodbye" published at the end of

the series, Culianu (2005) explains the meaning of “scoptophilia” borrowed from the Greek language, it means “the pleasure of seeing”. Slightly Freudian term, akin to the idea of voyeurism, it conveys the sensation of pleasure created by the gaze. But the range of emotions and sensations experienced by the author and communicated to the reader is diverse, ranging from amusement, annoyance, disgust, frustration, anger, resignation, hatred and deep pain. Oişteanu detects a certain voyeuristic satisfaction that the writer extracted from his journalistic approach: “Indeed, reading his articles, one can detect a perverse pleasure to observe “hidden”, “intimate” parts of the shameful “society in which we live”.” However, the articles are written in an outstanding “diagnostic accuracy” (2007, 143). Ted Anton, author of the book *Eros, Magic and the Murder of Professor Culianu* considered that “each column was a call for action” (1996, 202). Antohi Sorin (2003, 24-25) calls Culianu’s journalistic writings an interdisciplinary and a “hybrid speech” which main function was to “awaken readers in a more radical way” and get to the “smart people” that Culianu was seeking for, that civic capital investment required to build a new society. Meanwhile, Antohi says that this “outrageous speech” is the most suitable for the “scandalous” topics discussed and analyzed by the writer. The most numerous and most passionate articles written by Culianu analyze the political situation in the immediate post-revolutionary communist Romania. The main topics of Culianu’s articles are: Romania, the condition and image of the country, Romanian culture and intellectuals, dissidents, Romanian diaspora and the exile community, the communism, Ceausescu and the totalitarian political system, the Revolution of 1989, the mineriads in 1990, economic collapse, fundamental rights, discrimination, freedom, democratic society. Status and image of Romania is the most recurrent theme in all the articles.

Theoretical Perspectives on Civic/Public journalism

The article “Farewell” marked the end of “Scoptophilia” column and it explained the reasons underlying the initiation of this series of texts. In this article, Culianu (2005, 180) issued the idea of civic journalism and confessed that writing the column was an act of civic engagement: “By Scoptophilia I fulfilled a civic duty”. Thus, Culianu includes his media articles in the civic journalism category. Civic journalism, also known as public or participatory journalism, emerged in the late eighties in the context of pro-democracy movements that generated the dissolution of the Soviet empire, and was developed in the Post-Cold War period at the early 1990s in the United States, from where it spread worldwide. Public journalism required a paradigm shift in the relationship between the media and democratic societies and declared that journalism has an obligation to the community regarding public and social issues and should involve community members as direct participants in the change process. Citizens were no longer seen as simple passive recipients of media information, it is stated

the need for them to become active, to observe, to inform on, to participate in the decision-making process. From now on, public journalism calls for a participatory community that would be able to look around and become aware of social and political issues and try to find solutions. In 1993, Davis "Buzz" Merritt Jr. and Jay Rosen created the concept of public journalism, and one year later they published a manifesto that attempted to convince the public that change is needed. According to Merritt (1998, xii), public journalism has two major objectives to reshape journalism and to motivate citizens to get involved in the community issues: "to reinvigorate journalism that needs new purposefulness and encourage conscientious citizens to get involved".

This is exactly what Culiuanu wanted from Romanian citizens: to take part in the democratic society restoration process after the fall of the communism. Public journalism, explained Merritt (1998, xii) "involves a fundamental cultural change" and refers to the relationship between journalism and democracy considered extremely important but not entirely understood. Therefore, says Merritt (1998, 6), journalism has to go beyond his basic function and to seriously take an active role in the society, for which it bears a great responsibility. Journalism and the modern democratic society are depending on each other, and it is clear enough that in recent years both have declined measurably: "Public life needs the information and perspective that journalism can provide, and journalism needs a viable public life because without one, there is no need for journalism". Public life is understood as a common space used by the community to empower democracy and full-fledged citizens to participate, citizens willing to be accurately informed and being able to see beyond "the false framing" (Merritt 1998, 4). A community public life is shaped by the state authorities and it is influenced by politics and civic ethics. If government policy does not meet the community needs, then frustration and anxiety burst out and lack of public confidence makes it even worse. Community members are invited to cooperate with journalists in solving community problems, opening an ongoing dialogue and a permanent communication channel between the media and the wider society for the benefit of them all because "the gap between citizens and the government increased. Citizens don't trust their governments to properly tend to important matters..." (1998, 4). According to Merritt, the major problems facing American society in the first half of the 1990s were crime and delinquency, education, split families and environmental pollution. Culiuanu appeals to the same problems of the newly democratized Romanian society: fierce politicians, lack of community participation, inappropriate education, state institutions, general corruption, the constant tendency towards totalitarianism and "organized falsehood" (2005, 1).

But unlike U.S. citizens, Romanian citizens of the time had never experienced democratic regime, they do not understand what democracy is and do not want to get involved in community life. Therefore, Culiuanu's civic journalism

project task (2005, 15) was more difficult. He noted that Romanians were negative and mentally “half dead” because their self-confidence was destroyed. Romanians rejected communication with diaspora using the slogan “Nobody should teach us what to do” (Culianu 2005, 111). The columnist was trying hard to understand that after almost fifty years of dictatorship, the people persecuted “by the most hideous tyranny ever” (2005, 84) need more time to get to normal. In his study *Mass Media in Revolution and National Development. The Romanian Laboratory*, Peter Gross characterized the communist period as being “40-plus years of literal and figurative incarceration” (1996, viii). Further on, the author gives details about communist Romania’s situation, whose political regime was considered from the point of view of a Western analyst, somewhere between the Korean and the Stalinist totalitarian model: “The Ceausescu regime cultivated a personality cult more akin to North Korea and Kim II Sung and controlled every facet of life in the country in an undeniably Stalinist way. Journalism, as the noncommunist world understood it, simply did not exist. The mass media were under complete control” (1996, ix). This is the starting point of the recently freed Romanian society hence must the community begin to reorganize the social structure. Analytical perspectives and perceptions are different and divergent: those inside the country who did not know of another reality consider it somehow normal; however, the democratic world sees it in its full hideous manifestation, a society frozen in time, isolated from the international community. Post-Cold War period was characterized by restlessness and chaos when the former communist countries having underperforming economies and unspecialized human resources joined in the transition to democracy. In this regard, Romania’s situation was not at all different from the other countries’ situation in Eastern Europe, Peter Gross explains: “Only 10 to 15 percent of Romania’s population of 23 million can be considered middle class. Ten and a half million today live bellow the official poverty level, and nearly 12 million more are daily concerned with the possibility of joining the former. At least half the people live in the countryside or are first-generation city folk, but literacy is relatively widespread. The economy cannot be classified as a truly market one. A civil society is barely mushrooming, and the legal system is slowly reforming but is by no means independent, and it has yet to instill the rule of law. The political culture is ill-developed, showing only a patina of tolerance for any kind of pluralism, and the concept of citizenship is in its infancy. And, unfortunately, there are yet no new leadership cadres sufficiently knowledgeable, competent, and politically mature to serve the stated desideratum of reaching a liberal democracy or a truly open society. The people’s democratically oriented sociopolitical and cultural re-education, a function that mass media and the sociopolitical leadership have thus far been unwilling or unable to carry out, remains a slow, trial-and-error, autodidactic one” (1996, xi).

Culianu looks carefully and sees the same thing, but sometimes he fails to understand what is going on in the minds of his countrymen of that time and honestly expresses amazement, wondering why Romanians “believe that

being patriotic means being imbecile" (Culianu 2005, 173). With the same disarming honesty, Culianu (2005, 115) acknowledges at one point: "In my naivety about twenty years I keep wondering at the stupidity of my fellow men". If outside the country things seemed different from how they were perceived in the country, this difference will lead to agitation and smoldering conflict fueled by "the communist propaganda in the country (that) promoted a policy of contempt and even hatred against those who "ran away". Back home, many of them were under the false impression that those who left Romania were in total rupture" Mihaela Albu explains in the cited volume (Albu 2008, 11). Romanians living abroad were considered "foreigners" (Culianu 2005, 115), while they, being abroad for many years, realize that things are not as they seem and that post-communist Romania has a "hideous leadership" seized by some "punks" (2005, 115) who continue to dominate the nation by telling lies and making diversions. Most Romanians image of the situation fit into the next paradigm: "When we were suffering here because of Ceausescu, you were living la dolce vita in the West, and now you come 1) to exploit us and / or 2) to give advice" (Culianu 2005, 115). Side reactions occur within the country after reading the articles published by Culianu, he heard that he was criticized "in some typed journals" (2005, 15). The attacks become more aggressive and are accompanied by threats. Therefore Culianu decides to appeal mainly to educated citizens, to whom he gives the following assignment: "Your duty will be go forth on the path of justice and democracy, to build from scratch everything that stupidity and lie destroyed, for nearly half a century. It is a very difficult task, considering the size of destruction" (Culianu 2005, 85). Due to the censorship, Romanians were not informed of the waged struggle of the Romanian exile community spread all over the world that was all the while campaigning for the overthrow of communism and the removal of the dictator Ceausescu from power. *Free World* newspaper particularly concentrated the forces of the Romanians on the North American continent, but will work closely with the Romanian diaspora in Europe, too. "*Free World* became since the first issue the voice of the exiled compatriots in support of their country they feel attached to, because wherever they are, they still consider themselves Romanians. Browsing the articles, it will not be hard to notice that for the Romanian exile everything that happens at home is of great interest, they keep on trying hard to help those left behind to prevent the actions of starvation, the demolition of villages, and repressive actions against those who dared to oppose the communist regime" (Albu, 35).

Davis Merritt (1998, xiv) defines the journalist as being "any person who sets out to inform the public about current affairs". From this point of view, Culianu is a conscientious journalist, he informs the Romanian diaspora and the international world about the situation in the country, but sparks debate, thinking and trying to find solutions for deadlock.

Very concerned about what happens at home, Culianu becomes upsetting to some people, unpleasantly surprised by the undue attention. Basically, in 1990, soon after the Revolution, Romania was still dominated by the press and state censorship. There is only one TV channel, Free Romanian Television, one radio station, Radio Romania and the daily newspapers, *Adevărul*, *Dimineața*, *Azi*, *România Mare* which were mostly subservient to political parties and state authority. Free and democratic opposition issued *România liberă* and 22.

As stated by the study *Global Journalism. Survey of International Communication* edited by John C. Merrill in 1995, during the communist regime Romanian media was totally subservient to political power: "Romania featured a press whose main task was to worship party and state leader Nicolae Ceausescu" (1995, 165). Important to note is that the fight for freedom and overthrowing of totalitarianism and dictatorship was led on the streets as well as in the Romanian TV studio: "The Romanian Revolution of 1989 that overthrew communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu was said to have been decided in the battle for the television studio. In the flush of victory, the newscasters apologized for having lied for 40 years and said they wouldn't do it again. But in Romania and most of the Southeastern European countries, TV has been usually speaking the government's truth" (166-167).

In 1990, the new democracy was vulnerable in an unstable political landscape dominated by state authorities. The *Global Journalism* report reveals the following situation characteristic of that period regarding the relationship between the government and the media: "In none of the Southeastern European countries can press-government relations be considered good. Most of the governments make use of a combination of political, economic and legal pressures to try to muzzle the press, with varying success. The governments exercise control in particular over broadcasting, with broadcasting chiefs and regulatory boards appointed by some combination of president, government, and parliament" (168).

The Romanian mass media was especially facing big problems in those times: "In Romania, it is illegal to insult, slander or threaten the president or other government officials, including the police and the military. Romanian journalists have no juridical protection and they are not guaranteed access to information" (170).

In 1990, Romania was governed by the National Salvation Front, NSF, developed out of the Revolutionary National Salvation Front Council which turned into a political party. It was headed by Ion Iliescu, who becomes president of Romania after the elections of 20th of May 1990. Petre Roman was appointed Prime Minister. It was a turbulent period characterized by social protests, controversial and anti-democratic political decisions, especially mineriads. Between 1990 and 1991, four mineriads were organized, violent social movements in which Romanian society segments were aroused against one another, workers

against students and intellectuals. Following these hate speeches, hate crimes were committed by the miners from Jiu Valley who went to Bucharest and had brutally beaten students peacefully protesting in the University Square.

Those were the times Ioan Petru Culianu observed and analyzed in the articles published in the Romanian diaspora newspaper issued in the United States, democratic society where freedom of the press and human rights are valued. Within the country, however, people still lived in darkness and terror. Under these circumstances, democracy voice was heard from the Romanian cultural exile team of the *Free World* newspaper: Paul Goma, Virgil Ierunca, Lovinescu, Nicolae Manolescu, Vladimir Tismăneanu, Dorin Tudoran (Culianu 2005, 181). More details on this team are given by Mihaela Albu in the cited volume in the “Prestigious Signatures” chapter: Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa, Vlad Angelescu, Liviu Cangeopol, Monica Lovinescu, Virgil Ierunca, Dorin Tudoran, Cristian Petru Bălan, George de Berea, Constantin Macri, Vladimir Tismăneanu, Dinu Arcașiu, Virgil Ierunca, Paul Goma, Zahu Pană, Ștefan Baciu, Gheorghe Astaloș etc. (2008, 27-34).

As stated by the volume *The Twilight of Press Freedom. The Rise of People's Journalism* signed by John C. Merrill, Peter J. Gade and Frederick R. Blevens, public journalism is interested in the common good and focuses on public interest and social responsibility in the first place. The authors define public journalism (at the same time called civic or communitarian journalism) as a type of journalism “dedicated to the public good and not to private interests” (2001, xvii). Public journalism’s objective is to get close to the public and to motivate it to cooperate with the media: “Public involvement is the new media objective” (2001, xvii). The necessary change is based on a “new gospel” by which modern society demands a new press (2001, xvii). “The new gospel being heard in academic and media circles, not only in the United States with the advent of communitarianism and public journalism, but also in many other countries where there is a rising demand for a more human face to be put on the predominant authoritarian media systems”. International social euphoria triggered after the fall of the Soviet Empire in Europe and the emergence of personal computers large usage caused a shift in universal media system.

Great social problems of the second half of the twentieth century, a period characterized by chaos, social disintegration, general unrest and family dissolution can be solved say the public journalism promoters only by cooperation, social solidarity and social cohesion public policy. Famous philosophers and sociologists contributed to the movement: “Public journalists draw on the same impressive array of philosophical and sociological sources as do the communitarians, people like John Dewey, John Rawls, Robert Putnam, Juergen Habermas, Michael Sandel, Herbert Gans, Gerald Dworkin, and also social conservatives such as Russell Kirk, Michael Oakeshott, and Gertrude Himmelfarb. These persons to varying degrees, like the public journalists, realize that society

is basically disorderly and they desire to establish communities in which order and responsibility are stressed" (2001, 112). Academics and journalists are listed as movement supporters by the authors of *The Twilight of Press Freedom. The Rise of People's Journalism*: "James Carey of Columbia, Theodore Glasser of Stanford, Dan Schiller of San Diego State, David Craig of Oklahoma, Edmund Lambeth and Lee Wilkins of Missouri, Philip Meyer of North Carolina, David Rubin of Syracuse, and Clifford Christians of the University of Illinois" (2001, 112). The institutional and financial support was provided by Pew Charitable Trusts and Knight Foundation, due to which the Pew Center for Civic Journalism was established in 1993. Conceptually, public journalism stems from Platonic studies and German philosopher Juergen Habermas writings. The "spiritual ancestor" of public journalism is considered to be the Greek philosopher Plato for the concepts formulated in the *Republic* (2001, xxii): "Plato was the first Western thinker to formulate a systemic view of reality in which the moral standard was the community as a whole. For Plato, the good life was essentially one of renunciation and selflessness, each person fleeing from personal pleasures and negating individuality in the name of group solidarity". The concept of the "public sphere" (2001, xxii) was coined by Habermas and it is understood as a space free from state authority interference, where people can freely debate common interest issues: "The "space" independent of both state and business control, allowing citizens to debate on the public issues of the day without fear of either political or economic powers. If the "public sphere" can be activated politically, a new kind of community can come into being that will not simply be passive recipients of media-dominated messages, but will feed community-relevant material into journalism" (2001, xxii).

Communitarian trend notified the gap created by the lack of public trust in the media system and in the press ability to solve problems that are relevant to the community and erupted in modern American and Western societies. From now on, the press will be seen as a "thermostat" of the community to maintain the community temperature at the most appropriate level for its members: "The 21st century will be one of a more orderly and disciplined press, dedicated to social harmony and operating as a thermostat to keep the communal temperature at a comfortable level" (Merrill, Gade, and Blevens 2001, xxiii). Following the public special request, the media is going through a major change that will lead to media democratization, which will subsume itself to the public authority, working for the wellbeing of the community in which it operates. The paradigm shift was hastened by the people's access to the Internet via personal computers, and the development of mass communication technology, in which, holding such gadgets, users become a kind of journalists who can provide information about events making the leap to the "new people's journalism" that public journalism expected (Merrill et al., 2001, xxi).

This is the Western context broadly outlined by Culianu in his cultural and political journalism. Located in the West, he is subjected to the Western social and cultural influences, and we saw that the early 1990s are characterized by the emergence of the communitarian movement, the rise of the participatory culture, the trend of democratized media and participatory media. At the same time, the Romanian society recently liberated from communist dictatorship endeavor to recover from traumas suffered in almost five decades of totalitarianism. 1989 Revolution left behind casualties among the people who protested and were shot out on the streets by the military at the government's and Ceausescu's specific orders in December 1989. After the massacre, the Minister of National Defense, General Vasile Milea committed suicide on 22nd of December. President Ceausescu and his wife were judged and sentenced to death by firing squad on 25th of December. From now on, people that were deprived of the most basic needs, tormented by hunger and cold, learn to live in freedom and in minimal comfort. The society sets out to rebuild democratized institutions from scratch; there is need for expertise and specialists in market economy, in administration and in political sciences. In those times of chaos and optimism started Culianu his civic journalism project, during Christmas of 1989 with the article entitled "The future of Romania in Eleven Points".

"Sceptophilia" column was launched at the end of December 1989 during the Revolution. "Sceptophilia" columns were meant to do more than just raise awareness of the undemocratic remnants of the communist regime the author confessed. Romanian citizens' political immaturity and the unreliability and lack of credibility of post-communist politicians make the author decide to start this project. The article "Goodbye" (2005, 180) goes into detail about the columns' objective: "The column had no particular purpose. But there have been some ideas and reasons that reveal all time shortcomings of the country and the mistrust in the political forces that officially and unofficially rule the country. Mistrust in the political immaturity of the Romanian citizens. The hope they will wake up from this troubled dream they are caught in for fifty years".

The author addresses the audience in an angry, vehement and violent speech making the columns an outburst of bitter denunciation. The intense emotion, the sudden flare of rage works in a persuasive way and it tries to make the public to protest and condemn the guilty. The columns are a long tirade against the authorities of the time and that is uttered in a reproachful and vituperative style. The author is not reluctant in saying what he really thinks about the state of the union and the vehement accusations create an astonishing effect. That's why the articles stood the test of time, are still alive and kicking and the reader finds out relevant information about the political events of that period. Culianu's ebullitional, invective and scolding journalistic harangue fall in the terms accepted by his master Mircea Eliade. In the volume *Against Despair*.

The Exile's Writings within the text "Investigation of Horizons Magazine. The role and limitations of organic polemics", Eliade analyzed the exile debate on "the role of controversy" in the emigration publications of the time (Eliade 1992, 81). The article was featured in *Horizons* newspaper in April-June of 1951, when Ioan Petru Culianu was only a one year old child. The article drills down deeper towards the roots of the paper war boiling in the Romanian intellectual diaspora in the '50s which Eliade considered to be an intended act of "poisoning" the Romanian community abroad (1992, 81). In the article, Eliade assumes a clear rule that basically evens Romanian intellectual life in exile: the very fact that they left the country that was under occupation make them "agree on key issues" (1992, 81) that they are anti-Soviet and pro-monarchy and fighting for the independence and the civil rights, so they would have no reason to dispute. Undoubtedly, Eliade adds, the freedom of the press carries a risk called "controversy euphoria" (1992, 82), temptation that requires training and experience in the field of journalism in order to be controlled. But in special circumstances, Eliade consents to the violation of the amiability rule for the proper intellectual dialogues: "It is no wonder, therefore, that some intellectuals in exile mean to react violently to what they think it would be the returning of the well-known contemporary Romanian phenomena: upstartism, values confusion and the incompetence triumph. To the extent that these intellectuals are convinced that Romania's future safety is at risk, no invitation to "peacefulness" and "impartiality" has any chance to be heard. It is the moral and historical inconsistencies that only the Messianic struggle for liberation of the country can suspend them temporarily until the moment of return to the free country" (1992, 82). The conclusion is that the violent controversy is justified and necessary to a certain extent, until the country becomes free and democratic again. Culianu's harsh journalistic philippics attempt to fight against "incompetence", "upstartism" and "confusion of values" typical Romanian tendency, reinforced in the aftermath of the Revolution. But journalistic polemics is risky and it brings about conflicts that Eliade makes us aware in the last paragraph of the speech: "More fierce and with even more serious consequences is the fight that carries the whispers, the denunciations by anonymous letters. And the victims of this fight are by far more endangered, because whispers, anonymous letters and accusations get where it is meant to and people see their freedom at risk" (1992, 82). Eliade outlines the risk posed to intellectuals who practice journalism and lucidly investigate issues of general interest. Exactly forty years later, his disciple Ioan Petru Culianu will be killed for the virulent texts published in the *Free World*. The attack strategy followed the classic procedure, it began with "whispers", continued with "denunciations" and "anonymous letters" and was completed by murder.

According to Mihaela Albu, author of *Memory of Romanian Exile: Free World Newspaper in New York*, “many of the exiles realized that the conflicts among the Romanian community members were created and fueled even by the security skillful agents for the purpose of splitting up the Diaspora and thus to prevent effective fight against the communist government in Bucharest” (Albu, 17). The author lets us know that the totalitarian regime used special agents to assassinate disagreeable Romanians living abroad. The story of one of them, Matei Paul Haiducu, was published in the *Free World* from the very first number in the series entitled “I refused to kill” spread across twenty-six issues, which revealed a number of intelligence documents about “missions and methods Romanian Security agents were trained to suppress all those who, in exile, were active to expose and combat Ceausescu policy” (Albu, 2008, 83). In this excerpt, the agent explains in detail how they proceeded in those missions: “Should make a safe station - whose numbers had been communicated to me by Marc - an envelope containing money and data of the victim, and then make the key disappear. The envelope’s contents would be recovered by an organization member and passed through a perfectly regulated circuit to the person responsible for the execution of Tanase, who did not need to know anything for who will work” (Albu, 2008, 84). This agent also gives further details about the organization trying to poison dissident Paul Goma.

Culianu’s first article that was featured in the *Free World* entitled “The future of Romania in Eleven Points” was written for Christmas during the 1989 Revolution and published in the *Free World* issue 66 on the 6th of January 1990. In the article, Culianu reflects on Romania’s transition to a normal society and outlines a comprehensible and feasible political and economic strategy which if put into practice would lead to the normality reinstatement. Culianu advocates for the common sense strategy originated in the average people wit and wisdom. Therefore, the journalist detects a “certain key for moving the democratic process” created by the common sense of the Romanian people. “If you turn everything Ceausescu did upside down, if you give the masses food and provide internal power, if people are given total freedom of movement and opinion, knowing that it involves not anarchy, but regulation of the system, if you work with a very small intelligence system... smart, but not wicked, if you resolve the minorities problem by giving and not by suppressing rights, then you have a true vision of a democratic state”. He smartly points eleven areas to work out: politics, economy, military, judiciary, media, television, police, secret service, minorities, education and religion. First of all, it will be necessary to appoint a “weak president” on a “purely symbolic and honorific post” so that “the country will be governed by ... government”. He proposes the establishment of “provincial governments” for ten Romanian provinces, an interesting idea that is currently in hot debate. In his view, the national economy will recover

only if it will go towards the development of “modern agriculture” and whether it uses internal energy. Culianu insists on the need for foreign capital: “If Romania guarantees democracy, all banks and large multi-national companies will already be there at the end of the next year”. Services sector development will lead to prosperity, especially given a competitive tourism method that will attract “foreign currency in the country”. Of course “private property” should be encouraged and legally guaranteed. Army and police institutions will face massive retirements and layoffs, drastic changes of image and approach, so-called re-branding strategies. “Militia will have to change their name to police and uniforms from blue to another color”. Romania will make the transition to a democratic state calling a “legislative chamber that will develop Romanian Democratic Constitution”. As expected, the lawyers’ number will greatly increase and they “will have to cope with entirely new situations - situations in which lawsuits can be won”. Media will improve and numerous newspapers, magazines and private TV channels and radio stations will emerge. At number eight Culianu deals with intelligence. “Romania needs a democratic secret intelligence service, small and highly specialized, accountable to the government, ministries and the country’s Parliament. Future Romanian Secret Service will not use even a single member of the Ceausescu Security. “Ethnic problem can be solved by giving the minority groups the right to “dual citizenship”. Romanian education needs private schools and universities where computing and cognitive sciences study should be encouraged. Writers need to be motivated to earn a living from writing, and “not to be the employees of the Stalinist Writers Union “a kind of register of all persons that write something, including journalists”. Concerning religion, Culianu assumes religious liberalism: “Romanians have every incentive to accept new religions” and is reinforcing important Greek Catholic religion. Culianu ends his article by stating that this strategy outlines a “normal Romania of tomorrow, based primarily on the property and private economy, a democratic government, with free enterprise and free competition, with a state subsidy in only education and research, as long as it would not privatize”. The problem of the Romanians living abroad is clarified as their return home would be a “a unique intellectual and spiritual experience” transfusion that would have positive effects on the development of the average people way of thinking.

This is the reconstruction and democratization plan that Culianu outlined in the middle of the Romanian Revolution of 1989. It is attuned to the existing observations in Gross report: “To make any progress towards an open society, Romanians must completely dismantle the communist system, rid themselves of communist mentalities, and install a new generation of leaders at every level of the economy – the political, judicial, social, cultural, educational, and mass media hierarchy. They must close the gap between the state and the people and between the intellectuals and other societal strata. Furthermore, they must

mature as a nation" (1996, xii). Culianu starts with the claims he believes in that the general population overwhelmed with cold, hunger and deprivation has finally the right to impose terms and ask for what was missing. By the end of the "Scoptophilia" column, Culianu will be surprised to find that the Romanian common sense have been altered by the terror imposed by the totalitarian regime and by the socialist propaganda. The public and the community idea dissipated, the Romanian society was not strong enough to reset itself. According to Peter Gross report, the major issues that would require a long time to fix were related to the inherited communist mentality: "It will take more than one postcommunist generation to change deep-rooted mentalities and modes of behavior that are inimical to an open society" (1996 x).

Culianu never ceased to express his interest in the home country, both in private life and in his writings. He always felt an intense emotional connection with Romania and those who remained there. Longing for his country, his family and his friends, the compassion for the sufferings and hardships they were subjected to, functioned as a constant torture. Considered undesirable and sentenced to be closed in absentia Culianu risked if he dared to return to the country. The adjusting period to the Western lifestyle abroad apart from family and friends was long and difficult. At the same time, he was convinced that he had a duty to help those left behind. He felt he had a moral duty to do that, rooted in the Ceausescu communist system, then integrated into a free one, it was not optional for him to accept it or not. At certain points, Culianu's journalistic discourse becomes violent, it bursts out suddenly and relentlessly, and seem to tear down everything in its way, genuine verbal hurricanes. The reader feels the continuous suppressed urge of the journalist to rise and take specific action to fix things, action not possible yet. Culianu's frustration and anger will be exorcised by writing and publishing texts. Romanian journalist is a good actor, he uses dramatics to achieve his goal - moving the audience by generating strong emotions. Thus "Scoptophilia" becomes an ancient amphitheater, where the journalistic drama is dramatically performed. Culianu wants to awaken Romanian citizens, to motivate and persuade them to build a new society. He points the finger at the guilty causing the audience to reply. It is not an easy task. Typical for the general attitude of Culianu's journalistic writings is the exiled position, analyzed in the article entitled "Exile" published in 1975 in the *Limits*. It is that "feeling exile" situation mentioned by Moshe Idel who said that Culianu always seemed to be "essentially a stranger" (Antohi 2003, 282) which speaks a lot about him and his destiny enigma. The exiled suffers the drama of being apart from his mother so he has to go through many difficulties to regain what he lost. This situation gives him a combative attitude because the exile has to lead a struggle against the communist regime and is bound to win. As the enslaved countrymen were totally powerless, the exiled accepted this "situation

of radical responsibility and human authenticity” (Culianu 2005, 9). Culianu embodies the others he substitutes for their eyes, their ears and their mouths, and the weapons used to fight are the pen and the paper: “I pretended enough I did not hear. It’s time for them to hear me now. And willingly or unwillingly, they will do it, even more and even louder” (2005, 117). He has written “Scoptophilia” column being aware of some people reactions: “I predict acid reaction, dismayed, desolate, to the truth that I’ve taken the liberty to disclose above, aware of the risk of scandal, but conscious at the same time, of the urgent need of the scandal” (2005, 200).

Edward W. Said, author of the lectures entitled *Representations of the Intellectual*, describes the intellectual as being by definition an “exile and marginal” whose part in the society is to tell the truth especially if seized by power abuse (Said, 2006, xvi). Said believes that “intellectuals are individuals with a vocation for the art of representing, whether that is talking, writing, teaching, appearing on television. And that vocation is important to the extent that it is publicly recognizable and involves both commitment and risk, boldness and vulnerability” (2006, 13). Because human values are universal regardless of political, religious and cultural influences, the intellectual must defend the truth, action that gives him nobleness and guarantees him community respect. The intellectual that is actively involved in his community problems is a public intellectual prevailing against a simple official because this way it “can’t be mistaken for an anonymous functionary or a careful bureaucrat” (2006, 13). Said proposed intellectual models like Jean-Paul Sartre and Bertrand Russell who showed admirable courage to leave the classical ivory tower and start dialogues on public interest topics as true intellectuals “speaking out for their belief” (2006, 13). Intellectual’s main calling and his most important assignment is to advocate for the right to free speech: “Uncompromising freedom of opinion and expression is the secular intellectual’s main bastion: to abandon its defense or to tolerate tamperings with any of its foundations is in effect to betray the intellectual s calling” (2006, 89).

In this concern, in an *imitatio dei* done by writing, Culianu is trying to exert control over reality using the following strategy: he starts by knocking on the outdated one, after which he patiently builds the new reality, brick by brick. Journalistic pickaxe strikes first in the Communist regime as an abnormal regime maintained by the totalitarian power against the population’s will. The speech is partly journalistic, partly legal (Culianu is at the same time a journalist and a prosecutor) and it starts outlining the scene to conduct the case. In the narrative article “Horror Movies” (2005, 91) the world is presented as a two-dimensional space, a circle horizontally split, each half being differently organized. The first one is the area of freedom, light and normality, the other one is a dark, apocalyptic region, haunted by monsters. The American part is the happy-endings space, while the other half is the theater of tragedy: “In America, they all end well,

forever. Contrariwise, things always end badly in Romania” (2005, 91). Based on the horror movie directed by Spielberg, *Gremlins I, II*, Culianu describes the political situation in Romania which is actually exceeding even the horrors imagined in a movie. The article is written with wit and humor, short and to the point. If the happy-ending comes invariably and almost automatically in America, on the other side of the world all the reality developments were “increasingly gruesome movies”. Spielberg’s monsters, the gremlins are some small green little men who invaded billionaire Clamp’s residence. The identity of the monsters who invaded Romania can be found by replacing the first letter of the name, G with K from which we acquire Kremlins name. It is clear for everyone who they are. The author describes them as being overweight, lazy, definitely not very smart and all of them having a “thick neck” (“Bulgarians having a thick neck” derived from *The Third Letter* metaphor by Eminescu). Unlike the film, where monsters are outnumbered “in Romania the situation is such that few people left could easily be exterminated” (2005, 92). Culianu clings to the same negative perception of his homeland in all articles dealing with this subject. Being familiar with the Western normality, Romania appears to him as a bizarre, hellish region, an underground forces encounter point: “Romania has given me only suffering, misfortune, stupidity and pain. It crippled my soul as it crippled yours, flinging me into a totally different world, making me waste my time to understand it. It ate twenty years of my life, literally and figuratively” (2005, 116). The country’s image perception conversion was an extensive process that occurred after becoming a citizen in the western social and political system.

The space dichotomy is obvious from the inside, on the one hand, and from the outside, on the other hand. In the 60’s and 70’s, when Culianu was a schoolboy in Romania he truly believed that his country was a normal state: “I must confess that although in the first grade my classmate Vasiliu who was a shepherd four days a week and my colleague Marinescu peed there and then sent it to the neighbors feet by a tube, I still harbored the totally absurd belief that Romania was a civilized place” (2005, 123). From the outside, in the 80s, after the author adapts to the Western lifestyle, the image of the country changes and everything appears distorted: “In such a system, possession of a natural object such as a typewriter, a copy machine, a fax and the like became a sign of strength as opposed to general shortcomings” (2005, 110).

After the discourse framing, Culianu begins to denounce major national issues: “Something is definitely rotten in Romania, with or without communism, either traditional or Soviet type” (2005, 102). People live trapped in the cobwebs of a “satanic falsehood of a regime that is scattering cold, darkness, hunger and death, presenting itself to the world as one of the greatest Light and Good administration” (2005, 222). The weak points he strikes at are Ceausescu and his cronies. Ceausescu, this “dying horse” (2005, 83) who probably “thinks he is

immortal," "demented fatherly figure" (2005, 222), a real "Dracula" (2005, 83) is the great culprit, because national disaster originated in "a shoemaker's apprentice wildest dreams who has seen himself become a King" (2005, 83).

Relying solely on this "dying horse" (2005, 83) the totalitarian system is directly responsible for the degeneration of the political situation. Culianu delivers his criticism in an infuriated manner to the totalitarian political machine, considering that most of those enrolled in the system were "an upside down elite, Satanic" (2005, 72), "executioners" (2005, 84), "mentally ill" (2005, 112), "evil morons" (2005, 111), "Kamikaze, fedaypni, bloody and insane visionaries" (2005, 72).

The lens he used to focus and record the images finally melt down and flow into the abysses of hell ablaze. "Romania is a hell that you have to avoid and to expose all our strength" (2005, 151). The writer has the ability to turn the reader into that time and situation and create the effect of empathy.

Neo-communist accession to power after the revolution of 1989 as seen quite clearly by neutral eyes and the ambiguity of the Romanian new democracy are particularly analyzed. Says Peter Gross in his report: "But there is the harsh, daily reality of their political and economic existence, and Romanians deal with it with a mixture of resignation, anger and humor. In 1990, it became clear that a former communist occupied the presidency, and that they were not going to be dislodged from power" (1996, xii).

While still subjected to censorship, those left behind are shocked by the blunt way Culianu analyzed the situation and communicated the results in the international mass media. In 1990, journalists writing for the democratic opposition publications in the country, *Romania libera* daily newspaper and 22, were considered undesirable. According to Andrei Oișteanu (2007, 144), dangerous people began to send threatening letters to Culianu. The threats have caused concern among the newsroom colleagues who advised him to stop working. Moshe Idel, senior research fellow at the Shalom Hartman Institute, Max Cooper Professor of Jewish Thought at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and a close friend of Culianu thinks that the political articles are the reason of the murder: "Political writings, however, the non-academics texts Culianu published in a Romanian magazine in New York, the *Free World* for a year and a half before his disappearance, are often mentioned in this context. They are related to the crime" (Antoși 2003, 278).

Convorbiri literare issued on the 19th of June 1991 immediately after the assassination ran the article entitled "In Memoriam Ioan Petru Culianu" in which is noted the importance of the journalistic articles in the crime scenario: "On 22nd of May 1991, Ioan Petru Culianu is assassinated by shooting in his office at the University of Chicago. Before this event, he received several threatening letters about the work carried out in his intensive journalistic activity at *Free*

World, Agora, etc. In these articles, Ioan Petru Culianu critically analyzed the developments in Romania after 22nd of December 1989. {...} For the generation that is now around forty, the assassination of Ioan Petru Culianu amounts to an attempted decapitation". It is suggested that Culianu's assassination scared his generation colleagues who felt threatened by a true "decapitation" connected to the idea of guillotine. On the same page, Liviu Antonesei speaks about the political articles "lucid, critical" signed by Culianu in the foreign journals: "[Culianu] wrote hundreds of specialized studies of impressive cultural opening, dozens of articles of analysis and political attitude during Ceausescu's regime and then during Iliescu's regime, too. Although he was "out there" he could not stop being interested in what happens here. He could not forget the country, he could not forget those remained here".

American journalist Ted Anton, who initiated the theory of "the first political assassination of a professor on American territory" (*Contrapunct*, 1992), strongly supports the hypothesis of a political assassination, both in the biographical volume *Eros, Magic and the Murder of Professor Culianu* and in the interviews published in the media. The magazine *Counterpoint* issue 32/33 of 30 October to 12 November 1992 featured the article "The Killing of Professor Culianu" initially published in the international journal *Lingua Franca* 2.6. (1992). The investigator makes his position clear, he is convinced that the death came as a consequence of his journalistic activity. The American journalist is trying to persuade the audience that journalism can indeed be the reason for a political crime.

Similarly, in the interview realized by Mariana Dumitrescu, Radio France International journalist, published in *Dilema* issued on October 1993, the American investigator's view is obvious in the title "In his writings, Culianu was fighting forces which came together to remove him".

Ted Anton's hypothesis will soon be generally accepted by the Romanian cultural world and the idea of political assassination will be approached differently by each journalist. Cultural supplement of the daily *Adevarul* dedicated in 1996 two issues (348 and 350) to the book review of the volume *Eros, Magic and the Murder of Professor Culianu*. The article entitled "An equation with too many unknowns" was signed by Felicia Antip. The Romanian journalist restructures Culianu's biography through Anton's book filter with small critical brush strokes. In *Luceafarul* magazine issue 24 of 25 June 1997, Ion Cretu signed a text in which he analyzed Culianu's late political articles. His impression is that the late political campaign of Culianu pursued a personal goal, which was mainly to preserve the right to reside in the foreign state he fled years ago. Under the title "Murder of Professor Culianu: Who's afraid of the past?" Ion Cretu incisively analyzed the unexplained political articles published by Culianu after the communism fall and not before, as expected. He was under the impression that

the Romanian scientist and other Diaspora members activating abroad as highly critical anti-communists intensified their activism scared not to be send back into the country. Otherwise, asked Cretu, why was not local police informed of the series of threats he received before and after the burglary? Cretu's interpretation sheds new light on Culianu's journalism in particular, and on the Romanian exile journalistic activity after 1989, in general.

Given the circumstances, Culianu's journalistic activity has been understood as a targeted approach to individually and collectively cover particular risks of the Romanians in exile. Observed within the country, he seemed to be interested into orchestrating a campaign to solve a certain problem.

But the *Free World* issue 58/1989 ran the article "Dan Petrescu to be released" delivering a list of prestigious Romanian intellectuals signatures in exile, all demanding the release of the writer" (Albu, 2008, 62). The list contains Ioan Petru Culianu's name. Moreover, the *Free World* issue 64 published the text "Behold, the clock struck twelfth" which gave details on following situation: "From Los Angeles to Geneva, the Romanian-American Academy protests massacres in the country and asks to be stopped. Maria Manoliu-Manea, acting as President of ARA and L.M. Arcade (Vice-President), Miron Butariu (Secretary) and Ioan Petru Culianu counselors, Constantin Corduneanu, Sanda Galopenția-Eretescu, Mircea Ionitoiu, Elena Stamatescu and Tudor S. Ratiu inform about the letter sent to the "Heads of state and Western Soviet Union government, published in the *New York Times* by a group of Romanian intellectuals, including members of ARA, informing of the serious situation in Romania and urging the whole community of the civilized world to condemn the criminal regime in Bucharest". Finally, on behalf of the Romanian writers and scientists in American exile, they ask "immediate resignation of Nicolae Ceausescu and his officials to avoid bloodshed expand across the country" (Albu, 2008, 64).

Analyzed twenty-four years later, their media campaign seem correct and justified, Romania was then passing through a difficult situation and needed external input to make the transition from one kind of obsolete society to a democratic one. Living in another reality, Romanians abroad were uniquely qualified for this task, in fact quite risky for they will arouse strong resentment back home. For Culianu the most passionate of them, the price he paid was really expensive. The American journalist Ted Anton supports this idea in the interview published in *Orizont* magazine issue 7 of 25 July 1997 signed by Anca Lipan and entitled "Chicago University does not want to solve the mystery! A sensational case of Ted Anton" in which the American journalist says: "Ioan Petru Culianu was killed on duty in a time when he used all his skills as a historian of ideas to discover the reality underlying the events in the early 1990's Romania. What better use could have the knowledge he had acquired in these years? The charges he made were correct and he was killed for it".

Cretu's idea and his explanation is argued against by Culianu himself (2005, 180) in the article "Goodbye" where he acknowledged: "By 'Scoptophilia' I fulfilled a civic duty". Further on, he listed the reasons that led him to engage in this media activity: "shortcomings of the country", "mistrust" in national politics before and after the revolution and the political immaturity of the Romanian citizens. The main reason was his strong belief that he had a duty to help those who remained at home, which blinded by totalitarianism system failed to find the way out of deadlock. He felt that as a Western society citizen he had the advantage of neutrality and an open mind, and therefore felt indebted to do what was necessary to awaken his brothers, to motivate them to go forward.

22 magazine published in November 1998 an interview with the novel writer Dumitru Radu Popa while in New York signed by Gabriela Adamesteanu. The article entitled "Dialogue on Ioan Petru Culianu" makes it obvious that a murder motive could have been his journalistic writings: "{...} perhaps because of the impassioned articles in the *Free World* ... I read Culianu's plans to rebuild democracy in Romania and often smiled because he had no pragmatic flair. But the ideas were very healthy and could scare crypto". One can understand that, although probably did not exceed in practical thinking, the scientist's articles managed to irritate neo-communists.

The lack of realism is denounced by Ioan Buduca, too, in the review of the first edition of the volume *Sin against the Spirit* published by Nemira in 1999. The article is suggestively entitled "War of Culianu with Security. Reasons for murder?" and was issued in *Cuvantul* on 12th of December 1999. The article starts from the idea that "our dear and tragic Ioan Petru Culianu" was "the nonsense champion of the Romanian political agendas": "Now we have full inventory of the crap launched in his political writings after 1990" notes the reviewer, slightly amused and lofty. Undoubtedly, Ioan Buduca writes the review ten years after Culianu's articles were published and the person reading his text at the same time span notes the subjectivity of this document. Striking is that Ioan Buduca of 1999 has a big surprise when he rediscovers himself mirrored in Culianu's writings and his way of thinking in 1989 when he admits he truly believed "the myth that Culianu would have provided details about the Romanian Revolution. Rumors were spread all over regarding these predictions (which included dead bodies from Timisoara as victims of Ceausescu's Security unleashed against the uprising) were written before December 1989. No, it was written in April 1990. What he really had knowledge about was something else: that Moscow will be the center for the political maneuver to replace the Ceausescu regime with a Gorbachev one. But who did not think of that possibility?" After ten years of democracy, Culianu the prophet becomes an ordinary man because those who then perceived him have themselves changed over time. Even ten years later, he stirs up anger caused by the disappointment of those who

remember the communist period. Dan C. Mihailescu speaks of “the evil spirit” attached to Culianu’s memory which might be partly found in the frustrations of his contemporaries.

Further on, Buduca describes Culianu’s activism at the time: “After the ambiguous events of the late December 1989 Culianu made a media campaign in several Romanian publications in the U.S. Two programmatic ideas of this campaign are: Romania had to replace all the specialists who worked with the Ceausescu regime with dilettantes who did not committed sin on collaborationism and have their minds broken by the regime, firstly Security specialists should be replaced with amateurs for the good reason that intelligence services of Ceausescu was the world’s most idiotic one, otherwise one cannot explain why they accepted the country situation to decline to the point where it could be changed only at the expense of a thousand victims. The argument seems unbeatable. But the solution to replace all professionals with amateurs is really stupid. It happened so in the former East Germany. Eastern specialists were replaced by Western experts, not amateurs. What was done there was a five-year delay of political rights for those specialists. But, is it really this argument unbeatable? Was Ceausescu’s Security guilty for not preventing the bloodshed? Yes, it is guilty. Yes, they were, but not more than senior army officers and high hierarchy party activists. And then, why was Culianu directed only against the Security specialists and whenever given the opportunity he characterizes them as the idiots of the world intelligence? Let the mystery answer to this question. Curious fact remains that Ioan Petru Culianu superlatively admired Yuri Andropov, head of KGB, the man who outlined the political economic rescue programs of the Empire. It follows that it would be desirable to have an anti-Andropov that would economically rescue Romania and peacefully reject the Soviet Empire political influences? It would be better to have it. It would be possible however to truly become economically independent? Therefore, we return to the economy. What did Culianu plan for Romania, economically speaking? Here’s what the most prestigious Romanian dilettante thought of: modern agriculture, rapid deindustrialization and massive cheap labor for foreign companies, tourism, progressive taxes. Any specialist would ask: “And the millions of workers in industry what to do?” They go in the agriculture should respond Culianu. “Would agriculture make \$ 8 billion it brings industrial exports, money improperly used by the Communists but that Democrats could use it for investment, health, education, research, social services?” It would bring, answered Culianu. We analyze the dilettantes’ solution. What do we see? The ApR economic program launched a few months ago looks like Culianu’s strategy. Rumors say it has been developed by Stolojan. This is the real problem: where are the foreign companies willing to hire cheap labor force from Romania? Culianu argues that if it were not for the mineriads in 1990, these companies would have already enthusiastically come. I tend to agree with him. In Moscow’s

scenario, not the “December Revolution” was the key for maintaining Romania in the Soviet Empire’s area of influence, but the mineriads in June. “Revolution” has made the country visible in the international market and the mineriads made it unsuitable for foreign investment again. The rhetorical question in the end comes as the author’s own conclusion: “The radical intelligence of Ioan Petru Culianu and the radical crap he has written have ever been taken into consideration when deciding if this man should be killed, used or left alone?”.

Luceafarul magazine issue 28 of 23 July 1997 published an interview featured in the Italian newspaper *Avvenire* on the 6th of May 1997 where Gianpaolo Romanato, history professor at the University of Milano and close friend of the Romanian scientist asks a particular question: “Who wanted Culianu’s death?” Romanato brings additional evidence for what he calls Culianu Case: “After the fall of Ceausescu’s regime, Culianu openly declared himself against Iliescu’s government. I always thought that one day Ioan Petru Culianu’s name will resurface and they will speak not only about the intellectual he has been, but about the unfortunate protagonist of “Culianu case, too.” Fourteen years later in 2011, Gianpaolo Romanato published a new article in *L’Osservatore Romano* on 27th of October 2011, reprinted in *22* magazine 22 in November 2011. Romanato talks here about his Romanian friend’s anti-communist activism characterized as “lucid”: “After the end of the Ceausescu regime (1989) he denounced in all international media based on the strengthened prestige that made him able to access the most prominent Western media the ambiguity of what had happened in his country: more a coup than a revolution. He wrote, spoke, he risked (...)”. The Italian scientist’s question still remains unanswered and reemerges: “Why did they kill him? What kind of connection is there between his life, his writings and the murder?”.

Romanato draws the same conclusion: “It is therefore clear the assumption that the decision to eliminate him came about in Romania’s troubled climate of the time, where the former communist infamous secret police together with Iron Guard’s movement descendants have merged around the position of the ultra-nationalist Greater Romania Party”.

“Crime in Chicago” is the article published by Umberto Eco in May 1997 in *La Rivista dei Libri* reprinted by Sorin Antohi (2003, 322). The Italian scholar examines here the progress of Culianu’s journalistic activity and points out that before 1989 Culianu was not very interested in the politics, but after the Revolution he suddenly turned into “a point of political orientation”. “Inexplicably, a young teacher politically cautious undergoes a personality transformation and showing courage, determination and risk capacity not manifested until then, starts an activity that was not typical for him. He was known for his aversion to the regime, but always avoided public policy statements and was not part of the dissidents. Only after the fall of Ceausescu, as far as I know, there was a clear

stance against the Iliescu government in which he foresaw the predecessor's figure. He started a series of interviews on radio, television, he published articles in the Romanian exile press such as the *Free World*; he became a friend of the King Michael of Romania. He thus became a point of political and intellectual orientation for a new Romania. But he also began to receive threats, intimidation, warnings, until on 21st of May 1991 he is assassinated in Chicago".

After the assassination, *Chicago Tribune* ran the article "Professor Shot To Death At U. of C. Instructor's Killing is a Mystery" in 22nd of May 1991 signed by Jerry Crimmins, Teresa Wiltz and Linnet Myers. The lead starts this way: "A religion professor at the University of Chicago, a Romanian native, was found shot to death Tuesday in a locked bathroom stall in the university's School of Divinity, Chicago police reported. Detectives said they found no gun at the scene. Killed by a gunshot wound to the head was Ioan Culianu, 41, a specialist in the history of religion and culture". Next issue's article entitled "Professor at U. Of C. Was Slain, Police Say" published on 23rd of May 1991 goes into details about the autopsy and police investigation: "An autopsy on Wednesday disclosed that a professor at the University of Chicago who this month told a student he had been threatened, was a victim of murder, police said. "We are treating this death as a homicide" said Cmdr. Fred B. Miller of the Wentworth Area detective division". Culianu had been a Chicago University professor for three years and he was about to get his permanent job in two months: "Culianu came to the U. of C. as a guest lecturer in 1986, but was to receive a permanent appointment in July, Arbeiter said".

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NEW TRENDS IN JOURNALISM CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT. ROMANIA WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT*

ANDREEA MOGOȘ**, RADU MEZA***

ABSTRACT. With the relatively recent technological, social and economic changes, journalism education and training need rethinking. The journalism curricula should be adapted in order to provide graduates with skills and competences that could answer the professional challenges of the 21st century: reflectivity, problem-solving, initiative and the ability to develop new products or formats. Critical thinking, innovation and entrepreneurial skills are key aspects of the new direction in Journalism education worldwide.

Key words: Curriculum development, journalism education, new media technologies

Journalism education around the world

One hundred years ago, the first class graduated at Columbia School of Journalism, which since then continuously provided top education and training for future professional journalists. It was in 1903 when the famous journalist and newspaper owner Joseph Pulitzer proposed a school of journalism, in spite the fact that his own successful yellow press business perfectly functioned without trained journalists. The educational project became reality only in 1912, when 79 students started classes on journalism.

In the first half of the 20th century, the American example was influential in the establishment and development of journalism education both in Europe (Germany, Austria), and outside the context of liberal democracies such as China and Soviet Union (Du Toit, 2013:147). After the World War II, the US model for journalism education¹ expanded in Canada, the Netherlands and Italy (Gaunt,

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¹ The US model of journalism education refers to a curricula in which training in writing and reporting practices exist in a relationship of tension with the academic study of communication.

1992:60). In Scandinavia, the establishment of journalism education occurred later, in the mid-1960's. American influence also spread in Third World countries/developing nations: Latin America in the 1950's and, from the 1960's onwards in the Middle East, Asia and Africa (Du Toit, 2013:151).

A particular type of American influence can be identified by the end of the 1980's and at the beginning the 1990's in former Eastern European communist countries and former Soviet Union, where journalism education, established on a soviet model, became stigmatized as bastions of communist ideology and needed a reform in order to deliver untainted journalists (Gaunt, 1992:82). Western media companies, government agencies, professional associations and universities responded to this need, initiating media assistance projects to provide the newly independent countries with knowledge about journalism conceptualized from a liberal perspective.

At the beginning of the 21st century, 2338 journalism programs were offered by universities worldwide (WJEC, 2010). Figures are showing that American influence decreases, while journalism education in emerging countries (China, India, Russia, Brazil) are continuously expanding.

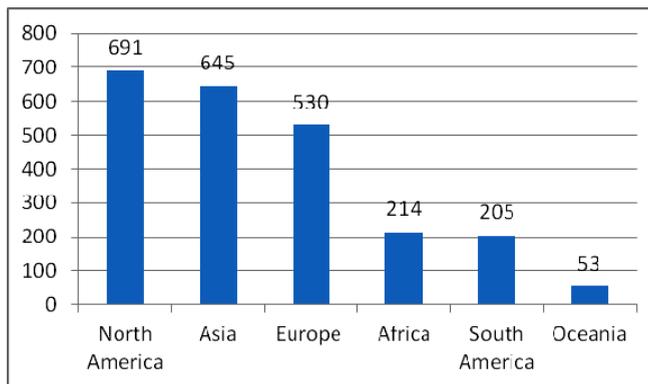


Chart 1. Journalism programs worldwide
(processed from **World Journalism Education Census** database, 2010)

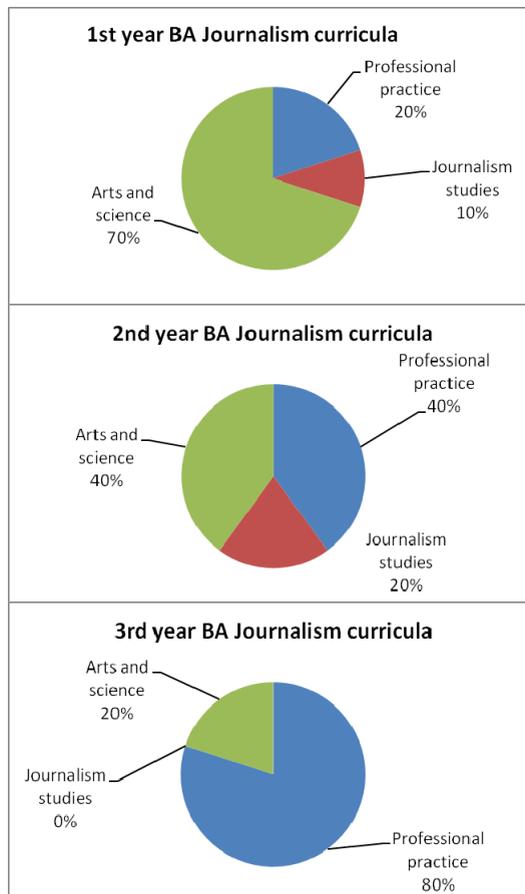
Journalism curricula peculiarities

Although the form and content of journalism education varies as a result of differences in political, social, cultural and economic environment, it has also been argued that different models establish themselves in context of shared global circumstances and that, for this reason, it is worth studying international patterns in the development of journalism education (Deuze, 2006:19).

A brief look on journalism curricula offered by universities from different continents of the world lead to several distinctive characteristics: even if in most universities journalism is not considered a vocational program, the programs build

on the US journalism education model offer a consistent amount of practical courses and practice combined with theory; some programs offer a more theoretical approach (journalism studies) while others offer a communication and journalism studies mixed system; at last, but not at least, several programs reflect the impact of new technologies on the content of curriculum and their use to teach journalism.

The UNESCO’s *Model of Curricula for Journalism Education* sets a tri-dimensional approach of journalism education for the BA level: “*In a university program, the development of journalism practice (the first axis) is informed and enriched by the study of journalism in society (the second axis) and by the acquisition of the methods and content marking modern knowledge through courses in other disciplines (the third axis).*” (UNESCO, 2007:11). Furthermore, the *Model...* provides for each of the three academic years specific weights for each category: professional practice, journalism studies, arts and science.



Charts 2, 3 and 4. UNESCO model for a three year BA Journalism curricula

But journalism education is nowadays challenged by fundamental changes that affected the society over the last tens of years: the globalization, the economic crisis, and the impact of new media technologies. Patterns of both media production and consumption have profoundly changed over the last twenty-five years, being triggered by the application of new technologies and the economic circumstances. Journalism education successfully adapted to the new media technology and production techniques, but as far as the content is concerned, not much change took place over the last two decades (Stephenson, 2009:15).

After a comprehensive analysis of the media education state in Europe, Drok (2012) concludes that recent technological, social and economic developments demand *innovation* at every level of journalism: the working process, the content of the product, the form of the product, the platform used to get the message and the profession as a whole.

Table 1. Innovation in journalism (Drok, 2012:61)

Concerns	Innovation	Description
<i>I Public</i>	Participation	Making use of user generated content or knowledge, whether or not through social media or internet communities.
<i>II Process</i>	Transparency	Guaranteeing accountability and a trustworthy, open working method.
<i>III Product Content</i>	Navigation	Offering a relevant and reliable content, whether or not through in-depth research, and putting it in a meaningful context.
<i>IV Product Form</i>	Storytelling	Using narratives in an attractive and user-friendly way to weave together fragmented observations to construct meanings.
<i>V Platform</i>	Crossmedia	Dividing content over different media in the most effective way while stimulating interaction.
<i>VI Profession</i>	Entrepreneurship	Being focused on innovation of product, process and platform for the benefit of the public with regard of the economics of the profession.

Definitely, innovation in newsrooms demands innovation in the classroom. Finberg (2013:1) considers that the future of journalism education is at a critical point for two reasons: time is running out, because disruption², “*driven by economics and technology is coming to the university system much faster than most administrators realize*”; and “*journalism education will undergo fundamental shifts in how journalism is taught and who teaches it. Those who don’t innovate in the classroom will be left behind. Just like those who choose not to innovate in the newsroom.*”

² The development, flow or sequence of technological innovation cannot be anticipated: forty years ago, we did not realize the first cellphone would lead to smartphones; ten years ago there was neither *Facebook*, nor *Twitter*.

The challenge of innovation in journalism education is not yet leading to massive change in opinions of both educators and professionals, but there are signs that a paradigmatic shift in teaching future journalists is imminent.

Media Technology and Journalism Education

With the relatively recent shifts in media technology the very core of Journalism needs rethinking. Prominent scholars such as Manuel Castells claim that what we referred to as „mass communication” is now slowly turning into „mass self-communication” (Castells 2009) mainly due to the advent of converging media sharing and social networking platforms and the widespread use of smartphones. While the use of blogs, wikis, media-sharing platforms and social network sites and various web content management systems has permeated the journalism curricula in most schools, the emphasis on the use of new technology is not intrinsically sufficient, especially when it is associated with a poor understanding of the changing global socio-economical context.

While the buzz-term „Web 2.0” was still waiting to be marketed out to unsuspecting journalism instructors and scholars worldwide, Dan Gillmor’s “We the Media” (2008) described some of the most important changes that new technologies were bringing to the field: the shift from the top-down landscape dominated by global media conglomerates or media trusts to the bottom-up, sometimes chaotic network of blogs and various content-sharing platforms where audiences were now participants.

Entrepreneurial journalism instructor and widely-acknowledged new media pundit Jeff Jarvis launched a debate over “journalism’s myth of perfection” still prophesized by the “Big Media” and still being taught in most Journalism schools. In (Jarvis 2009) he argues that we are now witnessing a clash between competing business models in the media – the *content economy* versus the *link economy*, and even more importantly “a clash over journalistic culture and methods – product journalism v. process journalism”. The concept of *process journalism* refers to constructing news as it develops, as new information comes in, allowing the audience to participate, to contribute. The model described by Jarvis is close to what the software/services industry majors refers to as releasing “a beta”. While this new model, first used by bloggers and later adopted by some journalists, is still often criticized by traditionalists who claim that an imperfect story should not be released, it is a model that redefines the roles associated to journalists and their stories in the contemporary computer mediated, networked social context. Thus the story becomes more of a conversation starter, than an authoritative report on a current issue with greater emphasis on timeliness and audience participation. The journalist moves from gatekeeper to information broker. In trying to explain why online journalism develops as it does, scholars have found that online

journalism is somehow left behind by the developments brought by new media and that it often features linear text, little participation, although journalists seem enthusiastic about these forms (Steenon 2011). This suggests that just looking at the form of online journalism as the most significant change might not be enough.

Recent research into the *process journalism* model as a viable option for Journalism school curricula emphasizes three main strands for teaching and learning activities (Robinson 2013):

- **Production Transport/Transaction:** engaging the audience in story conception via social media, networked journalism and crowd-sourcing stories, writing for specific audiences and not for a specific medium, entrepreneurial approaches and innovation.
- **Content Transport/Transaction:** using digital focus groups, story-in-progress blogs, providing links to other information sources, writing follow-ups, Q&A sessions, using interactive graphics, referencing other authored sources, aggregating information.
- **Audience Transport/Transaction:** learning about alternative aggregation spaces like Reddit, Twitter or BuzzFeed, YouTube, Facebook, monitoring post-publication discussions, fixing misimpressions, acting as facilitators for conversations started by the story.

Journalism competences for 21st century

In the context of worldwide radical technological, social and economic changes, journalism curricula should be adapted in order to provide graduates with skills and competences that could answer the professional challenges of the 21st century.

The European Journalism Training Association (EJTA) released the Tartu Declaration in 2006, a document which stated what journalism students should be taught. But due to a rapidly changing environment, in 2013 the EJTA members adopted a revised Tartu Declaration, with a newer qualification profile³.

³ Revised Tartu Qualification Profile 2013:

1. The competence to reflect on journalism's role in society.
2. The competence to find relevant issues and angles.
3. The competence to organize journalistic work.
4. The competence to gather information swiftly.
5. The competence to select the essential information.
6. The competence to present information in an effective journalistic form.
7. The competence to account for journalistic work.
8. The competence to cooperate in a team.
9. The competence to act as an entrepreneurial journalist.
10. The competence to contribute to the renewal of the profession.

When briefly compared to its earlier version, one can see that adding or removing words, expressions or even competences/skills reflect the position of European journalism educators towards changes.

For example, the competences that refer to journalism's role in society become more specific by adding at 1.1 the word *democratic*, which provides a special emphasize on the journalists' commitment to Western values in the context of recent Arab uprisings and other international events. Thus, the text states that [the journalist should] "*have a commitment to democratic society*". Furthermore, journalism is not considered anymore to focus only on local events, but there is an increasing need to "*link the local with the national and the global*" (1.5), to provide context for the events (2.1), "*to stimulate broad participation in debate*" (2.5).

The competence to gather information swiftly (4) previously indicated that journalists should "*be able to use all required sources effectively*" (2.1), and to "*have the ability to balance the stories*" (2.2) but the 2013 version express that journalists should "*Be able to find multiple perspectives on an issue*" (2.1), and "*be able to evaluate sources*" (2.2), which might be interpreted as a response to the flood of information of which reliability and quality should be verified and evaluated by journalists, as the fifth competence [to select the essential information] states. Changes compared to the 2006 Tartu Declaration may be noticed when talking about ability to select information on the basis of relevance (5.3) and to select information in accordance with the media platform (5.4). It is interesting to see that the notion of *genre* is replaced by *media platform*, which raise the question of traditional journalistic genres relevance in the context of media convergence⁴.

The effect of "*sharing and cross-promoting content from a variety of media, some interactive, through newsroom collaborations and partnerships*" (Missouri Group, cited in Brooks, Kennedy, Moen, & Ranly, 2004) entangled a radical transformation in the 2013 Tartu Declaration. Thus the former "*competence to structure information in a journalistic manner*" (6. - 2006) merged with "*The competence to present information in an effective journalistic form*" (7. - 2006) under the latter name. This competence relies on outstanding linguistic competence (6.1); good visual competence (6.2); ability to use different types of story-telling techniques (6.3), to present content in effective combinations of words, sounds and visuals (6.4) and to make journalistic use of technology (6.5). It becomes obvious that the 21st journalist needs technical and multimedia and production skills in order to present his or her work in an attractive and comprehensive form.

⁴ Defined as "the realm of possibilities when cooperation occurs between print and broadcast for the delivery of multimedia content through the use of computers and the Internet" (Lawson-Borders, 2006:4).

Critical thinking, innovation and entrepreneurial skills are key aspects of the new direction in Journalism education worldwide. The revised Tartu Declaration emphasizes reflectivity, problem-solving, initiative and the ability to develop new products or formats. While the older versions of this document mentioned the ability to collaborate with technicians, the 2013 revision clearly states that journalists themselves should be able to make use of technology efficiently.

All the changes proposed by the 2013 Tartu Declaration show that journalism educators and trainers from Europe keep track with the media developments and try to bring together teaching and practice.

The very same idea is sustained by Poynter Institute for Media Studies, which recently launched a *Competencies survey* (2013:21-22), in order to get opinions from both educators and professionals about what they think is important for beginner journalists who look towards a career in the digital/mobile age. The competences and skills are grouped in four categories, each containing several indicators:

1. **Knowledge, attitudes and personal features** (curiosity; accuracy; handles stress, deadlines and criticism well; have broad general knowledge; have good social skills; be a team player; be acquainted with journalistic ethics; knowledge of other cultures; knowledge of government; understand the media landscape; be familiar with copyright and journalism laws; have knowledge of the business of media; have good news judgment; have knowledge of current events; select information based on reliability; be a team leader; ability to embrace change and innovation).
2. **News gathering skills** (analyze and synthesize large amounts of data; network, make contact and develop sources; search online information on an advanced level; master interview techniques; search for news and check sources without the use of the Internet; look at news with a historical perspective; interpret statistical data and graphics).
3. **News production skills** (storytelling; write in a fluent style; write using correct grammar; master various forms of journalistic writing; understand audience expectations and needs; speaking skills).
4. **Technical and multimedia production skills** (ability to work with HTML or other computer languages; shoot and edit video; shoot and edit photographs; record and edit audio; ability to tell stories with design and visuals).

The survey design shows without any doubt an increasing preoccupation for how the 21st century journalist should be trained and should perform in a rapidly changing technological and economic environment.

While multimedia skills have been stressed out by the Journalism school curricula, some authors claim that *“the model of journalism, taught in journalism schools and run as a business by news organizations, has remained unchanged for many decades”* and just adding multimedia and using new storytelling techniques or delivering the product over the Internet doesn’t change the basic model (Mensing 2010). A considerable number of scholars advocate a change from the industry-centred journalism education model now taught in most schools to a *community centred model*. This model stresses alternatives to professionalism seen as either a source of ethical motivation or a source of power, networked journalism skills by taking into account the collaborative nature of contemporary journalism, by professionals and amateurs working together to develop the story, the creation and development of communities of inquiry in journalism schools and integrating research done in universities with the practical training the undergraduate students receive (Mensing 2010).

Journalism education in Romania

At the beginning of the 20th century the first journalism programs were inspired by the French model. During communism, the Soviet model was used to teach and train future ideology and propaganda vectors. After December 1989, the US model was adopted by most of the journalism schools. As strange it may seem, journalism education was during the 20th century tributary to three different models, which may be qualified at the same time as confusing and enriching.

In Romania, the competences grid for the journalism programs was elaborated in 2011, within the framework of DOCIS, a European SOPHRD project. The five main professional competences are established as follows:

- C1. Identification and use of communication sciences’ terminology, methodologies and specialized knowledge.
- C2. Use of new information and communication technologies (NICT).
- C3. Describing different types of audiences.
- C4. Media information management.
- C5. Identification and use of specific media deontology and social responsibility.
- C6. Producing journalistic content (text, video, audio and photography) for all media platforms.

Romanian journalism educators are grouped since 2007 in the Journalism and Communication Educators Association (Asociația Formatorilor din Jurnalism și Comunicare - AFCOM), but this organism is not a very active player of the Romanian journalism education landscape. Therefore, one might say that the modernization of the journalism education relies rather on the human resources than on an institutional trend setter, like the European Journalism Training Association, Center for Independent Journalism, Poynter Institute for Media Studies, Knight Rider Foundation etc.

Over the last 5 years, the Journalism Department at Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, Romania, has made a series of curricular developments aimed at bringing the educational process closer to the needs of the would-be journalists and the current market demands:

Rather than introducing students to the traditional and online media progressively, over the course of the 3-year Bachelor program (from print press and photojournalism to radio, TV and finally online journalism) the curricula now addresses the basics of each of the main media simultaneously in first-year courses. Also, in trying to develop critical thinking and reflective practices in the context of contemporary media culture, new courses, such as Journalism and Popular Culture, Media Analysis and New Media Theory were introduced. These courses aim at offering a deeper, more contextualized understanding of the relationships between media professionals, media products, media technologies/distribution platforms and the public (or unknown networked publics). In an attempt to stimulate innovation and entrepreneurship, a final-year course in Online Communication was introduced. During this course, students are encouraged to work in teams and develop a website in real-world conditions, promote it using any means, come up with new approaches, new ideas and compete with each-other over a two-month period. Some of these student projects have been successfully continued by the students and have had noticeable visibility.

SWOT Analysis – Curricula Development in Romanian Journalism Schools

<p>Strengths</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Journalism education is a dynamic, young field • Journalism schools may become incubators for innovative approaches • Universities generally encourage interdisciplinary collaboration with computer science or business school students • Present curricula shifts towards increased integration of multimedia skills 	<p>Weaknesses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strict legal framework for curricula development in public higher education institutions • Curricula development is sometimes greatly influenced by individual needs, not organizational/national policy • Low funding for technical infrastructure and practical extra-mural activities • Present curricula does not stress critical thinking
<p>Opportunities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leapfrogging in terms of technology access of general population • Integration in EHEA • Media institutions are looking for new approaches and new business models • Journalism students are tech-savvy and increasingly inclined towards innovation and entrepreneurial approaches • The Big Media institutional system is not as strongly established 	<p>Threats</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An increasing number of media institutions offering journalism training, but only focusing on instant gratification of trainees • Governmental educational policy is unpredictable • A significant number of students look for instant gratification at entry-level

Conclusion

Over the last decade there have been several directions that aimed to align journalism education with the newest developments in media technology. Perhaps the most important trends are the ever increased focus on training general-purpose multimedia skills, a return to prominence of critical thinking competencies through traditional academic/research training and a big shift towards encouraging innovation in production practices, content forms and distribution means coupled with the training of entrepreneurial skills aimed at coping with the fact that the number of Journalism graduates who start working in traditional newsrooms is declining in favour of those who decide to work as freelancers or develop their own Web start-up.

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BIERCE, EMINESCU, AND THEIR INVESTIGATIONS OF THE RAILWAY BUSINESS

LUCIAN-VASILE SZABO*

ABSTRACT. In his paper, author explores how the writers Ambrose Bierce and Mihai Eminescu both acted as journalists in two cases of railways sale. The events took place at a great distance one from the other, in The United States of America and Romania, and had different outcomes, but the two journalists were intensely involved. Both used many means to persuade the public that it was facing an attempt of using the public funds for crooked or even illegal operations. Another similarity in the important writers and journalists' activities comes not only from the common subject of buying back railways with astronomical fees, but also from the similar manner in which the authors are perceived. A hundred years later, both writers are appreciated for their literary writings, while their journalistic approaches are left in a shadow, invoked only generically within the attempts of complex portraying of each one of them.

Keywords: Bierce, Eminescu, Journalist, Railways, Huntington, Strousberg, *Timpul*, Hearst

Large-scale business has always surrounded the railways, all over the world. Two major enterprises of this kind are registered in the second half of the 19th century. One is from the United States and the other from the Romanian Principalities, which became, in 1880, the Kingdom of Romania. In both cases, two major writers – who also worked as journalists – covered in the media the suspicious investments made with state funds. Mihai Eminescu was the one who wrote about how the Strousberg railroad was bought back in Romania, and Ambrose Bierce was the one who covered the Huntington case in the United States. The two writers / journalists not only have in common the fact that they investigated a similar subject – i.e. how the railroads were bought back by the state for enormous sums of money –, but also the way in which their work was perceived. A hundred years from the events, both authors were valued for

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their literary contributions, while their journalistic works became of a lesser importance, usually cited just broadly by biographers who attempted to depict their comprehensive profile.

The train is an important element of our culture and it appears in literary works throughout the world, especially during the 19th century, when it most rapidly developed. Its image was formed in Great Britain and completed in the United States, then rapidly migrated toward France, Germany and soon the whole world. Writers accepted the challenge of approaching the subject, sometimes lacking the enthusiasm of journalists. Those who wrote both fiction and press column, functioning also as opinion leaders or voices of an emerging civil society, were interested particularly in the social and economic utility of the railroads, as well as in the enormous investments it required. Tycoons and industrial groups have always invested in businesses of this kind, usually resulting in massive profits. Revenues boomed especially in the case of state-funded investments, when the bill was mainly paid by tax-payers, and decision-makers had their own share of the profit. Such businesses were often on the verge of illegality and, hence, journalists kept a close eye on their development.

For many years, Eminescu was only known as a prodigious poet, writer of fiction and researcher in folkloric literature. Afterwards, he became noticed for his contributions to philosophical thought, economy and social sciences. In each case, exaggerations were often made in analyzing his work. Similarly, Bierce was primarily known for his literary fiction, poetry and philosophic essays. His journalistic contributions remained less known, although they can be offered as examples in several subgenres, such as the opinion article, the parliamentary chronicle or the media investigation.

In the case of Eminescu, the belated discovery and appraising of his journalistic prose can be explained by the fact that the communist totalitarian regime did not favor such accomplishments. Obviously, because they would have highlighted the struggle for civil rights and liberties and this would have been inconceivable in such a closed society. However, the situation is more unusual in the case of Bierce, who lived in "the free world", lacking totalitarian constraints. It is only in the past years that we are witnessing a subtle valuing of journalistic contributions in the case of Eminescu. One explanation for this could be the lack of a tradition in attaching importance to the editorial works of literary writers. Another could be the presupposed lack of "seriousness" of media writings, when compared to literature. And yet another could be pure negligence.

In the case of Bierce, what we are also witnessing is an untied perception of his work. Many important studies reference his activity as a journalist, but examples are only given from his literary writing. As we find from a source, "Bierce, Ambrose [Gwinett] (1842-1914?), born in Ohio, served in the Civil War and became a brilliant and bitter journalist in San Francisco" (Hart: 77). This

dictionary article presents solely his literary works! There is one brief mention of his editorial contributions, but not necessarily a relevant one: „In 1897 Bierce went to Washington as correspondent for the Hearst newspapers, and there he collected *The Cynic's Word Book* (1906), retitled *The Devil's Dictionary*” (Hart: 78). A more recent book, published by Cambridge, dedicates a shorter, yet more generous article to Bierce as journalist. His editorial activity is mentioned first, before his contributions as short story writer (Ousby: 85). Here we find that he first worked as a journalist for „Overland Monthly”, and then spent his professional maturity writing for several publications edited by Hearst and reached the peak of his career at the “San Francisco Examiner”. The article then makes several references to his literary contributions. The time during which he worked for the “Examiner”, and particularly the one in which he was its Washington correspondent, is both a central part of his career and the time when he was most preoccupied with investigating the hidden means used in the buyback of Central Pacific transcontinental railway with public funds.

As we can clearly notice, news journalism does not hold a prominent position in the history of literature. We find a relevant example in this concern in George Călinescu, one of the most important Romanian literary theoreticians, who wrote *The History of Romanian Literature from Its Origin to Today*. It is interesting to notice how the author – who made several references to the editorial contributions of various Romanian writers – only mentions briefly of Eminescu’s activity as journalist. He will, however, elaborate on the topic in his book *The Life of Mihai Eminescu*. Here is what he says: “After an argument with the head of the printing house, who wanted him to praise the mayor or to sign a declaration of this type, Eminescu left the publication of the orphan cows”. The expression should have been in inverted commas. It is the one by which Eminescu ironized „Curierul de Iași” (“The Iasi Courier”), a quasi-official newspaper published in Romania’s second city in terms of size, former capital of Moldavia. One should notice that the entire book suffers from such small traces of editorial negligence. He was eventually hired by “Timpul” (“The Time”), in Bucharest. Here he had cynical Caragiale and anxious Slavici as colleagues. At “Timpul” he began a series of articles against the Liberals, especially targeting the “bastardly” C.A. Rosetti in an admirable pamphlet, while at the same time developing an increasing irascibility” (Călinescu: 445). I. L. Caragiale and Ioan Slavici are two other Romanian classical writers. The fourth would be Ion Creangă. C. A. Rosetti was a strong Liberal leader, owner of a newspaper entitled „Românul”. The attacks of Eminescu, as well as Caragiale and Slavici, are somewhat explained by the fact that „Timpul” was a Conservative publication.

Recent works have paid more attention to Eminescu’s journalistic endeavors, but the main focus remains on his poetry or prose writings. A comprehensive study in English includes a presentation of Eminescu and a paragraph on his

activity in editorial offices: „In 1876, worked as a proof-reader and editor of the newspaper “Curierul de Iași” The following year, in a move that sealed his abiding reputation not only as poet but as journalist, he took o position as editor as the distinghuised journal “Timpul”. For the next six years, Eminescu was exceptionally productive, writing frequently for “Timpul” and seeing his poetry published in some of Romanian’s most highly acclaimed journals” (Zott: 285). Throughout the 85 pages covering Eminescu, references to his journalistic work are incidental. Factual journalism is avoided and references are only made to theoretical articles, usually related to other domains, such as sociology.

The best portrayal of Eminescu as journalist can be found in Monica Spiridon’s volume, which represents a fundamental resource in this concern. The author focuses on the type of discourse used by Eminescu in articles which approach current issues from the social and political life. She is mainly concerned with how Eminescu writes, less with what he writes about, and even less with his relationship with his public. She insists less on his dry, emotionless reports, even though they are filled with relevant information. This category of articles is the one in which we can include Eminescu’s series of journalistic investigations into the maneuvering that surrounded the buyback of the railways. The entire series was collected in a volume and can easily be accessed: Mihai Eminescu, *Economia națională (National Economy)*, Ed. Junimea, Iași, 1983, anthology, introductory study, notes and comments by Vasile C. Nechita.

The Central Pacific railway affair dating from 1897 is comprehensively described in a book by Daniel Lindley, which makes a clear reference – right from its title – to the writer and journalist who mainly chronicled the event: *Ambrose Bierce. Takes on railroad. The Journalist as Muckraker and Cynic*. The book also portrays Collin P. Huntington, his main adversary at the time, who is characterized as a “fierce millionaire”. From the very beginning we find that „[...] Huntington and his railroad represented new but not better times. They were to become for Bierce another in a series of disillusiones, not only for Bierce but for the nation” (Lindley: 3). One character that cannot be left out from the context is Bierce’s employer, Willian Randolph Hearst, who owned “San Francisco Examiner”. He was one of the first media moguls in history, a pioneer in making highly profitable business out of printing newspapers. His success was mainly due to how he managed to intimidate officials and businessmen, but also to how he embraced technological innovations and social changes in his époque. Yellow press extended into tabloidization in a time when this was almost a necessity. Millions of people commuted daily for a significant amount of time. Most of them were poorly educated and needed to occupy their commuting time with some type of easy reading: newspapers written in a highly accessible manner, including many photographs and not very high-minded subjects. Hearst was described as “a media mogul who acted his entire life as if he had no idea

what the word honesty meant” (Randall: 21). Despite what some critics think today, journalists do not always follow their employers in their deviations from ethics rules. Ambrose Bierce is the best example of a journalist who maintained his dignity, in opposition with Hearst and Huntington, but in agreement with the social values maintaining the citizens’ right to receive correct information.

Although Bierce’s fairness in reporting the Central Pacific case cannot be questioned, there were voices that did. Daniel Lindley makes an overview of the context. The main point of reference in this concern is Huntington, a well-known philanthropist, as well as others who chronicled the unreasonableness of the defamatory attacks Bierce was subjected to. Hence, it is important to clarify things.

The Strousberg affair, dating from 1878 to 1879 in Romania, was a complicated one, with many hidden aspects from the political and financial world of those times, from both Bucharest and Berlin. Everything started from the Romanian state’s desire to buy back the stocks of the company that built the Roman-București-Vârciorova railway. It was considered a question of national dignity to maintain control over this railway which covered almost the entire kingdom. It stretched on more than 900 kilometers, starting from Roman, near Bacău (South of Iași), going through Bucharest, the capital, and then through Oltenia, up to Vârciorova (close to Caransebeș), which at the time was a customs point leading to Austro-Hungary. A chronicler of that époque noted: “Another important question of the day: buying back the railways. Both the media and the opposition have stated their fierce criticism in this concern. Although everyone agrees it should be done, rumors say some Liberals are involved in a business with personal profits from this operation. And, indeed, on the Berlin market, the stocks surprisingly raised from 40 to 60!” (Bacalbașa: 57). One part of the aforementioned media was “Timpul”, the newspaper where Mihai Eminescu wrote his highly critical articles at the time. The Liberals were on power. They had decided to maintain secrecy in connection to the buyback intention and to gradually acquire stocks at low prices. But this initial intention was diverted by the undertakings of a few politicians from their own party who decided to gain personal profits from the situation. Hence, they bought a large number of stocks and this led to a considerable increase in their price. As C. Bacalbașa notes, “all of a sudden stocks went high and the state is forced to pay for their nominal value. What happened? Rumor has it, inside the opposition, that one of the ministries, as well as one governmental journalist, sent delegates to Berlin to buy as many railway stocks as they can, right after the Council of ministries made its decision. These delegates invested a lot on behalf of the two politicians, and this was quickly noticed on the Berlin market where stocks sky-rocketed” (Bacalbașa: 57).

Beyond such brief notes of the affair, Mihai Eminescu goes back to how it all began, as well as to a previous crisis, from 1872. Here's a short review of the context. In 1872, the United Principalities (Romania) were not an independent state, but one that depended formally on the Ottoman Empire. In order to reduce the effect of dependency on the Turks, local governments promoted policies that favored connections with countries which were better developed both from the point of view of civil liberties and from an economical perspective. The country maintained traditional relations with France and Great Britain, and signed commercial treaties – such as the one concerning the construction of the railways – as well as some secret agreements with Germany and Austro-Hungary. In 1879, Romania became an independent state and was eager to develop its industry and diversify its economy, thus stimulating local capital. This is the context in which the issue of buying back the Roman-Galați-Brăila-București-Pitești-Craiova-Vârciorova railways first appeared.

In his initial article on the topic, from Nov. 10 (22), 1879, Mihai Eminescu brought back to his readers' memory relevant events from 7-9 years back. At the time, the Strousberg Company (as lessee of the operation) was in the first phase of the construction and found itself out of funds and bankrupt. Up to that point, it had only built one part of the Roman-București section, and had not even started the one towards Vârciorova. The bankruptcy posed a significant danger on the actual existence of the Romanian state in those years (1870-1872). The latter was forced to "share the colossal damage caused by the disaster" (Eminescu: 148) with the German counterpart, in order to surpass the crisis. Another joint stock company would continue the railroad works. As the Romanian state guaranteed those stocks, investors of various sizes from Germany bought them, mainly attracted by the promise of receiving a profitable interest rate for up to 90 years, which would have meant up to 1956! However, the Bucharest government decided to invoke the clause that allowed it to buy back these stocks earlier, that is in 1879.

After extended presentations of minute economical details, the journalist Eminescu starts his 6th article on the theme, adding a comprehensive examination of debates taking place in the parliament and the Romanian society at large. At the end of 1879, several state officials, together with their financiers, immorally profit from the context and get rich in the detriment of the Romanian state. They manipulate the German stock market, generating sudden increases and decreases, using means that are unclear to outside viewers. Significant decreases in price are maneuvered so that hidden investors can buy cheaply and afterwards sell at a much higher price the stocks to the Romanian state, after the buyback law would be adopted! Several publications were involved in this maneuvering, including the newspaper „Românul” (“The Romanian”), which was owned by people from the governing party. Eminescu notes in an article published by an

opposition newspaper: "A large number of deputies are said to be involved in this stock market game. Since the financial operation proposed by the government came up on the agenda, the Romanian credit has had significant twists and turns. The railway stocks went up at first, but it was enough for „Românul" to publish a note saying all hope is lost, and they fell again. When this decrease began, many Romanian politicians are said to have bought stocks" (Eminescu: 184).

The scheme was clear. Businessmen, land or shop owners, people who held stocks at the first Romanian factories, as well as bankers and lawyers – all speculated this business as politicians: they or their close associates were part of the government or of the parliament. In fact, they were the ones who proposed the buyback law in the first place. Hence, not only did they have inside information, but also produced information and maneuvered the game in their favor. Fifteen years ahead, such a scheme would be attempted in the United States as well, but would not succeed. The operation was even simpler and its details were revealed by Bierce, thus raising a powerful reaction inside the American society. In Romania, however, despite criticisms from the part of some media outlets, including the one where Eminescu wrote, the business was sure to become successful, because the governing party had a comfortable majority in the parliament. When prices almost doubled, the Romanian state (represented by the same people) bought stocks. Romania lost, but the politicians got rich. Obviously, they had neither sufficient funds nor the intention to buy everything. They merely wanted a consistent fee. Moreover, the German state applied additional pressure for the prices to rise, so that the German stock holders – of which there were very many – would be satisfied. Many pressures of this kind were applied during those years. Here are some of the issues that should be noted in this case. Russia, to whom Romania granted support in the anti-ottoman war, took three districts from Basarabia in 1878, as part of a forced exchange with Dobrogea. In 1879, though Romania had won its independence through war, its new status was only recognized after it granted citizenship to foreigners, particularly to Jews. The German state threatened Romania with declaring the "Jewish question" as unsatisfactorily solved if the buyback of the Roman-Vârciorova railroad would not be completed. Moreover, Austro-Hungary pressured the formation of a Mixed Commission of Danube, that would grant it more decision power. The topic was protracted up to 1883, when it was dropped altogether as soon as Romania became part of the Triple Alliance – a military and economic organization made up of Germany, Austro-Hungary and Italy.

Brief details on Bierce's undertakings as journalist appear in a comprehensive history of American literature. It is here that we find his opinions about the offensive role that journalists should have in society. His life as journalist is summed up in only a few sentences, but they are insightful and significant. The description goes quickly through his early years in the profession and moves

on to how he covered the railway affair, which represented a peak in his career: "At the end of his military service, Bierce settled in San Francisco, becoming a prominent journalist and, for years, an unprominent writer" (Brooks, Lewis and Warren: 1626). Granting less importance to the fact that there are two distinct periods in Bierce's career as journalist in San Francisco, the text moves on to the Huntington case and the mogul's alleged attempt to make an acquisition. In 1897, Bierce had already gathered significant experience, and his sense of justice had not been tainted even though he worked for Hearst. The conclusion is, then, quite clear: „In the Gilded Age, who had once been, he declared, «sufficiently zealous for Freedom to be engaged in a four-year battle for its promotion»"(Brooks, Lewis and Warren: 1627).

How Bierce managed to prevent the Congress from paying Huntington 130 million dollars – a huge sum of money at the time – still remains a mystery. The mogul was supposed to return a credit he had taken for the construction of the Central Pacific railway, which was in his property. Huntington did not want to sell the railroad, but just to have his debt erased. Bierce had a few relevant sources through which he found about these careful maneuvers made by discreet and influential people. The mogul attempted to bribe the journalist in exchange for his silence, but did not succeed. A famous conversation took place on this topic on the stairs of the Capitol: "Huntingdon told Bierce to name his price, so Bierce did. In print. «My price is one hundred thirty million dollars, » he told Hearst's entire readership. «If, when you are ready to pay, I happen to be out of town, you may hand it over to my friend, the Treasurer of the United States.» The bill was defeated soon afterward" (Kiefaber).

It is important to notice that the involvement of these two writers / journalists in fundamental issues of their countries was made from a clearly defined professional stance. This required talent, as well as proper education and, most of all, individual research. We know that Eminescu studied at the University of Vienna and at that of Berlin. Here he attended courses held by professors with worldwide notoriety, including Rudolf Ihering in Roman Law and Lorenz Stein in Political Economy. What also brought value to his works was the tenacity with which he studied the social phenomena of his time. All these aspects were noticed by researchers and can function as a conclusion to Eminescu's short yet intense journalistic activity: "As remarked by Perpessicius and many other interpreters of his work, the ease with which Eminescu approached the labyrinth of economic theories and policies, both at a national and at a universal level, is not incidental and does not relate exclusively to his prodigiousness. What decisively shaped it was his perseverant and tenacious manner of doing scientific research. Without preconceptions and without interruptions, he did his own comprehensive research into the social and economic realities in which he was formed and lived" (Eminescu: 7).

Another important aspect to consider is that both writers / journalists had an opposing attitude toward the “invasion” of railways and trains throughout the world. They considered their effect as devastating and thought civilization has more to lose than to gain from their development. Nature would be profoundly disturbed, thought Eminescu, who also translated this idea into poetry. “As the iron road appears / All song fades away” („Și cum vin cu drum de fier/Toate cântecele pier”), says his poem *Doină*. In Bierce’s case, the skepticism on the topic is associated with the railways magnates, whose moral values were often doubtful. Moreover, Bierce’s position was most likely influenced by the Mussel Slough massacre from 1880, when farmers protesting against the spread of the railway were killed. The American journalist found himself in front of an intense dilemma at the time – should he opt for defending law enforcement or the farmers who protested illegally? (Lindley: 9).

In the end, however, perhaps Bierce’s undertakings were not entirely considered. He managed to prevent the buyback of the Central Pacific railway temporarily, but the bill had to be paid eventually, even if this would take more time. Lindley elaborates on the topic, citing other journalists that were contemporary to Bierce. Thus we find that the bill paid in the end by the American government would exceed by 70 million dollars the initial sum, as revealed by estimates of investigative journalist Charles Edward Russell from „Hamptom’s Magazine”! (Lindley: 7). Hence, the payment was only postponed and the bill increased. What mattered in the eyes of the public, however, was the state of frustration and dissent induced by the journalist, who declared himself overtly against the transaction. Hence, could we conclude that the Romanian parliament did better in a similar case? From this perspective, we can clearly see that the future development of the two cases did not legitimize the position of the two journalists, Eminescu and Bierce. Both supported the postponing of the payment. In the United States, this was put into practice, but the costs were high. In Romania, the costs were artificially driven up by the greed of the politicians who speculated stock market prices. Obviously, we also need to take into consideration the differences between the two sellers. In the American case it was a local investor, but in the Romanian one, stock holders were mostly German citizens. In the end, perhaps it matters less whether the two journalists were right or not. What counts more is their involvement, their ability to reveal big business, so the public can take knowledgeable decisions. A public that nowadays has access to much more information, but is also significantly more diverse.

One surprising aspect related to how researchers analyzed the works of Ambrose Bierce and Mihai Eminescu is that not only did they largely neglect the journalistic activity of the two, and showed interest in its investigation only a few decades ago, but they also denied, more or less directly, the inclination of the two toward factual and real details. Most of the research that has been

done refers to their imaginary universe. Both authors are seen as spectacular in poetry or prose, as well as in sententious works analyzed separately, such as *The Devil's Dictionary* by Bierce or Eminescu's large scale oeuvre. Paradoxically, the view upon the diversity found in both their imaginary worlds lacks references to other important areas of professional activity that the two were involved in, disregarding the hundreds of newspaper articles that they published.

One example of the reductionist manner in which the author's work is viewed can be found in the case of Peter B. High, who thinks „Ambrose Bierce (1842-1914) was one of the few important writers in late of a nineteenth-century America who was not a realist or naturalist. The struggles of ordinary people in the everyday life did not interest him” (High: 90). The description is inaccurate not only because it disregards his journalistic activity, but also important aspects of his prose. It is true that his writings relate to imaginary worlds and belong of the Romantic tradition, partly having Edgar Allan Poe as a source of inspiration: “Like Edgar Allan Poe, he loved to describe terrifying events and strange forms of death. His famous short stories about Civil War – in *Tales of Soldiers and Civilians* (1891) and *Can Such Things Be?* – are actually horror” (High: 90). However, characterizing the two series of short stories as “horror” is certainly an exaggeration. A careful reading and an in-depth analysis lead to a contrary conclusion. Moreover, although filled with permanent escapes from reality into imaginary, Bierce's fiction contains clear references to a space made up of real, non-fictional elements. In some texts, reality is burdening. In others, it is not frightening, but only consists of unexplainable and surprising situations. Oftentimes, they become mind games, but can also incline toward quality humor.

Eminescu's *The Death of Ioan Vestimie* (*Moartea lui Ioan Vestimie*) tells the uncanny story, filled with both real and imaginary details, of a character who ends up sitting at his own funeral. A regular clerk who finds himself reading his own obituary in the paper and who has love affairs at the border between reality and fiction. He becomes part of a world that is parallel to ours, functioning as an extension of reality. Starting from real details, Eminescu imagines a diegetic space, purely fictitious and self-sufficient, but conceived to mirror reality. Vestimie is a character that represents the typical clerk of the late 19th century. Like him, several other details are accurate in the story: coffee shops and newspapers are also real, only death is eternal. The character's adventure goes beyond the limits of reality and constantly wanders between three universes. The first is reality, the second is fiction – allowing the author to create a world within a world – and the third is a plunge into the adventures of the deceased and traveling character. The text within the text, the intertextuality, gains metaphysical concreteness. The meaning of the term here is the primary one: „beyond the physical world”.

I have replicated *The Death of Ioan Vestimie (Moartea lui Ioan Vestimie)* in an anthology (Szabo) that now serves the purpose of my analysis. The story begins by presenting the character as a modest man, highlighting one fact that raises attention: "People say he is a fine observant, though we're not sure if being able to observe has ever had anything to do with rheumatism combined with heart issues". The ability to detect things that most people cannot is presented more as a flaw than as a positive feature of Vestimie's personality. It is presented in connection to an illness – rheumatism and cardiac troubles. This concise manner of describing the character hints at an explanation for the future events in the story, including his newly gained, exceptional power of circulating between different worlds. Eminescu also gives other "scientific" explanations for the uncanny ability of the character. Some are put forward by the hero himself, while others are counterpointed by the narrator, revealing the author's ironic outlook: "His first idea (related to the fact that he forgot the name of a girl, a.n.) was that he was hit by partial aphasia or that he forgot a letter of the alphabet. The second was that he had a lump in his head, that was pressing his brain. Many other hypochondriac ideas followed in Ioan Vestimie's mind. Our view is, however, that he had closed too soon the heater's door and now had a headache."

At the coffee shop, he read the papers. While doing this in the evening of his extraordinary adventure, he felt his body become stiff and numb, then he raised, light as a feather, with no pain, and went to town. Next, he tried to read the papers but realized someone kept taking them away from his hands, without asking. In fact, most people did not even notice he was there. The coffee shop was a dedicated space of communication (hence, newspapers could not miss, especially since the radio and television had not been invented yet!), of sharing. But only specters seem to notice Vestimie's presence there: "What was striking was that people in the coffee shop took the newspapers out of his hands without asking. Most of them did not seem to notice him at all, except the ones with a fine paleness or with sunk eyes, who watched him and sighed. Why he found these people nice, he could not tell."

The midnight bell rings and, as in fairytales, the character suddenly feels disquiet. He leaves the coffee shop, but not before he has time to read in the paper an article announcing his death. We realize the writers from the gazette were rather quick, one thing that we do not usually see in practice: "We just found that Mr. Ioan Vestimie passed away today, at 7 PM, following a violent heart attack. We can only bemoan the premature death of a young man endowed not only with a strong and trustworthy character, but also with a keen sense of observation and rightful judgment". Thus, one can deduce that the hero was not a modest and anonymous person, as suggested in the beginning. However, by comparison to the science-fiction events that followed, his life seemed indeed banal! The adventures continue, without Vestimie noticing he has passed

in a different world. The story finishes without a definite conclusion. Anything can happen.

Although this is not the place for a debate regarding the juxtaposition between real and fictitious, it is important to mention that, at times, fiction can provide a better understanding of existential issues. There are researchers who have formulated this idea clearly: „From a position of lurking around the Gothic and baroque margins of ‘mirror’ works (and genres) in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the literary fantastic in its border sense, cross-fertilizing and evolving new form, has marched steadily towards the mainstream literature [...] it is increasingly itself becoming the dominant, as it continues to develop not only its dialogical, interrogative, open and unfinished styles of discourse but also a strong social, political and ethical thrust” (Cornwel: 211).

This arbitrary separation of genres has been noticed by another important researcher as well, who situated Ambrose Bierce at the edge of the realist-naturalist stream: „A similarly ironic view emerged in the work of the new generation that was to come suddenly and strongly to notice in the 1890s – the writers of populist and progressive realist-naturalism like Stephen Crane, Hamlin Garland, Frank Norris, Ambrose Bierce, Theodore Dreiser and Jack London” (Bradbury: 323). *A Horseman in the Sky*, P.B. High’s example, is far from being a proper horror story. It is a tragic one, indeed, because father and son are forced to fight and kill each other. But this was also Civil War reality. Such situations, very close in nature to the one described by the writer, were real. Friends fought friends and family members fought one another. The theme was also developed in Romania literature, following the First World War. The military conflict forced Romanian ethnics to become part of the Austro-Hungarian army and fight the Romanian army. Important Romanian writers were in this case, including Ioan Slavici and Liviu Rebreanu.

In the case of Bierce, such real, historical events can become the source for both a news story and a fictional story, following the Romantic canon. See, for example, the farmer’s uprising and the Mussel Slough massacre, connected to the building of the railway, despite strong local opposition. A work that documents Bierce’s role as journalist, albeit briefly, rightfully presents the author’s first volume of prose: „Bierce’s first story collection includes realistic and psychologically intense tales such as *A Horse in the sky* (the correct version is *A Horseman in the sky!*), *Chickamauga*, *The Middle Toe of the Right Foot*, and his most anthologized story, *An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge*” (Burt: 280). The story refers to a real and controversial historical episode: the Chickamauga battle, that took place between September 19 and 20, 1863. It resulted in the defeat of the Union troops and the block of their advance toward North-West Georgia and South-East Tennessee. This is another example of how Bierce makes use of his journalistic abilities, by selecting specific aspects regarding the withdrawal of the Unionist

forces. His prose combines real events with history in a story that becomes horror in the end – a personal drama seen through the eyes of a child.

A more recent encyclopedia (2003) shows an increased interest for Bierce's prose. However, it also provides little reference to the journalistic work of the author, suggesting this side of his work is less relevant. The conclusion to the article dedicated to Bierce can still be considered relevant for this study: „Nevertheless, the entire corpus of his writing, his journalism as well as his fiction, is rooted in a stark military morality tensed between tragedy and Stoicism. He saw man as fatally pitted from birth, Nature, and himself. Complaint and lament were futile. B.'s response was that man should be a good soldier and serve truth and justice with the best that was in him” (Serafin: 98).

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COMMUNICATION IN CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS

IOANA VID*

ABSTRACT. The activity of the organization can be perceived only in one way: through the act of communication, because every organization communicates with the public and its environment. Communication can be spontaneous, conscious or guided (done in an organized way). Each organization is “impregnated with values behind the technical rules which produce a distinct identity of each organization”, as stated by S. Selznick. The organizational culture is an attempt to penetrate into the experience, meaning, atmosphere, character or image of an organization. Throughout the paper, I will try to treat the concept of image gradually, starting with a uniform definition, continuing with the concept of social image, brand image, the role of the image in an organization, techniques and strategies to create, manage, promote and evaluate an image, the role of the communication between an institution and its audience, and the efficiency of internal communication within a cultural organization.

Keywords: communication, image, organizational culture, advertisement, theatre

The activity of the organization can be perceived only in one way: through the act of communication, because every organization communicates with the public and its environment. Communication can be spontaneous, conscious or guided (done in an organized way).

The images about the organizations arise as a result of the communication process that takes place within and beyond the organization; while the images are created, they impose the dominant character of the type of communication.

Their images in the extra-organizational environment, are due primarily because of the processes that are taking place within the organizations (processes of socialization, training, sedimentation and internalization of the organizational culture), but also because of the ways in which people and organizations receive and process information about these processes.

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“An image-building strategy includes the following elements: purpose and suggested items, the main components of the organization’s image, target audiences, the communication channel of the message in relation to the specific characteristics of the receiver, deadlines for completion of the planned activities, material resources that are needed to fulfill the task and the preparation and implementation of PR programs to implement the strategy for image creation”¹.

During the process of promoting the image of an organization, the following elements are used: advertisement, publicity, opinion leaders and techniques for creating events. All these elements aim to highlight the role and the activities of the organization, and the role of the members of the organization or the event.

Publicity - is an action which aims to strengthen the reputation of the organization. It helps to structure and strengthen the organization’s image through the major issues they highlight. It is a phenomenon of communication, as it seeks to maintain the public opinion by capturing the public’s goodwill, therefore the organization will be successful and credible. And it’s a social phenomenon because it isn’t addressed to a single target group, but to the entire population that wants to be always informed.

Advertisement - includes all the means and techniques which aim to immediately attract the attention of the consumers to a product or service, seeking to influence them to purchase and use the product or service.”² The main characteristics of an advertisement are: economic, purely commercial activities, regularizing the supply and demand, promoting research and development expenses. Advertising reinforces the brand image, individualizes products and services, makes them visible and distinct, and it reveals the perception of the general public or specialized public, giving notoriety and credibility to the product.

Opinion leaders - are part of the opinion makers and have an important role in filtering the information, orientating the perception and forming attitudes.” Their features are: they manifest interest on a particular matter; they are major consumers of the information conveyed by press; agree quickly to new ideas; influence the citizens because of their ability to organize and initiate group actions; are found at all levels of society; are perceived by the community as authorities in specific areas; they reflect strategic decisions and opinions of those on a higher stage of the power structure of the community.

Techniques for creating events - are based on their particular meaning, on the impact that they have in the social image formation and the determination of people’s major attitudes.”³

¹ <http://www.preferatele.com/docs/economie/8/gestionarea-imaginii12.php>, accesed December 2012.

² <http://www.preferatele.com/docs/economie/8/gestionarea-imaginii12.php>, accesed December 2012.

³ <http://www.preferatele.com/docs/economie/8/gestionarea-imaginii12.php>, accesed December 2012

For an accurate assessment of the organization's image, there are different methods:

- **studying the notoriety** - refers to the degree of familiarity that the public has with the organization;
- **institutional trust** - refers to the public's expectations, based on its reliable relationship between investors and recipients;
- **semantic differentiator** - is a method of measuring and analyzing the semantic connotations of the social concepts used by people in relationships or interactions;
- **overall assessment** - is a comprehensive method that considers the issue of consistency and image meaning (positive or negative). The overall picture of an organization may include: *the image of the population* from an area relevant to the organization, *the image of state institutions* and the parliamentary parties, *the image of extra parliamentary political parties and non-political organizations*, *media image*, *opinion leaders image* and *the self image of the organization*.

"For any relevant evaluation, it is necessary to analyze the social environment, which is generating a type of social image. This type of image must determine whether the images are affected by the lack of information (identifying the less known facts about the organization), of interest (knowledge status and the role of the people involved) or the difficulties of interpretation (investigating the possibilities of interpretation of various categories of citizens)."⁴

Implementing the communication, in a more correct way, using the picture codes will help improve relations between all members of the organization and contribute to their identification with the organization they belong.

There are certain rules to create a favorable environment for the contact with the targeted audience. The perception of the essential content of the communication depends, crucially, on the condition that triggers the receiver the first time.

- *The disagreeable effect* - may be caused by a message with a brutal, shocking, unattractive, incomprehensible, loud start. If the following message quickly drives this state it can count on a good perception, but if the intensity of the disagreeable effect is too high it can lead to a unconditional rejection of the rest of the message.

- *The interest effect*- involves a waiting reaction, but also a exploration reaction (the receiver "sinks into thoughts", wants to study, to consult, to inform further about the product).

- *The agreeable effect* - it involves the behavior of adhesion to the message, of undisguised pleasure. There is, however, a risk that the excessive concern to get a positive affect will be blocking the main content of the message.

⁴ <http://www.preferatele.com/docs/economie/8/gestionarea-imaginii12.php>, accesed December 2012.

▪ *The dissonance and consonance of the messages* - consonance is achieved when the message meets all the expectations of the receiver, but when the message does not match the value system of the receiver like what he thinks is right, good, fair, decent, moral the dissonance occurs.”⁵

The image analysis of the National Theatre “Mihai Eminescu” from Timișoara

“The Timișoara National Theatre entered the top cultural institutions in Romania by its great national and international visibility. Their initiatives were thoroughly supported in recent years by its principal credit officer, the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, which has always invested in the projects and the facilities of the institution. Timișoara National Theatre has, besides The Big Hall, three alternative rooms for spectacles (Hall 2, Hall 3 and Hall Fabric Studio “Utu Strugari”, all in historical buildings) and benefits of last generation technical equipment able to support the most pretentious art project. Also, by supporting large-scale theater projects, it became a reality that the investment of the Ministry of Culture and Heritage in the Timișoara National Theatre, resulted in European rumored performances, in artistic terms, evaluated with different selections in national and international festivals, peaking with the inclusion in the 2008-2009 season of The Odeon Theatre in Paris, and, as an institution, it had a powerful social impact by being awarded with the European Cultural Prize .Also, the recovery of historical buildings and turning them into theatrical spaces, launching the process of modernization and refunctionalisation of the Palace of Culture, and creating the most advanced production lines of theater in Romania, *The Decors Factory*, are the major projects of the Timișoara National Theatre under the financing of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage and the involvement of the Municipality of Timișoara and the Timișoara Local Council”⁶.

By creating this cultural and social infrastructure the Timișoara National Theatre targets a revival of the cultural citizenship in a society that needs such a parameter more than ever. Through the rich repertoire and the big names who worked on its stage, The TNT became a landmark in the local cultural life. This institution enjoys a high rate of participation from the population considering the cultural offer made available through the Romanian Drama Festival, all this creating a space to affirm the values of the Romanian dramaturgy.

⁵ Marcel N. Popescu, *Crearea și gestionarea imaginii organizațiilor*, Universitatea Ecologică din București, Facultatea de Științele Comunicării, p. 78-79.

⁶ http://www.artactmagazine.ro/teatrul_national_timisoara_restaureaza_istoria.html, accesat December 2012.

The Romanian dramaturgy competition

The National Theatre of Timișoara held annually The Romanian Drama Festival, FDR, the competition having as central objective the selection and promotion of original theater texts that have not been fitted in any artistic form. Three winning texts are chosen, which are then published in a volume edited by The Timișoara National Theatre and the text winner is fitted into play within one year after the designation.

As the team of the National Theatre explains, “The boundaries are there to be overcome. It is an act of courage to look at yourself and then walk on. In the 2010 edition, called “Plasticid”, we acknowledge the limitations of a normal and false existence. The 2011 edition of FEST-FDR came to meet the future: The Romanian Drama Festival has reviewed its position as the opinion leader and introduced into the equation the FEST (Festival of Performances European Timișoara). A new context in which to shape an identity, it’s not enough to make an exposition. The other self is born. Face to face. With Europe. With the world. With everything that the contemporary dramaturgy means for the universal theater.”⁷

In the edition of 2011, the jury FEST-FDR was composed exclusively of foreigners. Thus big names of worldwide theater, like Romana Malita (theater critic, Slovakia), Christian Papke (German director) or the famous Italian-Canadian actor Tony Nardi, decided the prize winner for “Best Performance in a Romanian contemporary text” and on the Prize “Ion Strugari” best Performance.⁸ An absolute novelty of this year was the “Off” section, which brought in Timișoara street artists from all over Europe and from the country. Throughout the Festival, Timișoara have had classical theater, dance, book launches, outdoor performances, workshops, performances and exhibitions reading”⁹.

“According to Maria Hausvater, the director of the event and The Timișoara National Theatre, the festival was institutionalized in 2007; the organizers hoping that after this, it will operate as a separate entity with a separate budget and its own team, who will consider opening the event to new drama festivals in other countries, especially to the ones neighboring Romania, and create a section “Off”, according to Mediafax”.¹⁰

⁷ <http://www.evz.ro/detalii/stiri/timisoara-capitala-dramaturgiei-romanesti-928712.html>, accessed January 2013.

⁸ <http://www.evz.ro/detalii/printeaza-articol/stiri/timisoara-capitala-dramaturgiei-romanesti-928712.html?cHash=e9386828434a5fb3541f0ca939d86929&type=1234>, accessed January 2013.

⁹ http://www.adevarul.ro/locale/timisoara/adevarul_de_seara_timisoara-Festivalul_Dramaturgiei-Festivalul_European_al_Spectacolului-Forced_Entertainment_0_478152723.html, accessed January 2013.

¹⁰ <http://www.9am.ro/stiri-revista-presei/Social/43448/Festivalul-de-Dramaturgie-de-la-Timisoara-inghite-3-miliarde-de-lei.html>, accessed January 2013.

The 2012 edition of the festival presented the theater directly related to topics of present, such as multiculturalism, ethnic diversity, active aging and intergenerational solidarity, not only with the performances but also through transnational workshops, the debates and the book launches. FEST-FDR2012 marked a national first - opening The Decors Factory, an initiative which represented a revolutionary idea, an alignment to the major operating systems of the European theaters and a starting point of a new industry – the theater industry.

The next edition will take place from May 11th to May 19th 2013.

Timișoara National Theatre - member of the European Theatre Convention

The European Theatre Convention (ETC) was founded in 1988 by three theatrical institutions from: Germany (Staatliche Schauspielbühnen Berlin), Belgium (Brussels National Theatre) and France (Comédie de Saint Etienne), in order to create a cooperation network and to facilitate the exchange of shows and artistic or technical staff, between the theaters, as well as to develop new forms of co-production in an intercultural context, all these for the benefit of the institutions, the theater professionals and the public.

“Since October 2010, Timișoara National Theatre is a member of the European Theatre Convention (ETC), an affiliation who places TNTm on the European cultural map. The decision will result in the artistic collaboration with European co-productions artistically, informally, educationally, and not the least social.”¹¹

One of the priorities of all the theaters members of The ETC is to work together and collaborate on joint projects. It is expected that The National Theatre of Timișoara will soon find the opportunity to develop ideas with other associated theaters. Each cooperation enriches the artistic, the technical and the administrative aspects of those theaters involved.

“With the 43 members, spread in 25 countries (France, Italy, Spain, Greece, Albania, Belgium, Finland, Great Britain, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Cyprus, Israel, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Lithuania, Turkey, etc.). The European Theatre Convention, has become the largest pan-European network of public theaters.”¹²

Timișoara National Theatre: Member of the Community Association of Timișoara - European Cultural Capital

The community association of Timișoara – The bid for the European Cultural Capital was established at the initiative of the board members of the National Theatre of Timișoara, The Timis County Council and The City Hall and it

¹¹ The magazine "Atent!", number 19, april 2011, page 7.

¹² <http://www.tion.ro/stiri/timis/articol/nationalul-timisorean-intr-o-retea-europeana-de-teatru/cn/news-20101122-12215595>, accesed January 2013.

was aiming to establish an initiative group to act in order to enter the city in the race for the title of European Capital of Culture. The legends of Timișoara will become a brand that will be promoted for the title of European Capital of Culture to be obtained after 2020, said the historian John Hațegan, a senior researcher at the Institute of Social Sciences "Titu Maiorescu" Romanian Academy - Timișoara Branch. "Timișoara has its legends, on which I work now and we'll them print in ten volumes of ten papers each. These will be as a brand to promote the city. In addition to this brands, Timișoara has the international festivals to be valorised, has the cultural heritage, has tradition, has cultural reality, has a body of guides and not the least has very good accommodation. Also, we have a great historical tradition; unfortunately, frequent wars have made much of the city's cultural heritage disappear" said Professor Hațegan. According to Hațegan to achieve this, all the people must learn to work together and leave pride aside.

"Those who assume this responsibility must begin working for the infrastructure, to sort out at least the buildings in the Old Town, to fix some of the 14,500 heritage buildings that the city has. Timișoara will be a tourist town when it is visited by the Japanese", he said. For his part, Professor Ioan Coriolan Gârboni, The Banat Philharmonic director, criticized a number of decisions taken at the central level.

"We notice a hostile attitude towards The Banat County, whether in Cluj they allocated money for roads, they took us The Banat Philharmonic Headquarters and The Summer Garden through an abusive Order. Therefore, we (Lyons clubs, The Local Council and The Prefecture) must have a unified stance to obtain the title of The European Cultural Capital" said the director of The Banat Philharmonic.¹³

"The meeting for creating the Association (to which there were invited representatives of public, administrative, cultural, educational institutions, as well as personalities of Timișoara) has one goal: unifying these forces around the concept of the European Cultural Capital, and at the same time, attracting the residents to this approach, which will become increasingly aware that such a desire is achievable only through the engagement of all the community. This way, Timișoara can meet all the eligibility criteria in order to submit a formal application: public support, strong management (a strong structure, independent of the politics, but supported by it), funds, schedule and communication" said Codruța Popov, the secretary of the National Theater of Timișoara.¹⁴

"Timișoara is city of the revolution, a city with a large number of medieval monuments, in which the citizens live their daily lives in a good and favorable climate. It is a modern city, a city across the beautiful Bega Canal, a city of flowers, with various parks, a multi-religious city, an example of ecumenism, a good example of how people should live together. Practically all the major religions

¹³ <http://www.administratie.ro/articol.php?id=36687>, accessed January 2013.

¹⁴ <http://www.evz.ro/detalii/stiri/cum-poate-timisoara-sa-ia-titlul-de-capitala-culturala-934327.html>, accessed January 2013.

that are found today in Europe, are found in Timișoara, each with representative churches. Timișoara has three theaters as separate institutions, in Romanian, Hungarian and German, a thing which is unique in Europe. We have strong enterprises, the main European concerns are present to Timișoara and there are four state universities and four private ones in Timișoara” said Sen. Nicolae Robu.

Concerned about the international visibility, The National Theatre of Timișoara was and is a partner in the international theatrical networks such as European Translation Workshop (until 2009), European Theatre Convention (from 2010), New European Theatre Action (from 2011) Intertext (from 2011) and promotes its work inviting theater managers and programmers from Europe in locating artistic events locally organized. These efforts have increased the interest of the European theater world and resulted in outstanding performances and important collaborations such as the inclusion of a production in the current season of The Odeon Theatre from Paris (2009); the presence in Timișoara of one of the most prominent figures of contemporary theater in Europe, Rodrigo Garcia, author and director of the Prohibited Pets (2010) and, not least; invitations from European festivals such as Festival Divadelna Nitra, Slovakia (2010, 2011), the International Theatre Festival in Poznan, Poland (2010), Ex Ponto Festival Ljubljana, Slovenia (2011), Festival Prospettiva Torino, Italy (2011), all of them being focused on the shows produced by the Timișoara National Theatre. Also, for the same purpose, it expanded its range of vision, now being in the process of acceding to important international organizations such as the Union of European Theatres and The European Festival Association.

Creating a favorable image is not a process that is done from one day to another, but it requires time and performance, in addition to the sustained efforts towards the promotion of the activities of the institution.

The logo

The logo is the most important aspect of the institution’s identity. Depending on the look of the logo and the colors, all the other elements are defined. A logo with a quality design is more easily remembered by the public, therefore, its importance is very high. The colors and shapes chosen have to be consistent with the message that the institution wishes to convey. Several variations of logo are created and in the final the version that best meets the requirements of the public is chosen.

“The logo may be made of one or more letters, an image, or a combination of these elements. A logo of a company must be clearly recognized and it must identify a characteristic of the entire institution. In the legal context, the logo is the trademark of an institution, a product, an organization, an event, etc... Typically, advertisers put some designers to create their logo.”¹⁵

¹⁵ <http://www.design19.ro/blog/web-design/importanta-unui-logo/>, accessed January 2013.

The logo should highlight the significance of the name or the business and to restore its reputation. This can be achieved by a graphic symbol and/or a chosen type of writing. For this the formula “KISS” – Keep It Short (and) Simple – should be applied.

A logo should represent an idea or purpose. Sometimes, it is good for a logo to have a complex character, while in other situations; simplicity of a logo may bring more popularity. The logo has a particular importance because it can be located anywhere: flyers, banners, television. Most often, the association between a product and its character is made by logo.

A successful logo helps the institution have a clean and professional image. The more clean and original the style is, the more likely it can generate more prestige for the institution.

There were many logos which at least in the last 20 years, had the mission to represent the National Theatre of Timișoara. In 2005, the new way (then) Timișoara National Theatre hasd was to focus on a stated and obvious attempt to create a clear identity, recognizable. In this regard, they launched a logo design contest for the new image for The National Theatre Timișoara. The present logo was chosen because it has represented the best the lines of the new management: hope, optimism, determination, communication, connection to spirit and to modernity. One difference from the previous logo is the change of vision in terms of the proportion: if the previous one suggested the idea of tradition and stability of the institution (the graph concept represented some columns), the current logo takes the proportion of a body, and suggests a winged figure - representing the institution as serving for the people.



Promoting the image of the Timișoara National Theatre

The Timișoara National Theatre SMS campaign started in 2009 and for a year, all who sent a message to a short telephone number, registered in the club theater, and they had some benefits: once registered in the database, each member received each week a message with the program of the shows that week and enjoyed various price reductions, in addition, all members could interact with each other.

The SMS campaign in 2009 was the first step towards direct contact with the audience of The Timișoara National Theatre and still remains, through the answer it had, extremely important. The public was informed - both through press releases and on the website, and even on a banner that was displayed on

the facade of the theater several months - that, sending a SMS to a number, will have certain benefits as a member of the club of The National Theatre: information (at the beginning of each month, the partners received a promo (up to 160 characters) on each show individually, so the day before each performance, subscribers received a sms with info about that show) discount prices etc...The National Theatre of Timișoara board members said they can not rely on a sociological study, but they think they are not wrong in saying that this was the trigger of a good relation with the public and this led to retain many viewers. Naturally, the next year they developed the newsletter. This system, combined with the launch of electronic ticketing purchase through "Eventim" resulted in doubling the number of viewers (especially in 2011), being the first cultural institution outside Bucharest, who took over the online sales system, tickets being released with a bar code. During the campaign, 400 people joined the theater club.

When asked if they consider the promotion campaign necessary, Codruța Popov said: "You ask me if I consider this campaign necessary. Yes, to the extent that a priority for the National Theatre of Timișoara is speaking directly and coming closer to the audience; as far as computer and mobile communication tools are more friendly than traditional ones (we do press releases frequently for example, but it turned out that press conferences are not effective, except in exceptional cases)."

The objective of this campaign was to attract a large number of members, especially among the young audience that is familiar with this system of communication.

Besides the campaign, there are other techniques/strategies for promoting the image of an institution such as posters announcing performances, program books accompanying the show, flyers with a monthly schedule and banners (common in banners displayed on the facade of the theater and at Hall 2 is the portrait - the viewer must be acquainted with the actors who will perform, to recognize, to be familiar with them at the entrance of the show), etc.. Timișoara National Theatre also publishes the magazine "Atent" ("Caution"), edited a catalog in English, accompanied by a DVD with pictures from shows, and other materials. Finally, although it may be an indirect promoting strategy, we can mention the theater courses for amateurs that attracted a large number of participants (over 270).

The magazine "Atent" ("Caution") is aimed primarily for the public and secondly for the theater people. The order is this, the interest is generally the opposite. It can be found at the entrance at the Great Hall and Hall 2 and will be available, based on a partnership with the group Librarium, at the library "Cartea de Nisip".

The banners are a very powerful promotional tool because they can be seen by many people. The productivity depends on where it's placed and its design. Firstly, the banner ad has to be memorable, secondly it has to transmit a message that can be retained easily. The better it is targeted, the more likely to take effect in time. These advertisements are designed: to attract new customers, to promote and sell service, to increase market share and to impose its services on the market.

One way of promotion which should not be missing to any institution is the website, in this case, we talk about www.tnTimișoara.com. There are three ways in which the public gets to that site directly: by typing the address; by following a link in an e-mail/electronic document; or by following a link from another site.

For promoting through a website to be effective, it must clearly answer some questions: what is the purpose that is intended by the site, what are the website goals short term and long term, the color scheme and layout must take into account the demographic and geographic aspects but also the image of the institution, establishing a person to communicate any changes in the shortest time. A website should contain photos, text, brochures, business cards, details and prices of products/services, organization history, interviews, etc.

Also an effective method of promoting is the social websites. Most of them allow you to create a free account. To have good results, however, it takes time to keep the content constantly updated. Timișoara National Theatre has a Facebook page through which it intends to be closer to theater lovers, to interact more easily, to inform the public of what's happening back in the institution.

To be successful, the advertising design must meet certain criteria: creativity (visual impact), uniqueness (differentiation and highlight), copywriting, experience (modeling and implementation in the form of the advertising concept).

The success or failure of an organization in reaching its objectives depends heavily on the intrapersonal relationships within the organization, and the relationship that the institution has with its audience. For a good cooperation between the organization and the public, consistent transparency is needed in the communication, transparency that many public organizations have "forgotten" to use.

The efforts to promote the institution quickly showed results, increasing the number of viewers in the last year considerably. The strategy used, the leadership of the National Theatre of Timișoara is based on more information gave to the public and transparency in working with it.

This success was possible because of a detailed study of the audience. For this, we must take into account the characteristics of the target audience; to know exactly what kind of audience you are talking to, their socio-demographic characteristics, their income, education, job, because according to these traits,

the one responsible for the communication to formulate the most appropriate message and the receiver (audience) to interpret the information received as desired by the transmitter. Also, the online world today is the most important engine of promoting institutions. The Internet is one of the most important ways of information and advertising. Therefore, those responsible of public relations department of the Timișoara National Theatre make the effort to continually update the information on its website www.tnTimișoara.com and Facebook page.

THE SALIENCE OF CRISIS IN ROMANIAN NEWS MEDIA

HANNA ORSOLYA VINCZE*

ABSTRACT.** This paper analyses the salience of crisis news in Romanian news media. It investigates the use of the term “crisis” in four major Romanian news outlets, looking at the weight of crisis news, as well as the various uses of the terms. In doing so, it aims to increase our understanding of how, in the past years, the media contributed to creating a generalized sense of crisis that went to encompass first the whole economy, then other areas of social and political life.

Keywords: Crisis news, Romanian news media, news frames

Introduction

In recent years it has become “common knowledge” that “we are in crisis”, that there is a global economic crisis encompassing all areas of life. This common knowledge we gained through the media, where word “crisis” has become not only a highly salient issue, but also an attribute that can be attached to virtually any noun, from “times of crisis” to “crisis weddings.” The global economic crisis with its various manifestations and mechanisms is a complex economic phenomenon not easily covered by news media, with its specific needs for story structures and newsworthiness. Nevertheless, the economic crisis has become a major media topic, and references to “the crisis” suggest that the reader possesses a common knowledge of the meaning of the word. This study sets out to understand how this “common knowledge” is constituted by looking at the use of the term “crisis” in Romanian news media.

Our analysis is part of a larger investigation, a research project analyzing the languages of crisis in Romanian news media. The main research question of the project is to understand how crisis became a generic frame of the news, which can be used to organize and make sense of the reality around us (Reese,

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2001, p. 7). The research aims to show how “crisis” is not only an issue designator, referring to a news topic, that of the economic crisis as a macroeconomic reality, but also an issue attribute, a qualifier used to frame other areas of the social, political, human realities from prices to party politics.

Research questions and methodology

The research is based on a constructed week sample drawn from online archives of two generalist Romanian dailies, *Adevarul* and *Romania Libera*, and two news portals, *Hotnews.ro* and *Ziare.com*. These outlets were chosen based on circulation and traffic data. According to the site of the Romanian Study of Audience and Internet Traffic, the sites *adevarul.ro*, *ziare.com*, *hotnews.ro* and *romanalibera.ro* registered at the time of the start of research, September 2011, the largest number of visitors among the sites of generalist or quality papers and news portals.¹

From these sites, a constructed week sample was drawn for each semester of the period ranging from the second half of 2008 to the end of 2011, resulting in seven constructed weeks for each news outlet. A constructed week refers to a sampling type when, for a given time period, a random date is chosen for each day of the week. In analyses of daily news, this time period is customarily six months, as methodological literature has shown that a constructed week sample for a six-month period results in a representative sample for daily news content, and addresses the problem of the daily variation of news, i.e. the fact that Friday news content is typically structured differently than the content on Tuesdays or Sundays: “One solution to the problem of systematic content variation on daily newspapers is stratified sampling that yields constructed weeks. Constructed week samples involve identifying all Mondays, and randomly selecting one Monday, then identifying all Tuesdays, and randomly selecting one Tuesday, etc., to “construct” a week that ensures that each source of cyclic variation – each day of the week – is represented equally” (Lacy, Riffe, Stoddard, Martin & Chang, 2001, p. 837).

In terms of salience, this paper looks at two main dimensions of crisis as an issue and an issue attribute: the attention given to crisis, operationalised as the development in time of the number of crisis-related articles, and the prominence of the term in the articles, i.e. occurrences in article titles or leads. This approach to salience is more limited than the one generally used in agenda setting studies, where attention refers to the number of news items in a given time period, while prominence refers to the placement of the articles in the structure of the news outlet (Lim, 2010, p. 294). Given the structure of the data gathered for this research we shall focus, with regard to the second

¹ <http://www.brat.ro/sati/>, accessed 1 September 2011.

dimension, to the use of the term in the structure of news items, i.e. on the location of the reference to crisis in individual articles. As the larger project coded in content analysis various structural and thematic features of the news, we shall also investigate some co-occurrences of crisis word usage with such variables. Combining these quantitative measures with a qualitative focus, we shall also look at the usage of the term, and discuss the crisis as a discursive construct.

Crisis as issue: The weight of crisis news

Articles were sampled based on the occurrence of the term crisis and its lemmata, i.e. its inflections forms (Koenig, 2004). Occurrences of the term which made reference to crises other than the economic one, for example heart attacks, nervous fits or diplomatic crises were excluded. The total number of articles in the sample was 1567. Of these articles, a new set was created with the aid of a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software, in which the term occurred in the title, lead, for items without a lead, the first paragraph. The articles in this smaller sample of 592 articles will be referred to in the following as the “crisis news.” These are the items in which the economic crisis appears as most salient, as they make reference to the economic crisis in title or lead, i.e. in locations summarizing the story and driving the reader's attention. Figure 1 summarizes the evolution in time of the total number of articles sampled as well as that of the crisis news. It shows that in the period investigated, 2008-2011, the topic was the most salient in the first half of 2009, and then gradually lost its appeal until 2011, when the focus on the credit crunch gave way to the topic of the eurozone sovereign debt crisis.

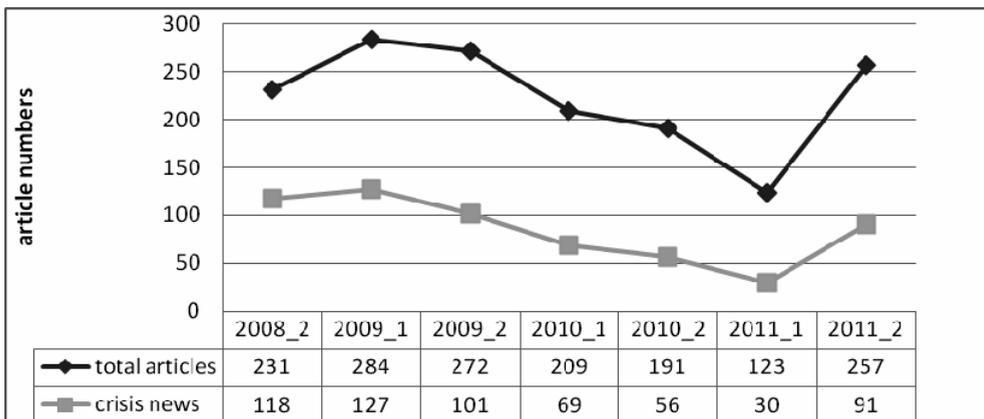


Figure 1. The evolution of the number of crisis news

Previous research in the field, looking at the presence of the term in the titles of articles in the generalist, specialist and tabloid press, in *Cotidianul*, *Jurnalul Național*, *Evenimentul Zilei*, *Gândul*, *Capital*, *Săptămâna Financiară*, *Ziarul Financiar*, *Új Magyar Szó* and *Krónika* in the period 2008-2009 also found that in these news outlets, as well, the prominence of crisis in the news gradually increased throughout 2008, becoming more emphatic from October-November 2008 (Abrudan, 2010, pp. 123-161).

If we look at the relative weight of articles using the term crisis in the title or lead among all the articles sampled for making reference to the economic crisis, we find that the crisis was more salient as a topic on *Hotnews.ro*, where 47% of all articles sampled used the term in the title or lead, and *Romania Libera*, where 40% did the same. Next came *ziare.com* with 35% and *Adevarul* with 30%.

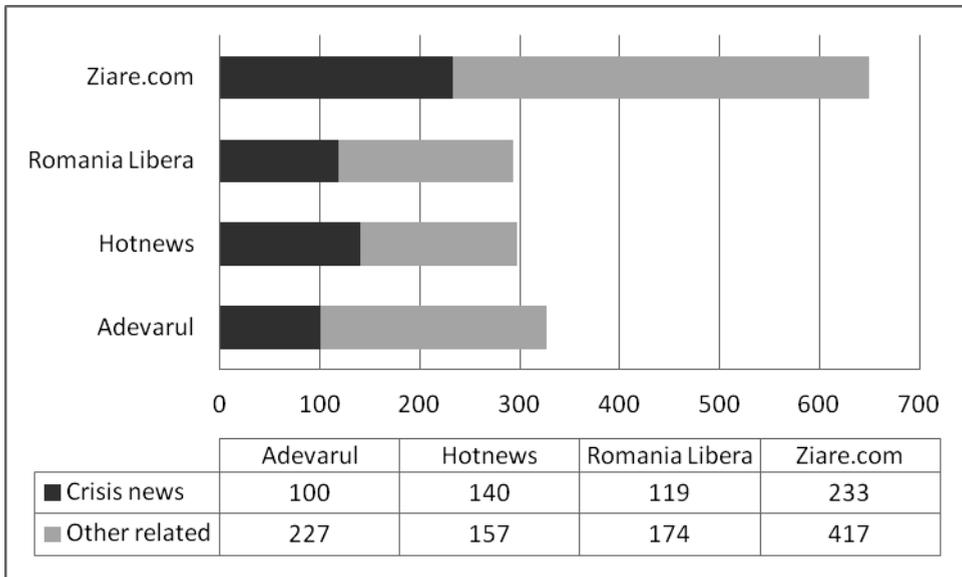


Figure 2. Crisis news article numbers by news outlet

Both *Hotnews.ro* and *Romania Libera* are characterized by a strong coverage of political and economic news in general (Mogos, 2011), and their coverage of the crisis reinforced this profile. Looking at the distribution of crisis news by domains in the various news outlets (table 1), we also note that *Adevarul* stands out by the fact that here, the sphere of work and social life had the strongest coverage. In crisis news, the domain of business and banking was covered most extensively by *ziare.com*.

Table 1. Distribution of crisis news by domains and news outlets, 2008-2009

	Adevarul	Hotnews	Romania Libera	Ziare.com
DOMAIN: arts / sports / leisure / media	11,94%	9,57%	1,72%	7,86%
DOMAIN: business and banking	28,36%	28,72%	20,69%	35,71%
DOMAIN: politics and government	14,93%	36,17%	29,31%	26,43%
DOMAIN: public finances	14,93%	13,83%	27,59%	12,14%
DOMAIN: social / work	29,85%	11,70%	20,69%	17,86%
TOTALS:	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Crisis as discourse: the use of the term

The global economic crisis became a salient topic in Romanian news media in fall 2008. In October 2008 government and National Bank officials were frequently quoted claiming that the country was not and will not be directly affected by the financial crisis.² In November 2008 we still find items referring to an “apparent” or “alleged” credit crunch, which, moreover, is not necessarily a bad thing, as it may lead to better terms for depositing economies.³ The argument that that Romanian population was in a drive of overconsumption, and hence a credit crunch may help “cool down” the economy, recurred as one of the possible positive effects of the economic developments.⁴ The skeptical vein of the Romanian crisis discourses also referred to the economic developments as a “psychological crisis” or “popular hysteria:”

Until fall last year, for the majority of Romanians, the terms “crisis” and “economic crisis” represented something exotic. We have all heard something of the economic collapse of the USA, but how can one talk of crisis in Romania, when the GDP was growing with more than 9%? But then October came, and things suddenly got out of control, all the media started to write only about the crisis, and the result was that the population entered a state of panic.⁵

² "Mugur Isarescu: Criza financiara nu afecteaza in mod direct Romania. Exista insa efecte indirecte ce ar putea aparea". Hotnews.ro, 14 October 2008.

³ "Aparenta criza de lichiditati care caracterizeaza in ultimele luni mediul bancar din Romania nu este neaparat un lucru rau. In fapt, odata cu declansarea crizei, sistemul bancar autohton a trecut prin transformari fara precedent care nu pot decat sa avantajeze clientul. Mai ales deponentii. Partea frumoasă a crizei financiare". ("Partea frumoasă a crizei financiare", Ziare.com, 27 November 2008)

⁴ "Grecia 1999: Tarani, ciobani, soferi de taxi si-au parasit locurile de munca si au devenit brokeri. Romania 2008: O senzatie de deja-vu?". Hotnews.ro, 6 August 2008.

⁵ Cristian Orgonas, "Criza economica - isteria populara incepe sa se potoleasca", Hotnews.ro, 5 July 2009.

The above cited narrative of the development of the crisis media coverage argues that in the crisis went from a localized and specific phenomenon to a more undefined sense of crisis with increased media coverage. This “sense of crisis”, which the author of the above reflection perceives, can be grasped more specifically if we look at the changes in the way the term crisis was used.

Our content analysis coded the use of the term as CWU (crisis word use) defined or undefined. The code CWU: undefined refers to occurrences of the term without any further specification of the type of crisis involved: “Bus passes, welcome gifts in crisis,”⁶ “The crisis and the tax might shrink the car market to half its size”⁷, “Experts of the rating agency believe that a more prudent fiscal policy is necessary to avoid the effects of crisis”⁸, “The crisis reminded men that money is nothing more than pieces of plastic or paper.”⁹ In passages like this, the meaning of the term is taken for granted, without needing any further specification, as it is part of “common knowledge.”

By contrast, the code CWU: defined refers to the use of the term with qualifiers that indicate the type of crisis involved. The main such types of crisis which occurred in our sample more than ten times, were the “economic crisis”, the “financial crisis”, the “sovereign debt crisis”, the “eurozone crisis”, the “credit crisis”, the “energy / fuel crisis”, the “housing crisis”, the “budget crisis”, the “banking crisis”, which make up 90% of the expressions coded as CWU: qualified. There were several other qualifiers that occurred in our sample that did not directly refer to the specifics of the global economic crisis. Thus, the news media also talked about “political crisis” or “crisis of political leadership”, “crisis of democracy”, “crisis of government”, “crisis of culture”, “crisis of education”, “moral crisis”, “crisis of health system”, “crisis of personnel”, “social crisis”, “crisis of capitalism”, “crisis of ideas”, “crisis of the EU”, “crisis of trust”, “employment crisis”, “consumption crisis”, “crisis of globalisation”, “crisis of the left”, “crisis of the world order.” These expressions do not illustrate the full spectrum of the use of the term crisis in contemporary Romanian news media, as our sample only included articles in which the terms crisis was used at least once with reference to the global economic crisis. However, these expressions signal that in texts discussing the economic crisis, the reference of the term was widening to encompass other spheres of life as well. Sometimes, journalists themselves reflected on the widening use of the term, eg. accusing politicians of conflating the economic and constitutional crisis.¹⁰ On other occasions, crises in other fields like that of culture were presented as manifestations of the “global crisis.”¹¹

⁶ Ionuț Oprea, “Abonamentul de autobuz, cadou bun în criză”.

⁷ Vlad Barza, “Pesimism in industria auto: 100.000 de oameni isi pot pierde locurile de munca”, Hotnews.ro, 14 January 2009.

⁸ “Fitch reduce ratingul Romaniei”, *Romania Libera*, 10 November 2008.

⁹ Alexandra Sandru, “Diamantul, cel mai bun prieten al investitorilor?”, *Ziare.com*, 28 August 2011.

¹⁰ Dan Tapalaga, “Ce aflam din prima criza a guvernului anti-criza”, *Hotnews.ro*, 15 December 2008.

¹¹ Nicolae Prelipceanu, “Criza in cultura”, *Romania Libera*, 11 November 2008.

A third type of the use of the term was represented by expressions in which the term crisis itself became a qualifier, which means it went from being an issue reported on to being an issue attribute, a qualifier of other issuer or topics. The main expressions in which “crisis” was used as a qualifier were temporal ones. The expressions “crisis period”, “time of crises”, “years of crisis” make up more than 80% of the cases. Thus, crisis has become the attribute of our times, a period designator. The other expressions in which crisis is an attribute also signal an expansion of the sphere of application of the term. News media talked about “crisis prices” or “crisis offers”, “crisis governments”, “crisis budgets”, “crisis editions”, “crisis weddings”, “crisis stories”, “crisis gifts”, “crisis clients”, “crisis ideas”, “crisis Easter”, “crisis products.”

Looking at the development in time of crisis word usage, we note that at first, in the second half of 2008, the term was predominantly used with qualifiers, i.e. the media talked about specific types of crisis, or crisis as a more specific issue. Soon, however, this usage was surpassed by the unqualified use of the term. As the crisis became “a fact of life”, it apparently did not need any further explanation. The term was also increasingly used as a qualifier: the relative weight of this usage among all occurrences increased from 6% in 2008 to 11% in 2009 and 12% in 2010, although it fell back to 7,4% in 2011.

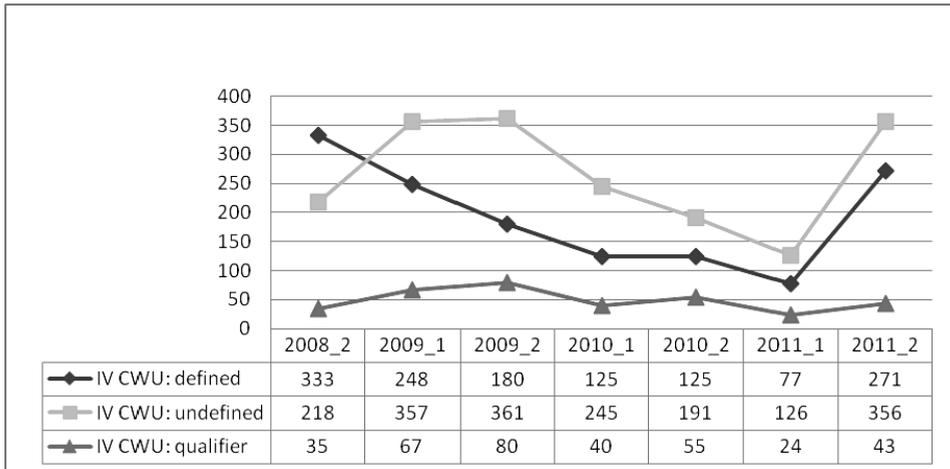


Figure 3. *The evolution of crisis word use frequency*

As concerns the crisis word usage of the four news outlets analyzed, we found small differences between news outlets. Figure 4 summarizes the distribution of the different types of crisis word use by each news outlet. Undefined uses of the terms, i.e. references to “the crisis” in general, as a given the essence of which is common knowledge, was equally characteristic of all

four outlets, with the code CWU: undefined registering values slightly above 50% in all four sources. The defined use of the term varied more, being more characteristic of Hotnews.ro (42%) and less frequent on Adevarul and Romania Libera (35%). Adevarul also used crisis as a qualifier more frequently than the other outlets (13% of all occurrences, as opposed to 7% on Hotnews.ro.) Overall then, the crisis appeared as a more specific phenomenon on Hotnews.ro, and more overarching on Adevarul and Romania Libera.

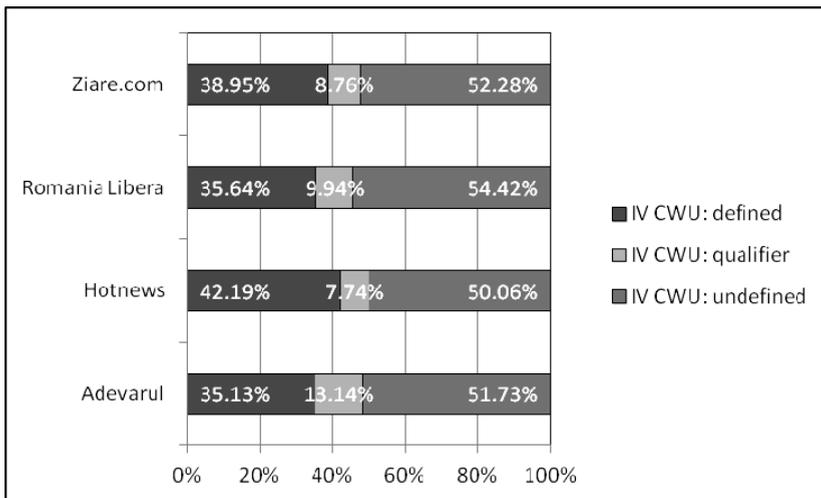


Figure 4. The distribution of CWU types by news outlet

Finally, the defined or undefined use of the term, and the use of crisis as a qualifier or issue attribute was distributed differently between local and foreign news. Thus, in 2009, when the highest crisis word use frequencies were recorded, the undefined use of the term was primarily characteristic of local news, with more than 60% of such usage occurring in articles from Romania, followed by items with an undefined or global location. The use of crisis as a qualifier or issue attribute was even more emphatically so, with 71% of such usage occurring in Romanian news. The defined use of the term, or references to specific types or forms of crisis in its turn was, on the contrary, used more often in foreign news, primarily in news from the European Union (Table 1). This means that the generalized sense of crisis, which references to “the crisis” as something overarching, or to our times as “times of crisis” was primarily associated with Romania.

Journalists as well as other agents also reflected on the use of the term. Church leaders for example claimed that the “economic crisis” was in fact a euphemism for local and global poverty.¹² Editorialists commented on the

¹² Ioana Oros, “Bartolomeu: Să ajutăm săracii în fiecare zi!”, Adevarul, 20 December 2008.

uses and abuses of the term by politicians, writing of a leader that “he puts the word crisis in each sentence uttered, placing Romania in his mind on a verge of a large imaginary abyss,”¹³ or noting that the crisis was but a pretext for budget cuts in the field of culture dictated in fact by political antipathies.¹⁴ Politicians’ “declarations of crisis” in support of financial measures were described as dictated by electoral agendas.¹⁵ A private individuals interviewed for a piece on the start of the school year was quoted saying that “This year, all evil seems to have surfaced. In fact, it is not the crisis. It is this country, where the damage is ours, and the benefits are theirs, the politicians’.”¹⁶ Apart from the fact that most such reflected or metalinguistic use of the term occurred in domestic use, we also noted that the reflected use of the term was primarily characteristic of Romania Libera, a newspaper characterized by a strong presence of analyses and commentaries, as well as a strong editorialising, even in economic analyses or news pieces (Mogos, 2011).

Table 2. Frequencies of crisis word use types in article titles / leads by locations in 2009

	ATL / CWU: defined		ATL / CWU: undefined		ATL / CWU: qualifier	
LOCATION: Romania	52	47,71%	97	60,25%	25	71,43%
LOCATION: the EU or EU country	28	25,69%	21	13,04%	5	14,29%
LOCATION: other country	4	3,67%	3	1,86%	0	0,00%
LOCATION: undefined / global	16	14,68%	31	19,25%	4	11,43%
LOCATION: US	9	8,26%	9	5,59%	1	2,86%
	109	100,00%	161	100,00%	35	100,00%

Conclusions

News of crisis became a salient topic of Romanian news media in fall 2008. The number of articles making reference to the global economic crisis peaking in the first half of 2009, than slowly decreasing until the second half of 2011, when the sovereign debt crisis was again covered by a larger number of articles.

¹³ Simona Popescu, "Barack(a) Geoana si capitalismu de stanga", Romania Libera, 10 November 2008.

¹⁴ Nicolae Prelipceanu, "Criza in cultura", Romania Libera, 11 november 2008.

¹⁵ Andreea Nicolae, "Politicienii nu vad criza de campania electorala", Romania Libera, 17 Aprilie 2009.

¹⁶ Andrei Luca Popescu, "Anul scolar, intampinat cu o singura speranta: bursele in strainatate", Romania Libera, 15 September 2009.

Crisis as a topic appeared as more salient on Hotnews.ro and Romania Libera, which tended to use the term more in article titles or leads. These news outlets are both characterised by a strong coverage of economic issues, and their coverage of crisis news reinforced this profile. The issue of the global economic crisis appeared in items pertaining to various spheres of life. Adevarul stood out by a strong emphasis on the social and work sphere, while ziare.com covered extensively the domain of business and banking.

With the increase of the number of crisis news in 2009, the usage of the term also changed. While at first, the phenomenon appeared as something specific and localised, and was referred to by qualified structures like “the economic crisis”, “the financial crisis”, “the credit crisis” etc., soon the unqualified use of the term became more frequent, indicating that “the crisis” became a term the meaning of which became taken for granted. At the same time, the term itself became a qualifier, predominantly for designating our times as a “crisis period” or “times of crisis”. The unqualified use of the term, as well as the use of crisis as an attribute was predominantly characteristic of domestic news, and journalists reflected on, and sometimes disputed the use of the term, signalling an awareness of the term becoming a frame that organises our reality.

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POLITICAL LANGUAGE AS POLITICAL MANIFESTATION

OCTAVIA RALUCA ZGLOBIU*

ABSTRACT. By definition, political language is the type of language that provokes or determines attitudes, instigates to action and serves, by all means, the intention of the emitter. According to the impact it has upon the receiver and its style, structure and content, Șerban Mitrea (2006) proposes the following categories of political language: ideological, propagandistic and indoctrination political language.

Keywords: political language, political manifestation, ideological language, propagandistic language, indoctrination political language.

Political language is the carrier of ideology and it also becomes the support of propaganda through its effects upon society. This type of specialized language performs a series of specific functions: communication and socializing (informing, educating, provoking awareness, consolidating public opinion, or shaping positive attitudes towards certain political factors), inducement, mobilization, legitimization (of governments or political parties, political institutions and their adjudications) (Șerban: 2006). In doing so, political language establishes a relation of communication between governors and abiders – the essential relation whenever targeting “power”- and fosters the adherence of governors to different political parties. By definition, political language is the type of language that provokes or determines attitudes, instigates to action and serves, by all means, the intention of the emitter. **According to the impact it has upon the receiver and its style, structure and content**, Șerban Mitrea (2006) proposes the following categories of political language: ideological, propagandistic and indoctrination political language.

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1. Ideological Political Language

The “ideological”¹ cue is present in almost any type of political discourse, of course, the difference relies in the “concentration” of ideological items that build up each and every type of political discourse. Except for informative materials, parliamentary or presidential reports, almost all political language carries ideological or propagandistic hues at greater or lesser degrees. What characterizes ideological political language is:

- It is a vehicle for elaborated messages.
- It tries to sustain positions or particular interests.
- It attempts to gain the adhesion of the audience.
- It is always defined according to its political context.
- It is the language of dissimulation².
- It uses (and sometimes abuses) the instigation function.
- It uses the poetic and contact function.
- It appears as the “fingerprint” of the political group that uses it.
- It is packaged within mentalities (sustainable mentalities, often invisible, but always present).
- It profoundly affects the “map plotting” into reality of the ideological principles.
- It delimitates the essence of the nature of the political orientation it represents (e.g. The differences between the left-wing powers of the world: German communism, Russian communism, Chinese communism or Cuban communism – they all abide by the same ideological system structure but differ in appliance, representation and transformation patterns).
- It is directly linked to the party functions³ and at the same time it constitutes the base support for all these functions (consolidating the inner structure of the party).

¹ Etymology: the notion “ideology” comes from the Greek word “eidōs” (image) and “logos” (science). The modern term “ideology” was introduced in political literature by Destutt de Tracy (1796) who considered it to be “the science about the ideas”. There are 6 types of ideology in political science: conservatory political ideologies (e.g. Great religious ideologies: Buddhism), revolutionary political ideologies (e.g. liberalist ideology: 1848 revolution), reformist political ideologies (e.g. social-democracy), extremist political ideologies (e.g. fascism, communism), elitist political ideologies (e.g. modern elitism: Max Weber, in Romania: legionary movement) and fundamentalist political ideologies (e.g. terrorism: Afghanistan).

² O. Reboul in *Language and Ideology* discusses the difference between “ideological processes” (what everybody believes without necessarily thinking) and “ideological methods” (used consciously by their authors), ideological language subsides to the latter category.

³ There are 6 main functions of a party: 1. Political ideas representation, 2. Facilitation of political members’ socialization, 3. Member system binding, 4. Political activists’ mobilization and enlistment, 5. Governmental options coordination, 6. Opposition role.

As an example of Romanian ideological discourse, let us take a look at the following extract from a speech held by Ion Iliescu, president of the Social-Democrat Party:

“Ca partid social-democrat, deși am acceptat atât economia de piață care trebuie, în viziunea noastră, să fie una socială, cât și capitalismul ca un dat obiectiv, nu putem să nu ne delimităm și să nu criticăm efectele lor negative. Criza financiară globală este rezultatul direct al exceselor capitalismului financiar care nu are în stat o contraputere credibilă și necesară, iar prețul eșecurilor sale, ale statului, este suportat de cetățeni....

PSD trebuie să se prezinte în această bătălie politică așa cum este și mai ales cum trebuie să fie. **Un partid cu o puternică identitate de centru stânga**, social-democrat, are se înfruntă cu partide de dreapta și centru dreapta. Fără îndoială că aceste alegeri vor constitui o bătălie dură și cred că sunteți dumneavoastră candidați suficient de lucizi să admiteți că nu toți veți putea fi învingători. Dar fiecare vot contează și sunt sigur că vă veți bate pentru a obține cât mai multe voturi acolo unde candidați. **Este o bătălie politică pe care trebuie să o purtați și aveți de partea dumneavoastră nevoia de dreptate și de justiție socială a cetățenilor țării noastre.”**

The extract presents some of the main characteristics of the ideological political discourse:

- Elaborated message: the speech contains key elements which instigate to a *political battle*; the number of votes issue is wrapped up in ideological statements. The greater the number of votes gained, the easier it is to access Power.
- Position/particular interests: *our members /our votes/ our power*.
- Defined according to political context: parliamentary voting session campaign.
- Language of dissimulation: *global crisis concept* (as a general phenomena) linked to inner state problems (specific phenomena).
- Fingerprint of the political group: syntagms such as “as a social-democrat party”, “a party with a strong identity”.
- Party functions: sustains political ideas representation function, member system binding function and governmental options coordination.
- Speaker: the honorific president of the party (induces psychological security and assures supremacy in ideological ideas).

2. Propagandistic Political Language

Șerban Mitrea (2006) defines propagandistic political language as that political language which serves the instigative function adapting itself to the audience, to its sensitivity and its ways of expressing through language. The

most predominant feature of our political stage, for example, is the constant competition among propagandistic styles of different political languages.

Imitating the language of the receiver, propagandistic political language aims at blocking the critical attitude of the audience in order to attain adhesion or complete silence (complete silence ensures later adhesion).

The instances of its use may range from delivering a party speech for future sustainable political development to cases of electoral promoting speeches.

Among the features that define propagandistic political language, would be:

→Relies essentially on the instigative function.

→Adapts its content and style so as to fit the linguistic level of the audience.

→Imitates the conceptual patterns of the receiver in order to make persuasion effective.

→Leaves no space for maneuvering on the part of the receiver.

→Produces persuasive semnification for the easirer assimilation of initial non-semantic contents (Lindekers: 1985).

→Directly linked to the party functions.

→Tries to achieve consensus.

→Uses persuasion, negotiation and reinforcement for the final decision.

→Its overall target is to gain legitimization of power.

→Attains the effect of competence through ferm articulation, coherent (intelligible) presentation of facts, events and situations (the use of credibility parameters).

As an example of such a type of propagandistic political language, the following extract⁴ may serve as a reference point:

„În România mea, fiecare cetățean este protejat de lege și își poate împlini propriile visuri. (...) **În România mea**, statul cheltuie banii în mod transparent și nu uită nicio clipă că aceștia sunt banii voștri. (...) **În România mea**, niciun cetățean nu este ignorat, furat sau batjocorit. (...) **În România mea**, banii publici ajung acolo unde trebuie: spitale, școli, drumuri și nu în buzunarele unora sau altora. **În România mea**, politica nu este dominată de ură. **În România mea**, puterea adevărată este a cetățeanului obișnuit, a comunității. (...) **În România mea**, nimeni nu are dreptul să-i umilească pe românii care își cer drepturile câștigate cinstit prin muncă, fiindcă statul le este dator lor. Și nu invers! **În România mea**, nu ajungi la putere ca să te răzbuni și ca să te îmbogățești. **În România mea**, toți suntem egali în fața legii, iar justiția e independentă. (...) **În România noastră** statul funcționează în așa fel încât să-i fie bine chiar și celui mai amărât cetățean.”

⁴ The extract is taken from the electoral speech of the independent candidate to the presidency Sorin Oprescu, the 5th of October, 2009.

The extract presents some of the main characteristics of the propagandistic political discourse:

- Instigative function: the citizens are “bombed” at the emotional level through the repetitive use of the syntagm “In Romania mea”, (“In my Romania”)
- Adjusts itself to the linguistic pattern of the audience, in this case, possible voters.
- Persuasion technique operates at all levels: emphatic, structural, linguistic.
- Leaves no traceable space for interpretation or feedback from the part of the audience: combination of the sentences (declaratives) and style (rhetoric discourse).
- Non-semantic units, e.g. “Romania mea”, receives persuasive semantic cargo when chained into the discursive mask, e.g. “Romania noastra”.
- Serves two of the political party functions: political ideas representation and political members’ activation and enlistment.
- Achieves consensus striking the right emotional chord: the current difficulties met in a relative young democratic country and accusing the chaos provoked by the previous political changes.
- Reinforcement: The final mechanism of closure – “In Romania noastra”.
- Legitimization of power: goes on the structure „VRP” – „VOTE me, I will REPRESENT you, as soon as I accede to POWER”.
- Facts, events and situations presented: cut off immediate reality, clear, transparent utterances, comprehension achieved through simplicity.

3. Indoctrination Political Language

One of the most well-known types of political language, especially in Eastern Europe during the totalitarian regimes, indoctrination political language presents itself as a language with a „strong impact” upon the audience. Mitrea Șerban (2006) defines it as being the language which “thinks small beer” of its audience and definitely abuses the instigation function. It usually imposes itself as “the official language” and ignores the ideologizing processes which take place in society, it even avoids them, considering them to be a threat to its efficiency. Indoctrination political language uses the trick of “pantomimic reaction” of adhesion, or even “complete silence”, which leads to the famous communist “tacit disagreement”.

This type of political language is closely linked to the political doctrine it represents, in the sense that each and every power group operates according to its doctrine.⁵ Let us take as example the following doctrines:

⁵ Salavastru (2006) defines the political doctrine as an assembly of ideas, seen in their mutual determinist relation, that reflects the power position of the political group towards different courses of action or regarding the organization of different domains (political, economical, institutional, cultural, etc).

Dominant Moods in Doctrines⁶

Communist Doctrine (extreme left exponent)	Liberal Doctrine
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regarding the political regime: The unique role of the party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regarding the political regime: Pluripartidism Majority decision-making unit
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regarding the economic life: The role of the state in economy The unique national plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regarding the economic life: Market economy Sellers' competition
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regarding the social life: General interests govern the individual interests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regarding the social life: Human rights and liberties

So, indoctrination political language practically shapes itself according to the doctrine it represents, put simply, it will always have a “doctrine mould”. Most of the time, indoctrination political language accompanies the militant political languages.

Let us take as an example an extract from the speech⁷ of the well-known communist Romanian dictator, Nicolae Ceausescu:

"DRAGI TOVARĂȘI ȘI PRIETENI, CETĂȚENI AI REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMÂNIA

Mă adresez, în această seară, **întregului popor al patriei noastre socialiste**, în legătură cu evenimentele grave care au avut loc, în ultimele zile, la Timișoara. În zilele de 16 și 17 decembrie sub pretextul împiedicării aplicării unei sentințe judecătorești legale, **cîteva grupuri de elemente huliganice au organizat o serie de manifestări și incidente trecînd la atacarea unor instituții de stat, distrugînd și jefuind o serie de clădiri de magazine, de clădiri publice**, iar în ziua de 17 decembrie și-au intensificat activitatea împotriva instituțiilor de stat și de partid, inclusiv a unor unități militare.

Din desfășurarea evenimentelor și din declarațiile unor participanți la aceste evenimente, **aceste grupuri aveau scopul de a provoca dezordine** și distrugerea instituțiilor și bunurilor generale ale orașului și de a da semnalul unor asemenea acțiuni și in alte centre. Populația din Timișoara cunoaște și a văzut toate aceste **distrugereri de tip fascist** care au avut loc.

Cu toate insistențele depuse, timp de două zile, de organele politice, de partid, de consiliul popular, de conducerile întreprinderilor și de organele de ordine, aceste grupuri au continuat și și-au intensificat activitatea de distrugere, de atacare a instituțiilor și magazinelor, inclusiv a unor unități militare. În aceste împrejurări grave, în seara zilei de 17 decembrie, fiind atacate, unitățile militare au răspuns prin focuri de avertisment împotriva celor care au continuat să acționeze împotriva unităților militare și instituțiilor de stat și politice.

⁶ *ibid*

⁷ See the full text: Speeches, Speech 2, source: http://arhiva2004.informatia.ro/Ultimul_discurs_al_lui_Nicolae_Ceausescu-86856

Deoarece acțiunile grupurilor antinaționale, teroriste, au continuat, unitățile militare - **conform Constituției și în conformitate cu legile țării** - au fost obligate să se apere, să apere ordinea și bunurile întregului oraș, de fapt să apere ordinea în întreaga țară.

Organele de ordine, procuratura, au efectuat și continuă să efectueze cercetările corespunzătoare pentru a **stabili cauzele și vinovăția acestor acte cu caracter net fascist, provocator, de distrugere.**"

The extract incorporates some of the specific characteristics of the indoctrination political language:

- Dominant mood: the communist doctrine unfolds at the discursive level.
- Wooden language architecture: "Dragi tovarasi si prieteni" ("Dear compatriots and friends").
- Unique role of the party: the supreme instance (the leader of the state) addresses the state (where *citizens* and *state* stand on equal positions, subordinated to the greatest legitimized power), "Mă adresez, în această seară, **întregului popor al patriei noastre socialiste...**" ("Hereby, I address myself to all the people of our socialist country").
- The unique national plan: "...**conform Constituției și în conformitate cu legile țării** - au fost obligate să se apere, să apere ordinea și bunurile întregului oraș, de fapt să apere ordinea în întreaga țară" ("Were obliged to defend themselves and to protect public order and public assets, actually to defend order throughout the country."). The interferences of plans, respectively, the first plan, Bucharest, with the national plan, the whole country, proves the lack of identity among the hierarchy of social or political plans.
- General interest – the supreme interest: "Organele de ordine, procuratura, au efectuat și continuă să efectueze cercetările corespunzătoare pentru a **stabili cauzele și vinovăția acestor acte cu caracter net fascist, provocator, de distrugere.**" ("Public order forces, as well as the prosecutor's office, have been conducting an investigation in order to establish the causes and the guiltiness of such fascist, provocative and demolishing acts").

4. Conclusion

As it very well can be noticed, political language may take up various linguistic shapes in order to fit the political manifestation it sustains, most of the times it may even borrow more than a few linguistic features of different doctrinal moods to match the persuasive intention perfectly. It is the case, for example, of the nowadays Romanian political language, which tends to make use of all the traits of the linguistic repertoire sustaining a specific political manifestation, no matter if it is being used correctly or not.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Lucian Blaga: Imagine și cuvânt (Lucian Blaga: Image and Word), Eikon Publishing, Cluj-Napoca, 2013, project coordinator: Elena Abrudan

The multimedia cultural volume *Lucian Blaga: Imagine și cuvânt (Lucian Blaga: Image and Word)* is the result which came out after three years of work done by a group of students of the Department of Journalism at the Faculty of Political, Administrative and Communication Sciences in Cluj-Napoca. In this respect, the keyword is *multimedia*. The work not only has the merit to be a strain recovery of the cultural heritage of Lucian Blaga in the academic life of Cluj, but mostly, it's an effort to adapt this heritage and thus the poetic and philosophical concepts created by Blaga to the book market requirements nowadays and to the main features of multidisciplinary new media. Thus, in addition to a series of interviews with the founders and active members of the Lucian Blaga Cultural Society, the volume aims to update the public consciousness about the poetic world of Blaga, through a series of graphic works of digital art, photos, video interviews, visual essays, testimonials and stories that translate into picture and sound a series of concepts taken from the philosophy or poetry of Lucian Blaga. As Elena Abrudan, the coordinator of the volume, confesses in the book's Argument, "the intention of the project, whose target audience are young people, represents a cultural rebranding attempt, by shifting emphasis from word to image, from the linguistic metaphor to the visual one, from the poetic motifs to the fine arts, from the

permanency of the written verse to the visual avatars envisioned using new technologies."

Lucian Blaga: Image and word bases its construction, first of all, on a series of interviews with scholars and members of the Lucian Blaga Cultural Society, meant to give the entire multimedia mechanism a theoretical framework. The interviews (conducted in video format, between 2011 and 2013 by Coca Sorina, Roxana Toșu, Lavinia Adam and Radu Boțoiu and then brought to a written form) provide essential information not just about the institutional work of the study center Lucian Blaga Cultural Society or the personal work of exegesis of each interviewee, but also about the life and work of the poet-philosopher. The volume section which includes these interviews makes the book relevant as a document in the history of literary criticism regarding the works of Blaga, but it is, overall, also a fresh study guide to the youth interested in the history of Romanian literature and especially in what Lucian Blaga meant and can still mean in this area. The interviews are also able to substantiate the general philosophical and poetic concepts specific to Lucian Blaga, so the playground for the multimedia works presented in the volume is opened on strong theoretical and historiographical foundations. Similarly, the convergence between the rhetoric of the written text and that specific to the visual

product is already present in the interviews section through a number of tint drawn portraits of the interviewees preceding each text, made by Mădălina Seserman (Mircea Popa, Horia Bădescu, Irina Petraș, Rodica Lascu-Pop, Doina Cetea, Ion Cristofor, Mircea Borcilă, Constantin Cubleşan, Doru Radosav, Mircea Muthu, Elena Abrudan, Mircea Opriță, Corin Braga and Doina Modola).

The full shift from word to image occurs in the section which closes the printed volume, a section which presents works of digital art and artistic photos based on specific elements and metaphors in the poetic and philosophical works of Lucian Blaga. In most cases, these works have an important conceptual component, trying to provide a translation of a literary symbol in the graphics area. A good example is the work of digital art presented by Elena Abrudan, *Three Models of the Cosmos* (2012), which does nothing more than to create a system of visual symbols that translate transparently into image the first foundation of Blaga's philosophy. Other works, like the one of Alexander Dorofte or the one of Andrei Purcărea produce a handover effect between the visual and poetic metaphor, while the *Flyers* of Ionut Hușanu tries a symbolic-ironic visual construction that talks about the game of valuation and devaluation or, better said, spiritual devaluation through monetary valuation. Some works, created in a warholian manner, discuss the problem in a broader perspective - but keeping an ironic key - to introduce the necessity of re-branding the image of Lucian Blaga: *Pop Art Revival* by Elena Abrudan or the quadriptych designed by Andrei Coste.

More than independent artistic products, the works included in the volume are communication artifacts specific to the visual rhetorics perpetuated by the digital art. They are designed to create symbolic systems of meaning based on the collective

imaginary regarding the works of Lucian Blaga. The collage technique or the inter-media combination, which are present in many of the digital works, comes to talk about the same first aesthetic principle of the digital art, too: art is not for art's sake anymore, but one that always keeps a target viewer in mind to create symbolic systems. The same stands for visual essays - an interesting concept *Lucian Blaga. Image and Word* puts into practice - found on one of the three DVDs attached to the book. They do not try anything but to determine specific poetic metaphors to undergo the rigors of visual rhetorics.

Lucian Blaga. Image and Word is the commendable result of a collective effort that succeeds, by its inherent structural and conceptual complexity, to send an important message to the cultural consumers of the new media era. This message is not only about the cultural heritage of one of the most relevant Romanian writers of the last century, but also about the way in which it can be retrieved, adapted and refurbished using new technologies. The volume is one which describes, in addition to its importance as a document, the entire philosophy of how we can recover the cultural heritage by the very means which respond to our needs of information at this time. If media convergence is, at this point, the direction we are heading, then *Lucian Blaga. Image and Word* is a project that, even so, in the manner of an exercise undertaken mostly by students, can be a model for large-scale cultural institutions' future projects.

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***Convergence Culture:
Where Old and New Media Collide***

Henry Jenkins is a major American media scholar, currently a Provost's Professor of Communication, Journalism, Cinematic Arts and Education at the University of Southern California. He was Peter de Florez Professor in the Humanities at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology where he conducted research on the impact of new digital media technologies in the cultural, social and educational field. Henry Jenkins published the book ***Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*** in 2006 which since then is widely acknowledged as a thought-provoking analysis of the contemporary life. Jenkins' study provides new insights about media convergence, collective intelligence and participatory culture. Jenkins' core claim in this volume is that media convergence should be understood as a cultural process, rather than as a technological endpoint because "Convergence represents a cultural shift as consumers are encouraged to seek out new information and make connections among dispersed media content" (Jenkins 2006, 3). Convergence argues Jenkins "should not be understood primarily as a technological process bringing together multiple media functions within the same devices", but as a cultural shift as "convergence does not occur through media appliances, however sophisticated they may become. Convergence occurs within the brains of individual consumers and through their social interactions with others" (2006, 3). Media is defined as a combination of two different parts coming together: the technology that enables communication through delivery technolo-

gies (technological devices) and so called "associated protocols" consisting in social, cultural and economic relationships and practices generated by the new technology (2006, 13). While delivery technology gets outdated and is replaced at certain times, media survives, becomes adapted and coexists as layers in the media ecosystem. The Black Box Fallacy concept defines the way "convergence thinking" is acting upon the connections established between the media, the content, and the people. The actual media content is the digital information like a recorded song for instance and the delivery system which can be a device as the mobile phone. A mobile phone owner can use the phone to listen to that song while walking down the street to the bus stop. The technological delivery mediums are rigid and they quickly become obsolete, while media content is fluid, flexible and interactive. So if the song can still be enjoyably consumed by different generations and genres of people, the mobile device gets regularly updated and replaced by new versions. Black box of media concept ascertains that there will never be one black box to contain all media, a science fiction device deposited in our living-room that magically stores all our media content. Consumers actually keep using different devices to meet their communication and entertainment needs (Ipads, Iphones, Wees, Computers, Ipods etc.). Media does not disappear; it shifts into different forms but essentially is here to stay. E-books are a type of new media, yet they are just a revival of the printed books, an old media

type which is still in use. The old media is a restricted type of media which does not allow the users to interact with it, while the new media allows the consumers to be interactive and create new individual structures. Thus convergence is the combination of various media types and diverse communication technologies and it is primarily defined as the certain point “where old media and new media collide”. Convergent media is a mixed content of old and new media provided on Internet, for instance, which can be wirelessly accessed by millions of people in search for open data through various devices: smartphones, tablets, ultrabooks, laptop and desktop computers, PDA's, game consoles etc. Media convergence is particularly understood as an “ongoing process” and is defined as a new and old media mixture, a mishmash media content brought about by the merging of diverse media products and technology. This is visible in the new media idea of a next-generation smartphone concept that enables touch reception, features haptic feedback, incorporates capacitive and force sensors, and mobile apps designed for information retrieval enabling email reading/writing, calendar, contacts, banking, weather info, games, GPS, order-tracking, online shopping, ticket purchases, live conferencing etc. At the same time, the user can easily make phone calls, take pictures, shoot videos, read and write documents, browse newspapers, watch movies, live streaming etc. There are five different processes of convergence: technological convergence, economic convergence, social convergence, cultural convergence and global convergence.

1. Technological Convergence represents the digitization of media content. Data collected in form of words, images and sounds is transformed into digital information and it is then enabled to flow across

multiple communication platforms. A mobile phone is primarily expected to make and receive calls and text messages. However, as the technology has lately developed, a mobile user can now make photos, shoot movies, record sound, play games, play music, connect to the Internet and manage a to-do-list on the go with google calendar task for Android, iPhone, and Palm webOS supported devices. The digital age has made platforms available for information to be largely communicated worldwide and consequently convergence empowers one device to perform many tasks.

2. Economic Convergence also called synergy happens when entertainment industry companies expand continuously in a horizontal integration paradigm. Giant global companies like Sony have entered various entertainment fields such as film industry, TV, games, books, music, online entertainment etc. thus resulting in the transmedia exploitation of entertainment brands for huge profit (Star Trek, Ice Age, Harry Potter). Multiple forms of media associated with the basic product are distributed across to increase consumers' number and generate new demand for market saturation. Harry Potter began as a book and expanded into blockbuster films, games, toys and other products allowing the customers to personalize the way they experience a brand. Harry Potter brand is now valued at over \$15 billion and is still growing.

3. Social Convergence (Organic Convergence) is the phenomenon of using multiple media technologies at the same time such as listening to the music while processing a document, watching news on TV while surfing internet. It is also called media stacking and this habit is spreading all over in modern lifestyle. On a daily basis, being at home or doing office work,

people depend on media technologies essential for their professional success. The internet for instance is often used by young people to study and they are able to multitask and simultaneously post on facebook, watch TV, talk on the phone, make face-to-face conversations, eat and listen to the music.

4. Cultural Convergence describes the new forms of creativity that emerge from consumers and happens when the consumers become producers (now called prosumers). They can now take part into to the new media recirculation process as the parties interact with each other in a participatory type of culture. The concept refers to the circulation of media information as well as personal data because currently our lives now “occur on multiple platforms”: “Convergence doesn’t just involve commercially produced materials and services traveling along well-regulated and predictable circuits. It also occurs when people take media in their own hands. Entertainment content isn’t the only thing that flows across multiple media platforms. Our lives, relationships, memories, fantasies, desires also flow across media channels” (2006, 22). The phenomenon of telecocooning registered in Japan in the late years is spreading all over the world and people keep in touch with each other communicating through new means of technology. Prosumers can now modify new media: Wikipedia articles, movies on youtube, all kind of pictures shared on facebook.

5. Global Convergence is the flow of information all over the world which gives the consumers in any part of the world the opportunity to share the same media products at the same time. Europeans together with Americans and Asians watch blockbusters in trend and enjoy the international cultural hybridity. In cinema

industry the global success of Asian movies challenges Hollywood and actors like Jackie Chan (Rush Hour series) become well-known, compete with Western cinema stars and shape the global media entertainment space as a practice of being a global citizen.

This is the digital renaissance generated by the convergence of media products and technology which make relevant information available for the consumer at the touch of a button and it brings about a “new cultural order”. We are now living in a participatory culture. The new technology development determined a cultural shift globally and people from all over the world create and share resources online. At the very core of this study are three basic concepts: media convergence, participatory culture and collective intelligence as the author states it himself: “this book is about the relationship between three concepts – media convergence, participatory culture, and collective intelligence” (2006, 2). Participatory culture is a kind of active media spectatorship in which the consumers interact and participate, feeding content that works as the opposite of “passive media spectatorship” (2006, 3). **Participatory culture** concept is defined by Jenkins as a type of culture in which members are connected to one another, collaborate on all levels and are involved in group life. It is clearly defined by civic engagement and by cultural cooperation. The forms of participatory culture are as such: affiliations in online communities and social media platforms, expressions in new creative ways, collaborative problem solving through team work and the circulations of information as media flow. Starting from a popular culture we are right in the middle of a participatory culture and work towards a knowledge culture. The term collective intelligence was

coined by Pierre Levy in his study *Collective Intelligence: Mankind's Emerging World in Cyberspace* to which Jenkins refers to in the chapter "The Anatomy of a Knowledge Community". He explains how the data collected in chunks and bits of information is passed on to the consumers who then access it and process it according to the expert paradigm within certain affinity groups. One-to-many communication approach evolves into a many-to-many process. Levy's concept of collective intelligence is understood as a form of universally distributed intelligence. In a computer-based society, there is a knowledge space which stores all the data collected and the computer enables a shared, collective intelligence. Cosmopedia replaced the encyclopedia and consists of interactive, interdisciplinary and multimedia knowledge on which collective knowledge is built, knowledge being represented as "a large patchwork". Collective intelligence is the expression of collective action and represents a group ability to think, decide and act together as a team. Collective intelligence is a form of collective power, it works as a "alternative source of media power" and it includes the collective consumption of media and the social buzz on it (2006, 3).

Participatory democracy and digital citizenship are the next core concepts analyzed by Jenkins. In a participatory democracy, institutions ranging from advertising, the military, legal domain, and religion are forced to reinvent themselves: "Entrenched institutions are taking their models from grassroots fan communities, and reinventing themselves for an era of media convergence and collective intelligence" (2006, 22).

Project New Media Literacy developed by the Education Arcade group and Convergence Culture Consortium at MIT was created to assess the use of the new

media technology in education. **Project Center for Future Civic Media** explores the effects of new media technology on society and politics and its consequences on civic engagement. These projects provide a framework for researching effective ways to create new skills and competencies necessary for young learners especially and for the wide population generally to acquire in order to fully participate in the cultural changes caused by the emergence of new media technologies. New media literacy and participatory learning deals with the way digital technologies change the way young people learn, play, socialize, and participate in civic life. Participatory culture is significant for the way society develops and manages educational and social institutions according to the future generation needs. Play and education are convergent because "the skills we acquire through play may have implications for how we learn, work, participate in the political process, and connect with other people around the world" (2006, 22). Technology integration in education pushed the process towards participatory learning types as project based learning (PBL) that uses Cyberhunts and Webquests in the teaching and learning process. Participatory learning means the students learn how to create digital content and share it in order to enhance the skills needed for the digital citizenship. "Teachers play a monumental role in facilitating opportunities for students to become critical thinkers, proactive citizens, and creative contributors to the world" <http://playnml.wikispaces.com/PLAY!>. There is a direct connection between the access to technology and access to the skills and competencies needed to meaningfully engage within participatory culture. Participation gap is defined as the access to skills and open data resources

stored in technology and on internet that are not available for everybody. The problem of uneven access to media resources is discussed and consequently the socio-economic disparity produced is lucidly analyzed. Jenkins points out that there is a clear need “to rethink the goals of media education so that young people can come to think of themselves as cultural producers and participants and not simply as consumers, critical or otherwise” (2006, 259). Participatory culture enables students to learn how to become fully participants in online communities and thus acquire new media literacy. New media literacy consists of a set of cultural competencies and social skills that young people need in the new media landscape characterized by community involvement, collaboration, and networking. The new skills are as such: appropriation, the ability to multitask, simulation, playful learning, distributed cognition, collective intelligence, judgment, transmedia navigation, networking, negotiation. There are concerns that call for a new educational policy to tackle on the participation gap, the transparency problem, and the ethics problem. The concepts of collective intelligence and of knowledge space have become of utmost importance in modern society. Group knowledge and collective thinking is established on a participatory and computerized civil society, whose most valuable capital is the intellectual capital. Its purpose is the production of relevant knowledge to the benefit of the human society. In this regard, knowledge creation and exploitation are vital resources necessary for the economic development, competitiveness, and global sustainability. Participatory culture provides opportunities for young people to engage in civic debate, to participate in community life, and learn how to act as political leaders in their future life. Jen-

kins own conclusion comes here: “I will return to my three key terms – convergence, collective intelligence, and participation. I want to explore some of the implications of the trends I will be discussing in this book for **education, media reform, and democratic citizenship**” (2006, 22). Henry Jenkins also studied the field of video games, particularly the cultural geography of video game spaces and the effects of interactivity and the use of the “games for learning”. Henry Jenkins’ wide research interests relate to democracy and new media, pop culture and wow factor, fan communities and comedy film history: *What Made Pistachio Nuts?: Early Sound Comedy and the Vaudeville Aesthetic*. (Columbia University Press, 1992); *Textual Poachers: Television Fans & Participatory Culture. Studies in culture and communication*. (Routledge, 1992); *Classical Hollywood Comedy. AFI film readers*. (Routledge, 1995); *From Barbie to Mortal Kombat: Gender and Computer Games* (MIT Press, 1998); *The Children’s Culture Reader* (New York University Press, 1998); *Hop on Pop: The Politics and Pleasures of Popular Culture*. (Duke University Press, 2002); *Rethinking Media Change: The Aesthetics of Transition. Media in transition* (Cambridge, 2003); *Democracy and New Media* (Cambridge, 2003); *Fans, Bloggers, and Gamers: Exploring Participatory Culture* (New York University Press, 2006); *The Wow Climax: Tracing the Emotional Impact of Popular Culture* (New York University Press, 2007); *Confronting the Challenges of Participatory Culture: Media Education for the 21st Century*, White Paper, 2006.

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***From Economics and Mass-media to
Mass-media Economics***

When we consider journalism not only as an occupation, but also as a subject to which the rigors and rules of science apply, the approaches are different. It is generally known that it was not easy to conceptualize an area so heterogeneous like the mass-media, as varied as much as uniform, as complex as much as simple. Throughout its not very long existence the subject called “journalism” was escalated on all possible versants: from historical perspective, from structural point of view, as technicality, as communication science, from pragmatic perspective, as institution or system. The results were not always those expected, a general consensus will be difficult or even impossible to find, but things are advancing.

A modern approach, relatively complete, realistic and advanced, useful from theoretical and practical point of view is the economic perspective, which is also the subject matter of the analysed volume, i.e. *Mass-media Economics*, by authors Raluca-Nicoleta Radu and Manuela Preoteasa. The concept of “mass-media economics”, used by the two authors (professors in this area), is not a usual one. It was introduced in the debate over two decades ago by a mass-media researcher from Oxford University, named Robert G. Picard, who published in 1989 the study *Media Economics: Concepts and Issues*. Obviously on a first view this association may seem forced for a field whose priorities seemed to be the public and the public interest, the objectivity, the collection, processing and drafting techniques of the information, the messages and platforms’ specificity etc.

On the other hand, the economic field was always present, accompanied the press development, becoming indispensable in time. Basically, the economic perspective and the economic analysis of the mass-media phenomenon provide the depth necessary and the complete vision of a complex process, like that of media communication. For Robert G. Picard, mass-media economics means “*the way in which the mass-media operators welcome the demands and needs of information and entertainment of the public, of the announcers and society with the resources they have available. The mass-media economics studies the factors which influence the development of mass-media products and services and the way in which these products are allotted to consumers*”. In a covering and very documented endeavour the two authors attempt to identify the applicability of this concept in the contemporary press and not less in the Romanian press, thus becoming not just a necessary study, but also very useful for the autochthonous research in the field. The book mentioned above should be found on the shelf of each mass-media researcher, it may be used by students studying journalism and communication and it should also be seen on the desk of the modern press manager.

From structural point of view, the volume has five different parts, following an organizational logic which focuses both on historical perspective and on the economic perspective. The starting point of the volume are the cultural industries, a concept which stroke roots at the middle of the last century, being “engrained” by the cory-

phaei of the School from Frankfurt. Through the definition of the pivot term of this approach, that of popular culture were established a few elements which relate to the nature of the phenomenon, to addressability and target. First of all, upon appearance, the popular culture was born as opposable to high culture – of the creators, of the artists, of the eternal values of humanity, of the art for art – with which it never ceased to find disputes. Second of all, as defining element, the popular culture is a mass phenomenon, it addresses to a numerous population, which is nothing more than the result of an intellectual, educational, cultural, aspirational environment to fulfil statistically the condition of “many”. Finally, the purpose of the popular culture is the profit, in a capitalist type of society, founded on the profitability criterion. As I said above, the popular culture was not exempted by reproaches, the main ones being that the result is an industrial product, that it is intended for profit, that it is “produced” for a fee and for the masses. Even more, the accusations claim that it steals content and creators from the high culture, paying them better and through it has harmful effects upon the public. In fact, the popular culture related to communication through mass-media, as we know, is a “slave of two masters”, the public interest and the profit. This is why we speak about a communication industry, about the standardization of products, about business, risk and profitability.

The second chapter entitled “The media policies and the public interest” naturally follow the appearance of “cultural industries” as from an operation more or less independent of the mass-media, to a system type of organization, in the context of serving the public interest a common vision was needed, of concerted measures, the state’s involvement (on legisla-

tive level), in a word, media policies were necessary. Three phases have been identified in relation to these: firstly, the appearance of communication industrial policy, as a transition phase, from the lack of each measure, to a collection of spontaneous regulations meant to ease the introduction of some technological innovations. Thus, for the written media, the most important were the freedom of speech, the absence of state-guaranteed censorship; for sharing (telegraph, telephone) the most important were the property and the infrastructure, the public’s access to the information services; the introduction of the audio-visual enabled the appearance of regulations related to access, content, freedom of speech and of the monopoly forms, the appearance of the “public service” notion. The second phase is that of consolidation of the concept of “media public service” concept (1945-1980/1990) whose basis is the normative and politics. The main concepts here are “independence” (related to government or private influences), “responsibility” (related to audience/users), “diversity” (political, social). The third phase, named the new communication policy has three pivot concepts: “freedom in communication”, “access” and “control/responsibility” and requires, among others: the transfer from national to transnational, media convergence through the development of new technologies, protection of private industry’s copyrights, the transfer from state’s regulations to self-regulations. This was the context for the appearance of mass-media economics concept that was invoked, through the transition from a political economy to “communication political economy”, as the mass-media economics provide means for the comprehension of the operation of media companies seen as business organizations. The same context also explains

the appearance of the business environment based on advertising, a controversial one, but for the time being, very indispensable.

Further on, the volume focuses on competition, concentration and pluralism in the media context. The difference between plurality and pluralism is interesting and operational in this case, because the media plurality by itself (a high number of media institutions) does not provide necessarily the media pluralism (viewpoints' diversity). There is an internal pluralism (on the level of a media institution) and an external pluralism (between media types of institutions). The advantages of media pluralism must be underlined because they provide citizens a necessary diversity of information and viewpoints, they limit the social conflict increasing the chances of understanding between opposite groups, it opens the way to social and cultural change. More attention is paid to the phenomenon of media concentration, which means the fusion or appearance of new media institutions which have a majority owner, and this leads to the development of an oligopoly, namely a limited group of companies which dominate a certain market. The volume offers interested case studies of mass-media concentration in Romania depending on property and focused upon televisions.

Also relevant is the radiography of contemporaneous mass-media from the perspective of internal structure and of the processes from the inside of the institution, even if the addressee of these documented viewpoints, besides the media researcher, is also the manager or the chief accountant and less the editor. How would a press institution operate and how would it survive without the unseen world that animates the economic department?

To them the accounting notions, like balance sheet, profit and loss account, cash flow, profitability and risk indicators are fundamental. The study is advanced in terms of comprehension of the facts up to the analysis of the consolidated balance sheet of CME (Central European Media Enterprises Ltd.), the company managing ProTV, the television with the highest audience from Romania.

How would it be like not to be able to sell cultural products in a profitability industry? The last chapter of the book focuses on incomes, sales, to the public of mass-media products and the fundamental concepts are those related to the market, marketing, price, branding, promotion. In order to point out the application of various strategies to increase the sales are presented a few cases of some important newspapers from Romania, like for example *Cotidianul*, *Adevărul*, *Evimentul zilei*.

The mass-media economics is more than necessary, it is a consistent volume, with current and very well documented information. Maybe even without intention, it is also a sui generis history of the significant evolutions of the thinking upon mass-media from the last century, and also a useful glossary of the fundamental concepts that operate in this subject.

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