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INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM AND THE NEW MEDIA

VIOREL NISTOR*

ABSTRACT. After doing a survey of the major facets of classic investigative journalism, based on documentation, direct observation and interviewing sources, the study builds some of the new opportunities due to technological progress, staying out of reach of investigative journalists. Describing all the benefits arising from the use of the public as a primary source of information, the paper focuses primarily on crowdfunding phenomenon and the opportunities and possibilities of use of media.

Keywords: investigative journalism, new media, technological progress, crowdfunding

The world is constantly changing, and the business, economy, communication and journalism try to keep up with the new situation. The endless fight between tradition and modernity is lead in this domain, too, occasionally gaining spectacular transformations with unexpected benefits, sometimes with dramatic accents, calling into question an entire system. There are several fronts and the battles are lengthy and very difficult to make medium and long-term forecasts. What can be done is to observe these changes, to try to understand and use it in a useful and pragmatic way.

Pulitzer Prize 2010 award for *investigative journalism* was awarded to *ProPublica* publication and that was regarded as a novelty and a surprise. In fact, *ProPublica* is an independent online media organization, and the prize for this section of virtual publications was considered a first breach in an area that has been the preserve of print

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media. Adding that the non-profit institution which makes inquiries in the public interest was rewarded for the article developed in collaboration with the *New York Times* on the subject *Difficult Decisions Taken by the Doctors in New Orleans during Hurricane Katrina*. But this award is rather seen as the brighter side in the recognition of an indisputable fact, a state of affairs and an undeniable trend: investigative journalism is out of the classical patterns for a long time. It makes dramatic changes in the approaches and techniques and makes use of the new types of journalism.

The “Old” Investigative Journalism Bases

Before presenting the new approaches and how to implement it, let us see what “old” investigative journalism means, what is the core of this journalistic phenomenon and its problems. Fundamentally, the “philosophy” of investigative journalism is to navigate countercurrent, to react differently to a given situation and defeat the instinct to disclose certain information as soon as you've discovered it. In fact, a journalist's strength comes from the first impulse restraint, patience to gather the necessary information, the desire to know more about a subject and understand it out of experience. The power is generated from science to search and find necessary data and the courage to support them, from the ability to work efficiently with various sources (anonymous, explicit, subjective, and hostile). It comes from the skillfulness to coherently tell an intelligible, interesting, exciting, attractive, and interesting story. The investigative tools and techniques for the “old” investigative journalism range from “study” in the library, classical direct journalistic observation, and sometimes delicate and difficult interviewing the sources, reaching the undercover investigation, an exceptionally risky process and generally not recommended. As a journalism species, investigative journalism emerged in difficult conditions, and was acknowledged in exceptional circumstances, requiring a large-scale event like Watergate to be fully recognized.

There were a few decades that peaked investigative journalism, while the press has become the “watchdog” of democracy and “the fourth estate” and the species in question moved from print to TV format, increasing its prestige. And the media took full advantage of it, increasing its circulation and audience, and reputation, strengthening

its independence especially in relation to politics, one of the declared enemies against whom it is directed and often shooting. Over time, investigative journalism had some solid engine which supported it to advance, but also some powerful constraints that have cut its momentum and its energy. First, it was journalist's individual motivation, their desire to do more to investigate and discover, to add value to their work and results, and why not change the world. Adding the media organization motivation in the editorial financial management, the audience surveys ratings and circulation as the investigations produced revenue. On the other hand, things are not so clear-cut, is not very clear why journalistic investigations came into disgrace, not at all sure that the signal came from the audience.

There are some explanations for the recent years investigative journalism recoil. On the one hand, it is the high cost of inquires achievement and the rather costly allocation of human resources, financial resources, which are not sustainable. On the other hand, financial and economic crisis has reduced media revenues and disrupted the normal functioning of the media institutions, forced to restructure and refocus. There is an even more complex explanation, according to which the changes in the media are the result of a deliberate escapist policy to tabloid media content, while giving under various pretexts the quality journalism (investigative) in order to distract the public attention from important issues of the people and society. The deliberate intent to change the media content would belong to "the rich" and to the initiates, and the oligarchic systems, financial, large corporations in collusion with political influence. In this approach, communication is a vector of power and cannot be left to chance, and the control is explained by the concentration and trust creation of the media, which has reached unprecedented levels. In this "new world order" of the media, former investigative journalism practiced by conventional methods in traditional media outlets (print, television) would not find its place, at least the one that had been booked before.

The Transition Period

In any type of media and all over the world, journalistic investigations give consistency, quality journalistic content with brand exclusivity, gives prestige to the institution and, not least, a large

audience, which means good income. It's a recipe that can hardly be erased from the minds of the public and journalists, as long as it is being discussed in the public interest considered solid, genuine and indubitable. This is why, despite any trends and patterns of time, investigative journalism was never abandoned and never will be in this situation. It is clear that it is required to go through a process of transformation, perhaps a crisis one, to sit on different coordinates. Some of the changes have occurred as the online journalism emerged, the part of the journalistic profession that has moved the well-known operations such as identification, documentation, processing and publishing information on the Internet.

But here things are very mixed, because it is hard to speak today of pure classic journalism and pure online journalism. In fact, some of the tasks are fulfilled on the ground, others online, depending on the topic and specific conditions, regardless the support that the articles are being published. The switch to online meant a large number of advantages and a few disadvantages to consider. Without proposing a comprehensive approach, in terms of benefits we can retain documentation enabling, increasing speed and coverage also decreasing the publication deadline, the updating possibilities, multimedia, interactivity, and much more. On the other hand, among the disadvantages are noted filed data penury, derived by observation and from human sources, atomization of information and discrediting it, the "rolling" of the same information through multiple media, the confused public looking for stable and secure landmarks. Of the most interest here is in how investigative journalism has related to this situation.

Regarding open source documentation, the advantages are huge, because the Internet offers the opportunity to explore in quick time all the targeted institutions websites and their archives, the press and public communication, the way in which a subject, phenomenon, character was covered in a particular moment in time. In a nutshell, these are huge comprehensive database.

Regarding the publishing, it is important that the restrictions applied to editorial time and space disappeared. Journalistic investigations usually track complex cases multiply interconnected that require space, time, and effort to explain and understand and make it accessible. Online medium is the perfect space for clever illustrations

made by photographs, charts, graphs, tables; it provides hypertext and hyperlinks facility that make the subject, it ensures a different text architecture, fit to the situation and it can also attach audio and video files, it can play interviews, discussions, documentary parts, things that are impossible with the traditional media. Interactivity, the comment, the reaction and the feed-back are added to these.

New Media Opportunities

We associate the concept of new media with blogs, forums, comments, twitter, social networks and so on, as an expanding phenomenon. It is interesting how it is intertwined with traditional media and especially how the investigative journalism interacts with new media opportunities. It should be noted from the outset that the impact of the new media on investigative journalism is overwhelming, perhaps even revolutionary, although maybe this is just the beginning. And they are operating throughout the media production chain, from the subject notification to documentation and information certification, to the better use of them, until their publication in more innovative and interactive formats. The series of interactions, facilities, investigative journalism within the new media context can quantify/classify and contain several phenomena which will be discussed below.

First of all, the new media can be used as a useful means of advertising for various journalistic materials, produced on traditional media or online, various journalistic investigations. Their subject may be mentioned on twitter with a simple link to the article published on the basic support or the inquiry may be entirely reproduced in its original form or adjusted for online use on the journalist's personal blog.

In the first form, the twitter address can belong to the journalist or to the media institution, but the blog is usually personal. It is already common practice for the important journalists and almost all the media to use twitter as a means to promote important items such as the investigations. Regarding blogs, the best example is www.tolo.ro, Cătălin Tolontan's blog, which has frequently published investigation conducted by the sports daily *Gazeta Sporturilor*. Perhaps not by coincidence, this blog is frequently accessed among the top blogs in the

category of bloggers, journalists and influencers in the Romanian online according to the monitoring report released in September 2013. Just like twitter, blog can be used to anticipate inquiries through various postings, ads, signals.

Blogging can become even more interesting by posting details about how the investigation was conducted, difficulties, obstacles overcome, and diary type records of the investigation. Similar commonly used are the social media networks to promote journalistic products and investigations are a serious option. Posting may contain the link that sends the user to the article, its introduction, a conclusion, graphic illustrations, cartoons, photos etc. The network advantage is huge for promotion, because members are allowed to share the preferred material in its network.

But publishing and promoting a journalistic investigation is the final stage of a complex journalistic process. The new media can have an equally important role here. Everything starts with the decision to cultivate this journalistic type and the opportunity taken into consideration. "For a few years they keep talking about the lack of money and the impossibility to invest on a long term basis. However, ProPublica foundation started to finance investigative journalism. The articles are sold, donated to other media outlets or published on ProPublica website" says Jean Marc Manache in *Les Cahiers du Journalism*. Beyond that, regarding the costs and resources, two strong arguments can be brought into question. First, the costs of carrying out the investigation will be reduced using the Internet and the new media. Secondly, as we have seen, there are new means of procuring financial resources needed for the investigation.

I will insist on one of these means of great interest which drew attention and enjoyed success at the recent International Conference on Investigative Journalism (Global Investigative Journalism Conference) that took place between 12- 15 of October 2013, a kind of investigative journalism congress around the world where the problems encountered by this type of journalism are discussed. The concept of crowd funding was dropped into discussion by a Brazilian journalist. It might be understood as a type of collective funding or multiple financing, that would be funding provided by the reading public, engaging those who can financially choose the topics to be investigated.

The example is worth telling because it can be followed anywhere in the world. It was put into practice by the independent news agency Agencia Publica which started a crowdsourcing campaign targeted to use multiple sources to identify donors, and managed to collect around \$ 30,000 in 45 days from 808 contributors. On the other hand, reaching all the journalists in Brazil, they have identified 120 investigation topics from which crowdsourcing agency selected 48, then 12 investigation topics were chosen among the most popular. The news agency paid around \$ 3000 for each report to support the journalists in carrying out the investigations, which finally would be published on the Agency's website. Out of sheer curiosity, one of the topics given in the work refers to the method of hydraulic fracturing in oil exploitation. We need to point out that the raising-awareness campaign, the promotional and the fundraising campaign were all put into action using new media. For example, those who wished to finance could offer information to the investigators, thus building a team engaged in a common project. This system is in effect in Brazil and in Romania, where crowd funding projects such as The Journalist's House in Bucharest and iEST - Wild East Intellectuals in Cluj-Napoca.

On the other hand, the process of "crowdsourcing" itself can be used for documenting the investigation. Out of a journalistic perspective, the well-known Poynter.org website crowdsourcing has been used as a method of documenting, taking over the task that was traditionally performed by professional journalists, outsourcing it to a large group of people through a public call or an open offer. Specifically, this means that in a journalistic investigation, the missing information, the essential one or any other information is requested by a journalist, but required through open social networks for example, an audience that reacts in a certain amount of time. The social network can be replaced by twitter or blog. A British TV Channel had the first achievement of this kind which performed a real-time information verification on Twitter asking the viewers to feed information on Twitter which happened in a half an hour. The information is then retrieved, sorted, checked and valued according to the investigation algorithm and its quality. Using the blog or faster means of response such as Twitter, new information or clarifications can be collected. Information may also be found on various forums or can be posted as comments to a particular article on the publication website.

Several types of crowdsourcing can be identified as regarding the data collected during a certain event or after it is finished. A subject based classification can be done this way and there are great potential situations to engage the public such as parking tickets, the emergency calls answering, various complaints, and petitions. In other cases, it should be identified the community willing to provide support, which can be one of a very specific area. In more complex cases, there is no defined community or potential knowledge available from the crowd (payment of taxes, defense contracts). Finally, there may be issues in the documentation, but help is needed for the analysis (defense contracts, state budget or prime minister's agenda).

From Data Journalism to Hacking

Data Journalism is a new field where the new media can support investigative journalism. It was first consistently used by prestigious newspapers as *The New York Times*, *Chicago Tribune* and *The Guardian*. There is no widely acknowledged definition yet for this concept that covers an expanding process which refers to the use and processing of large databases. These huge databases generally available and easily stored in the era of digital technology and the Internet, can be held and processed in several ways and lead to useful results for journalists, generating investigative issues impossible to document by other means, strengthen different conclusions with accuracy and a very high coverage. "More and more journalists are starting to practice data investigative journalism. Instead of investigating witnesses, sources or certain "deep throats", they do their investigations using data" says Jean Marc Manache, a French researcher from *Les Cahiers du Journalisme*.

The data journalism does not relate to a business industry but to a series of skills in the use of data. It is a process consisting of analyzing, filtering and organizing necessary data and it requires the ability to use it in the journalistic context. There are several advantages of using data in investigative journalism, from the topics creating to the relative ease of processing large amounts of information, and to the reduced costs of this method. Moreover, DocumentClouds emerged as a kind of free service built by and for the investigative journalists. DocumentCloud is a set of tools and technologies designed to help reporters to search

more easily, to analyze, and publish the documents from web sources. Databases contain information about the turnover, profits and taxes for companies, but can capture exceptional circumstances, such as the WikiLeaks phenomenon regarding the flow of certain types of classified or private information. Julian Assange himself turned to the support of major newspapers in the world for help in processing giant databases and the newsrooms did the same, using the readers for sorting and filtering the data. A common example frequently cited in the use of new media in journalism data is offered by *The Guardian* newspaper which had studied a volume of 500.000 documents that include the British lawmakers expenditures over a period of time, using the Internet searching tools. The Internet users managed to process 250.000 documents related to unusual circumstances, unusual expenses that were seized by the journalists, generating various topics. All things considered, one can say that the Internet has propelled the investigative journalism.

Some of the newest and most exciting applications that were presented at GIJC 2013 have been mentioned here. The Google Fusion Application which uses official or crowdsourcing information to draw maps (crimes, theft crimes, emergency calls, etc.) which data can be further used to generate topics of investigation. Using Microsoft Access (data base manager) one can synthesize data to deliver topics for investigation, displaying various data patterns and outliers. Microsoft Excel is a program recommended to be mandatory used for any journalist because it automatically gives percentages (accidents or murders), quotas and relevant graphics. Finally must be mentioned the data visualization which involves using various digital tools (network diagrams, drawings, graphs, infographics, animations, multimedia compositions) to explain, and to make various investigations accessible. Such a journalistic innovation was created in Romania and it is called VIS (*Visual Investigative Scenarios*) which was intended to provide a tool to read journalistic investigations online.

But that does not seem to be the final frontier, as it currently debated that the hackers, the computer specialists, the high performance operators have now become journalists' best friends. They can identify specific sources, "shake" the ICT systems and can gather data that would otherwise remain unknown, out of which the journalists can then

create high impact investigations. Gradually, they make their way into the journalism gear, making good pair with the journalist: one knows how to look for specific information, while the other knows what to look for and what to do with it. It can somehow be told that as the camera operator is a part of the TV crew, and the newspaper editor is part of the newsroom, so the hacker should be part of the online journalist team.

Another innovative formula to promote journalistic investigations and public involvement was used by *Gazeta Sporturilor* magazine in the October 2013 campaign. The campaign and the survey were called "Where's the money from Gala Bute?" and it is presented and promoted as a social game largely popular online such as the treasure quest. The treasure in this case is the sum of 1.5 million used to finance the organizing Gala Bute Championship event and it was widely investigated by the journalists for two years, between 2011 and 2013. The idea is that the journalists together with the public should help DNA to discover where the money is, who spent it and how, and prove it with clear evidence that the money were politically diverted. The game task is to cover a route in Bucharest using hints about the championship planning "behind the scenes" information in order to reveal and to make them understand the mechanism of money diversion. The game is designed to be funny and interesting, prizes can be won and it is open to the general public which can use any means of transportation or communication.

The paper started with an award so it should be ended with a ranking and that is *The Observer's* ranking of the most influential blogs in the world. The first one is *The Huffington Post* <http://www.huffingtonpost.com> believed to be the site that has revolutionized the political blogosphere. It is noted here as it frequently publishes journalistic investigations, although it is a political blog. The ranking includes *Talking Points Memo* (<http://talkingpointsmemo.com/>), a journalistic blog which gained reputation and won awards for its investigations and for uncovering the scandals and conspiracies at the highest level. It has already been noted the Romanian journalistic blog Cătălin Tolontan (www.tolo.ro) ranked among the first ten in Romanian blogosphere in September 2013, which frequently posts good journalistic investigations. Regarding online

media, the most popular one is www.hotnews.ro, a mainstream media platform which targets journalistic investigations, corruption cases and political scandals.

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TRANSFORMATION OF A NEWSPAPER INTO AN INTERNET TV: A CASE STUDY ON HURRIYET TV

ALAADDIN F. PAKSOY*

ABSTRACT. This study is interested in transformation of printed media in recent years and how the academic discussions on media convergence can help us to understand the change. As a case study, the research focuses on a Turkish media giant *Hürriyet* Newspaper and looks at how it created a new online TV in order to adapt itself to the new media order. *Hürriyet*, the Turkish flagship newspaper, strategically positioned itself to be active in online media and to meet Turkish youngsters' expectations of how to follow the agenda. The newspaper is one of the best media organisations in its initiative and receives millions of clicks every week. The media group that *Hürriyet* belongs to already has a news channel and it is also active on the Internet. However, *Hürriyet* TV is a new realm where the paper's area of expertise -namely news writing- is presented together with news videos that should bring more information to the news story. The study will be mainly focusing on the differences between the main news bulletins on *Hürriyet* TV website and the newspaper's printed version. All in all, the paper will seek to answer the main research question: "How does the main news bulletins on *Hürriyet* TV differs from the printed *Hürriyet*?" The study will employ content analysis method.

Keywords: Online news, Internet TV, Turkish media, *Hürriyet* newspaper, *Hürriyet* TV

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1. INTRODUCTION

In today's world, news is in continuous flux (Pavlik, 2001). People are surrounded by different channels that conveys uncontrollable amount of information. The new circumstances bring new models to news media. We have arrived at a point where convergence of media is continuing by the impact of the intersection of media industries, audiences, content and technologies (Jenkins cited in Kolodzy, 2006). Among the elements of this complex structure, this paper is interested in how technological changes influence the content. Therefore, as a case study for the empirical part of the research, the paper seeks to unveil how a traditional newspaper adapts itself in the new media order and how it transforms itself into a news portal and accordingly an Internet TV. This empirical work will be based on *Hürriyet* newspaper and *Hürriyet* TV website.

In an environment where news has become more fluid compared to the past (Pavlik, 2001), *Hürriyet* newspaper of Turkey also employed new technological developments and prepared itself for the expectations of the new audience generation. This paper seeks to unveil the changes *Hürriyet* adapted and the differences that can be observed between the Internet TV news and traditional newspaper version of the same media company. In brief, the research aims to answer the main research question which is "How does the main news bulletins on *Hürriyet* TV differs from the printed *Hürriyet*?"

The section below will be dealing with what is meant by the notion of media convergence and its impact on journalism. Then, some information about the historical development of *Hürriyet* newspaper and its Internet TV will be presented together with discussing the importance of *Hürriyet* in Turkey. In the fourth section, the method that was employed in the analysis will be explained. Finally, the findings and conclusion will be presented in the last two sections.

2. MEDIA CONVERGENCE

According to Jenkins (cited in Kolodzy, 2006: 5), media convergence is an ongoing process and it is about the intersection of content, technology, audience, and industries. Even though it is a new term and its definition has not been totally clarified yet, the possible emergence

of the phenomenon was predicted and highlighted long time ago. Nicholas Negreonte, who founded MIT's Media Lab, claimed in the late 1970s that computer, broadcasting and printing technologies would become together at the beginning of the 21st Century (Brand cited in Kolodzy, 2006: 5).

Negreonte's prediction was correct. Today, media convergence forces us to rewrite what we all know about media, and journalism in particular. It might be claimed that the Internet had the biggest role in this enormous change. Journalism has been experiencing radical changes since the invention of the Internet. This is probably the most radical change ever compared to the period since journalism came into existence. The new form of journalism consists of omnipresent news, access to information coming from all around the world, instant reporting, interactivity, enriching the content with multimedia sources and more importantly a new realm where content is customised according to readers (Pavlik, 2001: xi). Thanks to the invention of World Wide Web, these all provide new facilities to improve the quality of journalism. Pavlik argues that new media transforms journalism in four different aspects:

“First, the nature of news content is inexorably changing as a result of emerging new media technology. Second, the way journalists do their work is being retooled in the digital age. Third, the structure of the newsroom and news industry is undergoing a fundamental transformation. And, fourth, new media are bringing about a realignment of the relationships between and among news organizations, journalists, and their many publics, including audiences, sources, competitors, advertisers, and governments” (Pavlik, 2001: xiii).

Even though the Internet can be seen as the most important contributor to these developments, there is a point that the Internet should be seen just as a ‘product’ or a ‘symptom’. According to Pavlik (2001, xii), there is

“[...] a more fundamental technological change that has been under way for the past half-century and only now is beginning to crystallize: the convergence of tele-communications, computing, and traditional media. Together, this new media system embraces all forms of human communication in a digital format where the rules and constraints of the analog world no longer apply”.

By following Pavlik (2001) and analysing the notion of 'convergence' deeper, it can be seen that it is not only about a technological transformation. In Robinson's (2011: 149) words, "[i]n digital news spaces, the product itself is supposedly 'converged'". The notion of 'converged' was firstly understood as a "cross-media content dissemination" which refers to employing a newspaper story for a TV news broadcast. Recently, 'converged' has become a popular term to define the content distribution over different media. While the content is distributed visual materials are converged with audio and also text.

According to Jenkins, in line with the discussion above, convergence is not only a technical transformation but it penetrates people's lives as a paradigm. In this approach, convergence refers to the end of distinctions between newsrooms, individual journalists, and audiences (Jenkins, 2006 cited in Robinson, 2011: 149). In order to bring the discussion to what this paper deals with, it would be useful to focus on how 'media convergence' influences journalism.

2.1. Convergence in Journalism

According to Kolodzy (2006: 3), the notion of convergence in journalism has problems in its definition and it is usually misunderstood and misrepresented. To make the definition of convergence within the field of journalism clearer, Kolodzy's explanation about what convergence in journalism involves can be useful:

"Convergence in journalism means the coming together of journalists and certain types of journalism that have been operating in separate spheres - newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and online - to provide quality news in all those different formats. That coming together can involve shared resources and information. It can involve joint reporting and production on projects. It can involve "one-man bands" or "backpack" journalists - one person doing the reporting and producing of news for all the different formats. It can involve multimedia storytelling online or what could be called "converged presentation." It can involve some or all of these variations" (Kolodzy, 2006: 10).

According to this view, media convergence brings new responsibilities to journalists and their news organisations. The new

order in media cannot be understood without taking into account the expectations of audiences and finding the 'best way' to inform them. Kolodzy argues:

“Convergence refocuses journalism to its core mission – to inform the public about its world in the best way possible. But nowadays, the best way is not just one way: newspaper or television or the Internet. The best way is a multiple media way, doing journalism for a public that sometimes gets news from newspaper, at other times gets news from television and radio, and at still other times seeks news online. To be successful at convergence, journalists need to understand the strengths of each news medium or outlet and work to develop and provide news stories that dovetail with those strengths. Convergence requires journalists to put the reading, viewing, and browsing public at the center of their work” (Kolodzy, 2006: 4).

Having explained media convergence and its impact on journalism in summary, the following section will be focusing on some information about the research sample of this study. According to recent studies, video viewing on the Internet is increasing. Moreover, online news videos hold an important share in those views. Excluding the youngsters, news videos are the most popular video genre for Internet users (Peer and Ksiazek, 2011: 47). Bearing in mind this and having presented a section about the influence of the Internet and the notion of 'convergence' on news media, the section below will present brief information about *Hürriyet* newspaper and *Hürriyet TV* website.

3. HÜRRIYET NEWSPAPER AND HÜRRIYET TV

3.1. *Hürriyet Newspaper*

Since it was established, *Hürriyet* has always been one of the top three papers in Turkey. Its financial structure is a robust one compared to other Turkish media companies. The brand of *Hürriyet* is one of the 10 most known brands in Turkey and the paper can be seen as the number one newspaper which can get readers from different political and economic groups of society (Kılıç, 2003: 100).

The first issue of *Hürriyet* was published on 1 May 1948. The paper brought something new to the Turkish press and give more importance to visuality by using big pictures related to news stories.

Besides, the general tendency in 1940s in the Turkish press was publishing long political columns. *Hürriyet* chose a more popular language in its content and published shorter articles. This made the paper much closer to the regular people in the society (Inugur, 1988 cited in Yüce, 2007: 117). Even though the paper's ideological view has usually been near the 'centre' (i.e. the Turkish elite), the paper also holds a strong link with the 'periphery' (i.e. mass readership from different backgrounds) (Özkır, 2012: 381).

Hürriyet is seen as the flagship newspaper of the Turkish press. It is influential in shaping the agenda and it is described as the biggest and most powerful paper of the Turkish press by its former Editor in Chief Ertuğrul Özkök (Özkır, 2012: 359). To explain its political tendency, the paper can be roughly seen as nationalist, liberal and westernised. A recent PhD thesis about *Hürriyet's* institutional identity claims that *Hürriyet* always aimed to be against both 'communism' and 'sharia' and was published according to this stance (Özkır, 2012: 382) [The writer's comment was probably referring to the newspaper's position in Cold War period].

3.2. *Hürriyet* TV

Hürriyet newspaper's website has been one of the most popular news portals in Turkey since the portal was established.

"According to statistics, the *Hürriyet* website has 3.5 million unique users and 540 million page views as of November 2010, and is in first place within newspapers and eleventh place within a total 100 sites (The 100 most-visited sites: Turkey)" (Parlak, 2011: 66).

The transformation of news realms did not stop by creation of news portals on the Internet. In recent years, a new portal type emerged thanks to the developments in the speed of the Internet, and the expectations of audiences. Thurman and Myllylahti argue that "[o]nline news media have often failed to utilise effectively the multimedia potential the medium offers" (2009: 703). However, the new initiative transforms news portals into Internet TVs where the audience does not only watch news videos like in the previous news portals but also have the opportunity to watch edited news bulletins and other programmes. *Hürriyet* TV is one of the pioneers in this new model in Turkey. *Hürriyet*

newspaper's website already had a video section, nevertheless the newly established platform does not only include unedited news videos but a news bulletin which is presented in a studio, and covers edited and dubbed news videos. The paper's rivals in the market, such as *Zaman*, *Milliyet* and *Sabah* also have a website like a TV channel but not all of them broadcast main news bulletins.

The production quality of the news bulletins on Hürriyet TV can be evaluated as remarkably modest. The studio and the technical equipment look basic and far from the quality of a nationwide professional television channel. The presenters are not famous ones in the Turkish media and each bulletin does not take more than 6 minutes. The bulletin are presented with fast background music which makes the bulletin more vivid and fluid. Hürriyet TV broadcasts its main news bulletins only in weekdays.

4. METHOD and SAMPLING

The study employs quantitative and qualitative content analysis methods. As the period for the time sample is not the focus of the study, any period could be selected for the material sample. Therefore, the study will be covering the periods between 7 - 11 September 2013 and 11 - 15 November 2013. News items published in these two periods on Hürriyet TV website and in *Hürriyet* newspaper will be included in the research sample. To make the sample researchable, the online news video sample will be narrowed to the main news bulletins broadcasted on Hürriyet TV. The news items found in the bulletins will be compared with its newspaper versions in *Hürriyet* newspaper. As each newspaper issue are published at the night before its delivery, the news bulletin videos will be compared with the following day issue of *Hürriyet* newspaper.

In order to make comparisons between the two different media, some categories will be prepared to perform quantitative and qualitative content analysis. This will help to find systematic answers to research questions.

5. FINDINGS

This section will present what was found in the research sample after applying the research method explained above. Firstly, the section will reveal the findings related to frequency. Then, the second section will present the points that were investigated by a qualitative analysis.

5.1. Quantitative Findings

After analysing 10 main news bulletins published in two different weeks on Hürriyet TV, it was found that 80 news videos were broadcasted in the bulletins in these periods. The quantitative findings indicate that only 30 same topic items among 80 videos were also published in the newspaper version of *Hürriyet*. Among these 30 items, only 12 reports were included in *Hürriyet's* cover pages. This means that only 15 per cent of reports covered in Hürriyet TV main news bulletins was included in *Hürriyet's* cover pages. According to overall findings in the quantitative results, it can be argued that there is a low correspondence between the paper version and the Internet TV version of the same media company.

5.2. Qualitative Findings

The main news bulletins, broadcasted between 7 – 11 October 2013 and between 11 – 15 November 2013, from Monday to Friday on Hürriyet TV, were compared with the coverage in *Hürriyet* newspaper. The comparison was conducted by using qualitative content analysis and grounded on the question “What are the main differences between the two news reports which refers to the same issue in two different media?”

In general, the reports published in the newspaper version of *Hürriyet* are more detailed. This character of newspapers always makes them more powerful versus TV news bulletins and it still looks the same when the comparison is made by looking at this study's Internet TV news bulletins sample. This character of TV news especially unveils itself when it comes to detailed, tense and topical issues in TV news bulletins. For instance, it was found in the sample that two important political discussions about the Kurdish issue and Turkish education system for secondary and high school students are covered in a remarkably summarised fashion on Hürriyet TV news bulletin on 15

November 2013. This kind of coverage can be seen as McDonaldization (see Ritzer, 1993) of news where the audience are informed with daily news without any background or detailed analyses.

The overall analysis shows that if a topic is covered by both *Hürriyet* newspaper and *Hürriyet* TV news bulletin, the Internet TV version does not contribute something new to the paper's version. The Internet TV news bulletin version is simply a summarised news text of what a reader can get from the paper version. However, in some occasions, it can be also seen in the sample that some reports which published on *Hürriyet* TV covers more information than the newspaper version of *Hürriyet*. In the analysis of the main news bulletin broadcasted on 7 October 2013, it was found out that the news text on *Hürriyet* TV includes, interestingly, more details than the hardcopy version of the same report. For instance, regarding shortening the length of army service in Turkey, the news video includes even detailed information such as the number of soldiers who are going to benefit from the new legislation. In contrast, the same topic was framed in a more narrowed way in *Hürriyet* newspaper. Nevertheless, this example does not change the overall finding concerning the limited content in *Hürriyet* TV's news bulletin coverage.

During the qualitative analysis, the study was also interested in the lack of some issues in *Hürriyet* newspaper even though they appeared in the main news bulletin as well as the lack of some news items in *Hürriyet* TV which only appeared on the newspaper version. Therefore, the qualitative analysis categories also include the question: "What can be the reasons of not covering the same issues in the other *Hürriyet* media?"

The number of missing news items were much more compared to the number of same news reports published in both media. For instance, the breaking news about traffic jam in Istanbul was the first video of the main news bulletin on Monday, 7 October 2013. However, this topic was not covered at all by the newspaper version of *Hürriyet*. Interestingly, two more news videos about Istanbul also appeared in the bulletin on another day but these were not covered in the newspaper version as well. These show the difference between what an Internet TV and a traditional newspaper are interested in to report their audience and readers. The Internet TV gives more importance to

their audiences living in metropolitans where the Internet connection is much easier and more people follow online media.

Another interesting finding related to what is missing on Hürriyet TV main news bulletin was the lack of sensational, tabloid news reports. For instance, in the first period that was investigated in this study's research sample, the Turkish media witnessed an awkward discussion about 'the cleavage of a woman TV presenter'. This issue did not appear on the main news bulletin of Hürriyet TV while it was included in the cover page as a subhead report for two days. The same issue was investigated in detail by a special interview in *Hürriyet*, and it was discussed by the paper's columnists throughout the week. That does not mean that Hürriyet TV is mostly interested in politics or international news. It was also explored in the sample that technology related reports are remarkably popular for Hürriyet TV while they do not appear on the printed *Hürriyet*. Hürriyet TV tends to broadcast at least one news video about technological developments per day in its main news bulletin. This is understandable as an Internet user's expectations from news coverage would be different than a reader of traditional press.

In some occasions, covering an issue on Hürriyet TV but not on *Hürriyet* is related to the visual power of news videos. For instance, an absurd video about a couple's fight in Hong Kong was included in the main news bulletin on Hürriyet TV. It would not be that much interesting to include the story in a newspaper by publishing a news text and a picture to explain the event.

6. CONCLUSION

It cannot be claimed that there is a correspondence between the main news bulletins of Hürriyet TV and the coverage of *Hürriyet* newspaper. The news agenda of two media are remarkably different. For instance, the news stories which appear as the headline of the newspaper cannot be seen in the news bulletins.

Another interesting point is about the selection of news topics for main news bulletins on Hürriyet TV. Firstly, it can be claimed that Hürriyet TV does not give priority to the news videos that are visually important. If a news video's importance does not originate from its

visual contribution to the information we have about the event, why would we need to watch the news video? This evaluation is the most remarkable problematic point concerning the presentation of news on Hürriyet TV main news bulletins. The selection of news in the bulletins is limited with 7 or 8 videos per bulletin. It could be expected that this restriction should increase the quality of the bulletins, however, most news videos of the bulletins are banal or archive material where the audience can understand the event by only listening to the news text read by the presenter.

Another problem found in the news videos is related to its content and depth of information it includes. It is understandable that news videos should be more summarized compared to reports in newspapers. However, in the case of Hürriyet TV main news bulletins, the news videos are mostly a summary of the summarized. This causes the lack of 'Five Ws and one H' in the reports. In addition to the visual weakness in the video reports that was mentioned above, these two problematic points might cause unsatisfactory for the audiences.

All in all, Hürriyet TV presents a type of news narrative without any political stance to its audiences. This does not originate from being institutionally unbiased but from a tendency where the news coverage has become a fast-food style material. The audience consume the news reports with fast background music. The presenter talks hurriedly. This new style of news bulletin on Hürriyet TV is a condensed version of both traditional TV news bulletins and the detailed news reports of traditional and online newspapers. Future research about the audience's expectations from Hürriyet TV can help us to understand the points discussed in the article in a more comprehensive way.

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USING AN ONLINE INTERSCHOLASTIC NEWS NETWORKS AS A COLLABORATIVE CLASSROOM TEACHING TOOL¹

MELANIE FAIZER*

ABSTRACT. The University of Tennessee’s journalism department established an online news network that hosts the startup websites of secondary schools. The network was intended to help journalism programs make the transition to the web and to connect student journalists via their campus-based news websites. The network has unlimited potential as a pedagogical tool, mirroring as it does the Web’s deliberate interconnectedness, its entrepreneurial potential and its ideals of transparency and hackability. Students can engage with the network on many levels, from simple aggregation and curation of content, to the exchange of ideas on student reporting or regional issues. Web journalism in the classroom too often falls victim to a silo approach that insulates students from real-world and workplace realities where flexibility and collaborative practices are the norm. This paper introduces the concepts behind the intercollegiate online network and its use as an innovative teaching platform. Ultimately, the online news network begins to address the need for journalism schools to graduate students who can produce and manage content – and people – collaboratively and across organizations.

Keywords: web journalism, collaboration, web entrepreneurship, inter-institutional learning, web pedagogy

¹ My thanks to Dr. James Stovall for introducing me to the online news network and encouraging me to experiment with it in my classroom. Thanks also to the University of Tennessee’s Web Journalism (JEM 422) class of Fall 2013 for embracing the experiment in truly entrepreneurial style, and to Babes-Bolyai University for the opportunity present this paper at the “Media Convergence” conference in October 2013.

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Collaboration among institutions and organizations, whether in a business or educational setting, is a stylish subject nowadays. Geography has largely been removed as a constraining factor in collaborative work thanks to online technologies and the so-called social web.² Perhaps more importantly, traditional, or legacy, media companies are seeking ways to both integrate and compete with the online sphere, turning ever-more often to partnerships and business diversification. In May 2013, BuzzFeed.com, for example, a news aggregator whose readership falls mostly in the 18- to 34-year-old age range, invested in YouTube to create video content, using video provided by Cable News Network (CNN), a known media brand with an established audience.³ The new business landscape supports this kind of “coopetition”⁴ and allows for a particularly rich exchange of resources, both human and technical. In another, overseas example, the Finnish media entity Sanoma took early steps to ensure its viability by expanding into the area of education and educational publishing; it has encouraged innovative growth through social media acquisitions and internal entrepreneurship. Its multi-dimensional business has been studied as a revenue model of the future.⁵

Both examples – traditional media partnering with new platforms, and traditional media expanding and modernizing – demand human skill sets that rely less on autonomy and more on cross-generational relationships. In both cases, established media institutions are combining forces with grass-roots or experimental, unstructured business ideas, often started and run by young entrepreneurs who may or may not have formal journalism training, or even journalistic intentions in mind. These two examples have been successful so far, but their longevity is less relevant than the fact that similar hybrid models are becoming the norm.

² Gary Miller, Collaboration versus Competition: Trends in Online Learning for Workforce Development. Paper presented on April 27, 2010, as part of an IACE Hall of Fame Symposium at the Third International Conference on Adult Education at Alexandru Ioan Cusa University of Iasi, Romania.

³ *BuzzFeed And CNN Launch “CNN BuzzFeed” News Video Channel for Millennials*, BuzzFeed staff, May 28, 2013

⁴ Brandenburger, Adam. Nalebuff, *Coopetition*. Currency Doubleday Press, 1996.

⁵ Mueller, Sirkka. *Future revenue models: Transforming from textbooks to digital solutions in the educational publishing industry*. 2011

For the journalism educator, the challenge lies in recognizing the value of that flexible working environment while still teaching the principles of the trade. The Internet has made these kinds of collaborations possible in the first place, but then created a whole new set of challenges in terms of managing relationships that are no longer tethered to a location, a business culture or identity.

Establishment of an Inter-Institutional News Network

From this idea of geographic and institutional boundlessness came the Interscholastic Online News Network (ISONN). ISONN is a web-based platform for high schools (and colleges) to set up their own news websites. It grew from conversations among academics about the need to rethink journalism education and the basic curriculum. Marc Johnson, a professor at University of Georgia's Grady College of Journalism and one of the network's early founders in 2008 says, "We wanted to build a network where students could share websites – it adds to the idea of always having something new, and it would add content to everybody's site."⁶ Over the course of about two years, Johnson, together with Jim Stovall, a journalism professor at University of Tennessee Knoxville and George L. Daniels, associate professor of journalism at the University of Alabama, contacted colleges and high schools to gauge their interest in an inter-institutional web network. The co-founders organized a series of workshops and a conference with the goal of helping educational institutions make the transition to an online environment⁷. High schools are required only to choose and purchase a domain name and a template; ISONN, housed now at the University of Tennessee, provides the server space and the manpower to give technical support to the high schools as needed.

⁶ Phone interview, Sept. 13, 2013.

⁷ See the Intercollegiate Online News Network and Interscholastic Online News Network for more about the history and goals of the project. While it initially targeted both universities and high schools, the service naturally became less necessary for the former as they quickly adapted their own sites. High schools, however, have fewer resources and expertise, and the network of high school members continues to grow.

American high schools are wide-ranging in terms of their financial, technical and human resources, one reason that outside support of any kind is often welcomed. But even more, high school teachers often face resistance (or are themselves resistant) to moving online. As one high school teacher puts it, the biggest challenge for high school journalism programs is “convincing administrators, school attorneys and some parents to embrace Web 2.0 technologies rather than fear them.”⁸

With that hurdle in mind, the ISONN founders identified schools across the United States ready to sign on to a platform where they’d have none of the burdens of technology know-how or upkeep. The network started with a handful of schools, and over the past five years has increased to about 125 members.

The most obvious advantage of the network is that it frees students and teachers alike to focus on web journalism and deemphasizes the perceived technological hurdles. For several years, the primary unifying aspect of the system beyond the University of Tennessee’s involvement was an aggregated news stream that featured the best stories of member sites. The news stream is curated by university journalism students, providing an exercise in editorial decision-making and news judgment.

By 2013, with over 100 members and amid industry-wide dialogue over the online journalism curriculum, the network is now moving to the next logical extension of its capabilities by exploiting the Internet for one of its intended purposes: as a place for connectedness and sharing among discrete institutions.

Using the Online News Network in the Classroom

In Fall 2013, ISONN was first used as part of a classroom experiment in a senior-level web journalism course at the University of Tennessee (Knoxville). Before the course began, about a dozen high schools were recruited to participate in the class project. The university students were assigned in pairs to their “adopted” high schools and asked to establish and maintain contact with the teachers (and eventually

⁸ Carrie Ritchie, *High School Teachers Adapting to New Media*. Interview with Amy Hutter, *Newswire Magazine*, Indiana University, Spring 2012.

students) throughout the semester. High school teachers were first consulted as to their own expectations and needs. The requests that came back were varied and would require varying levels of expertise and knowledge. They included questions about adding widgets to websites, reporting with social media, generating story ideas, improving on web writing and headline writing, creating mobile-friendly content, and improving multimedia content.

Aspects of the project mirror the “flipped classroom” insofar as students gather information outside of the classroom, taking their lead from the high schools, and bringing these challenges back to the classroom for discussion and resolution among each other.⁹ In keeping with the flipped classroom concept, the role of the instructor becomes more one of facilitator, helping students reach conclusions and encouraging them to draw on their own knowledge to contribute to solutions. More challenging from a teaching standpoint, the inverted classroom allows for in-class content to be customized as the student requires it. This aspect in particular works well when the schedules and varying demands of other institutions must be considered.¹⁰

Using the network as a teaching tool is novel for a number of reasons: it forces one set of learners to engage another set where neither starts out with expertise or interests necessarily aligned. That learner-learner paradigm is ideally shaped over the course of the semester, with knowledge coming first from teacher to student at the university level, “through a carefully constructed scaffolding lattice of slowly retracting learning support, until the student becomes an expert on the knowledge area.”¹¹ As students acquire knowledge, the instructor’s support becomes less central and the students take on more demands from the high schools with a higher degree of confidence. In reality the process is messier than the above description would suggest, but the basic premise stands. Note the parallels to an entrepreneurial work setting that is by definition experimental and seeks to redefine traditional practices and hierarchies. “Bottoms-up innovation” means

⁹ Berrett, Dan. How Flipping the Classroom Can Improve the Traditional Lecture in *Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 19, 2012.

¹⁰ Freeman Herreid, Clyde. Schiller, Nancy A. “Case Studies and the Flipped Classroom” in *Journal of College Science Teaching*, Vo. 42, No. 5, 2013, pp. 62-66.

¹¹ Alexandrov, Nia. Velarde, Raul Ramirez. Alexandrov, Vassil. *Technological Advances in Interactive Collaborative Learning*. Taylor and Francis, Jan 17, 2013, page 129.

the newest ideas sometimes originate with the least experienced team members who have also often been the farthest removed from traditional business models. Entrepreneurship at its best supports a meritocracy.¹²

Uncertain Classroom Outcomes: How Will I Be Graded for This?!

The barrier of geography is erased by Internet technology, but at the same time, communicating from a distance creates obvious challenges presented by lack of easy, immediate and regular contact. As Brandeis business professor Robert Thomas puts it, "Collaboration demands your presence even if you're thousands of miles away."¹³ The timing of demands made by the high schools won't always (or ever) match the schedule of university classroom learning. This requires that a) either university students must be more enterprising in problem-solving beyond what the classroom is giving them at that point in time or b) that high schools must be as willing to be flexible in how and when their questions are answered. Both scenarios invite the university student to consider his or her own sense of initiative and degree of investment in the project.

A separate but related challenge must be to ensure "meaningful and productive interactions...in the absence of definitional consensus about such interactions."¹⁴ Without face-to-face contact and many unknown parameters, the learning environment can seem unstructured to the point of being rendered meaningless. The success of a virtual project depends in part on creating some common points of cooperation and some common understanding of what should be achieved. One of the first questions I encountered in my own classroom was the inevitable "How am I going to be graded for this?" – a question that is irksome to most educators but completely understandable in the face of this project. The

¹² Rossi, Dolene, et al. Exploring a cross-institutional research collaboration and innovation: Deploying social software and Web 2.0 technologies to investigate online learning designs and interactions in two Australian Universities. In *Journal of Learning Design*, The borderless classroom. Vol. 5, No. 2. 2012.

¹³ Robert J. Thomas, The Three Essential Ingredients of Great Collaborations. Harvard Business Review blog, June 1, 2011.

¹⁴ Rossi, D. Ibid., p. 2.

instructor must grapple with how to present the project as an opportunity and not a burden; how to keep students motivated in the face of a largely invisible subject; how to evaluate success in the possible absence of a tangible final product; and how to spend classroom time on the project to maximize benefits for the classroom as a whole.

The Argument for Educating Journalists Like Entrepreneurs

To mitigate some of these challenges, treat the classroom like a business. Use ‘workplace’ language: refer to students as “consultants” and encourage them to be experimental in finding solutions. While the debate continues over whether or not journalism education should resemble the teaching hospital,¹⁵ a project such as this arguably delivers the best of both worlds: learning fundamental journalistic principles and tools while still preparing students for jobs with the “disruptor organizations”¹⁶ that are filling the media landscape.

Share everything in the classroom, thereby bolstering a sense of collective investment. Where the classroom was once possibly considered an intimidating place, in this particular project, the classroom instead becomes a “safe” zone, where the outside participants (the high schools) can be freely discussed and compared. We spent a significant portion of class time bringing individuals’ questions to the table and engaging the entire class in finding solutions. A collective problem-solving environment helped to make everyone feel invested in the project’s outcome. By collaborating in the classroom, the students have a sense of commonality while at the same time getting exposure to vastly different sets of challenges. The diversity of the challenges presented also keeps them from falling into a silo mentality where they work only in isolated fashion with their school.

Some structure is of course necessary, even if it’s just an illusion of structure. Negotiating the kind of metrics that makes the project more meaningful can also be part of the classroom process. Some goal posts will help motivate students, while too much freedom can be

¹⁵ Densing, Monica, Ryfe, David. *Blueprint for Change: From the Teaching Hospital to the Entrepreneurial Model of Journalism Education*. University of Nevada, Reno.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, page 3.

overwhelming. In our class, we devised some common projects to complete (a student-driven wiki web glossary based on lecture materials; a DVD featuring student-made instructional videos for distribution to the participating high schools, for example) that were intended to uniformly serve the high school constituents. Projects like these, and the in-class problem solving also provided concrete areas for assessment.

Soft Skills Are Underrated

As journalism wanders increasingly away from tradition, journalism education should follow it. Collaboration is one of the cornerstones of entrepreneurship, so classroom models that include some form of institutional partnering can help develop so-called soft skills of communication, relationship building and problem solving. According to a recent study by the Associated Press, “companies are going to ever-greater lengths to identify the students who have the right mix of skills by observing them in role-playing exercises to see how they handle pressure and get along with others, relying more on applicants who have already proved themselves in internships and co-op jobs in which students work while attending school, and organizing contests that reveal how students solve problems and handle deadline pressure.” Preparing students for these kinds of scenarios requires educators to go outside the physical classroom, especially in the case of the journalist, whose need is greater than ever to be engaging, trustworthy, curious and personable.

In our very understandable rush to stake out territory on the web and claim our niche, we’re at some risk of forgetting Tim Berners-Lee’s vision of information democratization and connectivity for all. The very premise of the ISONN project exploits the idea of the web as it was conceived – as an open-source entity that anyone could change and improve, with the barrier of geography removed. While this class project is not creating or changing open-source software, it is in effect treating journalism education as open source. In journalism education as in industry, a silo or institutional mentality is not in keeping with the entrepreneurial trends we’re seeing, even among legacy media. We need look no farther than the application programming interface (API)

platforms being used by the *Guardian*¹⁷ and the *New York Times*, for starters. In the case of the *Guardian*, for example, it is seeking partners to use content in return for some kind of revenue or licensing agreement. Partnerships like these change the economics of traditional business models, but they also open the door to new forms of content creation. By introducing the idea of cross-institutional collaboration in the classroom, the hope is that students come away with some deeper understanding of the value and unlimited potential of the web as a communications tool. As mentioned earlier, the learner-learner paradigm is shaped over the course of the semester. Ultimately, the goal is to achieve some kind of “positive interdependence” where “participants perceive they are interdependent in that they share a mutual fate and that their success is mutually caused.”¹⁸

Any Inter-Institutional Collaboration Has Potential

As partnerships become easier to sustain and an even more natural part of the online media landscape, it makes sense that we begin already in the classroom to negotiate the practical and technical challenges of such partnering. It need not be between universities and high schools. The potential types of collaborations are also limitless: journalism programs might set up online networks to include community-based organizations, nonprofits, or other media entities. Exposure to working professionals and organizations outside academia offer practical benefits to students and instructors alike. As Howard Finberg says, “This is about mastery of skills rather than specific classroom work.” He advocates rewarding innovation, pursuing collaborative relationships in and out of the classroom, and expanding students’ roles as “community content providers.”¹⁹ At the University of Tennessee, the next step may be to start connecting high schools through the network

¹⁷ Ingram, Mathew, “What We Can Learn From the Guardian’s New Open Platform.” Gigaom Research, May 25, 2010.

¹⁸ Alexandrov, Nia, et al. *Technological Advances in Interactive Collaborative Learning*. Chapman and Hall, December 2012, page 18.

¹⁹ Finberg, Howard. “The Future of Journalism Education,” paper presented at European Journalism Centre’s 20th anniversary celebration in Maastricht, Netherlands, June 4, 2012, and reprinted by The Poynter Institute.

to foster story ideas and experiment with crowdsourced reporting among peers. Regardless of the collaborative choice, it's imperative that online learning and news-making be a reflection of both our entrepreneurial business landscape, and the web's community-oriented capabilities.

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MEDIA COVERAGE OF ROȘIA MONTANĂ'S PROTESTS

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ABSTRACT. This study analyzes the coverage of the 2013 September-October Roșia Montană protests provided by four local newspapers in Cluj-Napoca with regard to the type and intensity of the coverage, potential shifts in tunes, bias, and relevance of the content. The methodological design consists in media analysis of more than 493 articles identified, among which 84 were directly related to the protests in Cluj. To have a more in-depth perspective of the protesters claims, we have drawn a semiotic analysis of the protesters' slogans. The study found that local coverage of protests is limited. Most of the articles related to anti-Roșia Montană protests are short, informative, objective articles, with live-updates, photographs, but very few offering protesters' view through comments or opinions. The slogan analysis shows that contrary to the initial premises, anti-government slogans prevail over the eco-friendly ones.

Keywords: Roșia Montană, media analysis, local newspapers coverage, September 2013 protests, slogan analysis

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Introduction

Starting from September 2013, Roșia Montană protests have become both a local and a national phenomenon due to the extensive media coverage of the protests at national and international level. We have witnessed an extensive support toward the anti-mining law that was submitted by the Romanian Government. The 'Save Roșia Montană' campaign has been regarded as the largest civic movement in Romania since the revolution. The protests had begun on the 27th of August, when the Romanian Government approved the draft law that declared Roșia Montană a "public utility", *Gabriel Resources* announcing at the time, "overriding national public interest." The government's share in the project increased to 25%, whilst hiking royalties from 4 to 6%. The protests started in the major cities of the country somewhat shy, and managed to expand in several days at the national and global level. The draft law triggered 12 weeks-long Sunday street protests in Cluj-Napoca and in other 43 locations.

Protesters claimed for 12 weeks that the Parliament should dismiss the draft law concerning the measures pertaining to gold and silver-mining operations in Roșia Montană and banish, by law, the cyanide usage in mining activities in Romania. They also claimed that the Govern should overrule, by law, the environmental agreement for Roșia Montană and include Roșia Montană in UNESCO heritage list of sites. Last, but not least, they asked for the resignation of Prime Minister Victor Ponta and of the four initiators of the bill: Dan Șovaministers, Rovana Plumb, Daniel Barbu and ANRM director, Gheorghe Duțu.

Rather than being put to a parliamentary vote, a special committee was formed, tasked with advising a parliamentary debate in both legislative chambers. In the end, on the 19th of November, a joint committee established by Romania's parliament, voted overwhelmingly against the bill that would have allowed for the development of the company's Roșia Montană gold mine. The rejection of the draft bill, which would have finally set out a course for development of the mine, came after 14 years of waiting for permits amid mounting political turbulence.

Literature review

Representative democracy is believed to be the ideal form of government by giving all the citizens an equal voice. In this respect, Hauser and McClellan claim that democracy is based on three elements: the right to deliberate, the right to express the opinion and to vote, and the expectation that the majority will prevail (Hauser and McClellan 2009, 23). Therefore, democracies are expected to be more protest-prone than authoritarian systems allowing citizens more freedom of expression. For instance, as Przeworski *et al.* stress, in the twentieth century, strikes have been almost three times as frequent in democracies as in authoritarian regimes (Vanhuysse 2006, 1). The specialized literature is emphasizing that in post-communist societies the majority of protests are rather materialist or economic than based on identity-based issues (Vanhuysse 2006, 4).

In a context in which protests have become a predominant way for masses to express public opinion, the concept of participative-deliberative democracy should be considered. It is defined as being based on five elements: a continue discourse with the others, a civic and political form of participation, informal and unplanned informational exchanges, participation through a variety of methods, and deliberation at local, national and international levels (Choi 2006, 68). David and Julia Jary define political participation as the totality of individual and collective forms of citizens' involvement in the democratic process (Jary and Jary, 1991). At the same time, Gabriel Bădescu stresses that political participation is the sum of actions through which citizens aim to influence those who govern (Bădescu 2001, 11).

More specifically, Russel Dalton talks about two forms of participation: conventional and unconventional participation. Conventional participation refers to the classical forms of participation as electoral participation, participation in different campaigns, local activities, or contacting local or national representatives. Unconventional participation focuses both on legal and non-violent actions (as, for instance, signing petitions, signatures gathering, and authorized protests) and on un-legal and even violent actions (as, for instance, strikes, non-authorized demonstrations, or acts of political terrorism) (Dalton 1996, 72).

Bădescu, Sum and Uslaner consider that citizens' civic involvement is threefold. The first reason refers to the fact the citizens *can* participate, by owning the needed resources. The second reason states that citizens *want* to participate, meaning that there are certain positive attitudes and motivations regarding the involvement desire. The last reason claims that citizens *can be asked* to participate, individuals that usually would not participate are being mobilized (Bădescu, Sum and Uslaner 2004).

Protests and environmental protests

Deriving from the Latin words *pro*, meaning forth or before, and *testis*, meaning witness, a protest is considered to be an objection to the status quo, the act of thinking and feeling differently (Barnhart 1971 in Redekop and Paré 2010, 17-18). While there are forms of protests that do not involve crowds (letters and emails, phone calls, private conversations etc.), a protesting crowd involves a collective bold statement that it object to the policy or action of an individual or group (Redekop and Paré 2010, 17-18). Evolving from unconventional to normalized forms of political actions, social and political protests are considered means by which groups are trying to influence public discourse and political decision-making on certain issues (Verhulst and Walgrave in Purdue 2007, 124).

Usually, the main reason an individual engages in a protest is that there is reason to believe of an effective change of a given situation (Sopow 2003 in Redekop and Paré 2010, 19). The literature is underlying three major reasons that can motivate a person to protest. First, a protest gives voice to an inner sense that things are not right, gives the opportunity to change what is problematic and satisfies the need for action (Redekop 2002 in Redekop and Paré 2010, 19). The second reason refers to an overwhelming sense of injustice and intolerable conditions that dictate someone to do something (Sopow 2003 in Redekop and Paré 2010, 19). Finally, the feeling of marginalization, especially among young people, can become a strong reason for protesting (Redekop and Paré 2010, 20).

In the same respect, James Jasper considers that there are three moral consciousness that motivate protest: "deprivation of immediate needs, a demand for citizenship rights, and a desire for justice for third parties" (Redekop and Paré 2010, 24). Moreover, the literature is

emphasizing several sets of crowds: orderly - chaotic, peaceful – violent, planned – spontaneous and cohesive – fractures (Redekop and Paré 2010, 28).

Helena Flam is emphasizing the role of emotions within social movements. She claims that loyalty, anger, shame, and fear are the main emotions that can support social structures and relations of domination (Flam 2005, 20). Loyalty and gratitude are perceived the emotions that cement social relations and keep the interaction lasting (Simmel 1999 in Flam 2005, 21). Anger is experienced when one is confronted with power that limits the autonomy. However, anger is usually not shown when one expects punishment for its expression (Kemper 1981 in Flam 2005, 22). Shame is believed to have at least two functions. While, on one hand, one can feel shame when one fails to live up to own and the internalized social standards, on the other hand, shame is applied to fortify systems of domination and stratification. Those less powerful are confronted with systems that force them to think of themselves as inferior (Flam 2005, 22). Finally, fear is an inherent emotion in every form of legitimate domination concerning one's life chances (Flam 2005, 23). Based on the above emotions, social movements have to generate pride as a self-oriented emotion in order to replace demobilizing feelings as shame, anger, fear, or guilt (Flam 2005, 20).

The literature is stressing that social movement dedicated to environment integrity and preservation and a social movement dedicated to justice in the distribution of environmental goods and decision-making are two aspects of a single encompassing movement (Pezzullo and Sandler 2007, 1). In addition, Wenz claims that environmental movements have been sometimes accused of promoting injustice especially to poor people, both in industrial and developing countries (Wenz in Pezzullo and Sandler 2007, 57).

The profile of the protesters

Considering the wide range of protests, the profiles of the protesters can be increasingly different from one situation to another. Moreover, it is unlikely that the protesters are representative for the entire population. There are cases in which protesters are rather homogeneous and they can be recruited from different social backgrounds and hold diverging ideological beliefs (Walgrave, Rucht, and Van Aelstin Walgrave and Rucht, 2010, 78).

Norris (2002) claims that, in general, those who participate in protest actions tend to be younger, better educated, and male (Walgrave, Rucht, and Van Aelstin Walgrave and Rucht 2010, 79). However, depending on the issue at stake, the profile of the protesters differ in respect to the degree of violence, to the organizing groups, to the location and timing of the protest, or to the tools and channels used for mobilization. In violent protests, young individuals are overrepresented. Protesters following the call of alliances of diverse groups are expected to be more heterogeneous in comparison with those organized by radical groups. Workers rarely protest during the week and elderly people are unlikely to travel long distances to participate in protests. Protest calls via Internet will probably reach those individuals that use this medium who usually are young and educated (Walgrave, Rucht, and Van Aelstin Walgrave and Rucht 2010, 79).

Verhulst and Walgrave stress that there are two different types of protest situations and two different groups of protesters based on these situations (Verhulst and Walgrave in Walgrave and Rucht 2010, 43). On one hand, protests can be marginal, rowing against mainstream opinion and behavior. In this case, protesters are usually a minority that has a clear domestic target. On the other hand, protests can be based on the dominant opinion and practice. Thus, the protesters are representatives of a majority struggling for a valence issue. Having these two situations in mind, the literature states that if protesters stand up against a dominant opinion, they will differ from the population in terms of socio-demographic profile (higher education), political attitudes (more political interest, stronger ideological stance), and political behavior (more protest participation and more keen on associational membership). In contrast, in the valence issue mobilization case, a more representative sample of the population participate, including the weak groups too (Verhulst and Walgrave in Walgrave and Rucht 2010, 43).

Media representation of protests

In a democratic society, it is important to emphasize the way mass media perceive and present protests. Literature based on research is showing that news media usually treat protests critically underlying that mainstream media can discourage alternative participation. Moreover, several findings suggest that the importance of Web-based

media is underscored when it comes to alternative participation (Boyle and Schmierbach 2009).

In this respect, Scott and Street stress that social movements have found "new opportunities for political communication and mobilization through media and information technology, especially, Internet (Scott and Street 2000). Media control is more difficult than ever for political rulers. As Thompson states: "Ever since the advent of print, political rulers have found it impossible to control completely the new kind of visibility made possible by the media and to shape it entirely to their liking; now, with the rise of the Internet and other digital technologies, it is more difficult than ever". (Thompson, 2005: 38) And he emphasizes that this *struggle for visibility* achieving 'visibility through the media is to gain a kind of presence or recognition in the public space'. Libby Lester and Brett Hutchins argue that "Growth in networked digital communications technology innovation and use since the 1990s has helped to change the conditions for visibility in environmental politics. Offering the possibility of weaker boundaries, leakages and accessible transterritorial information flows, the internet, web and mobile technologies offer a tantalizing (if not always realized) source of hope for activists seeking to lessen the power exercised by corporate capital, industry and the established news media industry over formal political agendas" (Lievrouw, 2011; Renzi, 2008 in Lester & Hutchins, 2012, 848).

Although print and electronic news media have played a central role in environmental politics for the last 30 years through negotiating access, shaping meaning and circulating symbols, the Internet and the World Wide Web have become a source of hope for activists over the past decade. They offer the potential for independent information and unlimited distribution of it (Lester and Hutchins 2009, 579). Lester and Hutchins are analysing the strategies of environmentalists in accessing news media in relation to Geert Lovink's concept of "tactical media". Tactical media are believed to be what happens when the cheap "do-it-yourself", interactive media become possible. Digital communication technology becomes ideal for the formation of mobile and activist coalitions and tactical media action (Lester and Hutchins 2009, 581).

However, Lester is claiming that environmentalists can interrupt mainstream media power only briefly (Lester 2007 in Lester and Hutchins 2009, 580). While the Internet plays an increasingly visible role in

environmental politics, it is rather used in a way that reaffirms the dominance of print and electronic news media by adapting to the agenda and priorities of journalists (Lester and Hutchins 2009, 580). In this respect, environmental groups are permanently forced to find new strategies and new means to circulate their preferred frames.

Newspapers in Romania have often been criticized for selective reporting or more formally 'selection bias' behaviour. The situation is no different from elsewhere. Concerning this trend, research studies on the effects of news media's coverage of protests on the communication of their agenda to the general public found that there is a strong tendency for television media, unlike print media, to only report demonstrations that fit within specific accepted themes (Smith et al., 2001 and Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993 or Gans, 1979, in AlMaskati, 2012, 345). The researchers also found that the focus of these reports was on the theme or issue only, rather than on the events themselves.

Also, the size of the demonstrations plays a major role in the news media's decisions regarding whether or not to cover the event and in determining the type and frame of the coverage if any was provided (as McCarthy et al., 1996 and Oliver & Maney, 2000 show). Studies show that it is equally important whether or not the demonstrations fall within the media attention cycle. The researchers found that even demonstrations that are small in size can be heavily covered if they are related to the prevailing reported issues. However, given the fact that the media attention cycle is mainly shaped by official sources rather than demonstrators, leaving a very slim chance that demonstrations that are not directly linked to the cycle will be reported. As McCarthy et al. stated „The likelihood that a protest will be reported by the mass media is shaped by forces mostly beyond the control of most protest groups, unless they are capable of generating mass participation in demonstrations” (McCarthy et al., 1996: 495).

Methodological framework

Content analysis

In order to see how the protests were covered and how they were described in online newspapers, we have used quantitative and qualitative data analysis. We identified the frequency of news related to the Roșia Montană issue, but also the manner in which the information was

presented by the news. The content analysis was conducted from the 1st of September to the 21st of October 2013, on four online newspapers. The period of analysis was chosen deliberately; the 1st of September 2013 represented the debut period of local, national and international protests against the national law that allows RMGC to use cyanide in Roșia Montană mining. More specific, we analysed the period of eight protests that took place in Cluj-Napoca, at a local level but also nationwide.

Four online newspapers were analysed: *Ziua de Cluj*, *Făclia*, *Monitorul de Cluj* and *Gazeta de Cluj*. The online publications were selected based on their circulation. The online edition of *Clujeanul* was excluded from the analysis because its search engine that did not allow chronological search of archived articles related to the subject. To identify relevant articles, we used the following keywords: protests, Roșia Montană, cyanide, RMGC. We wanted to observe what were the journalists' attitudes related to the events, and what issues were most often reported about the protests from Cluj-Napoca and from the national level.

The analysis grid included information about: the release date of the article, journal, author, article section, the number of pictures and videos related to the article. Also, the analysis grid allowed articles classification according to the following characteristics: sources, information, comments, bias and relevance. The articles were noted based on the presence or the absence of the above criteria.

The source criteria analyzed the presence of interviews, quotes and paraphrasing information and the presence of journalism sources. The information criterion highlights the quality of information for the readers and the awareness degree of information about the related events. We noted the presence or absence of comments of the authors on the related events, respectively the subjectivity or objectivity degree. We rated the critical remarks content, which highlights shortcomings, failures, conflicts, and tendentious allusions made by the authors. And last, we rated the relevance criteria, respectively articles with informative and relevant content on the topic and important for Cluj-Napoca residents and protesters.

Content analysis identified several general features of how the media covered the protests in Cluj: the majority of articles covered only at a general level the protests description. As we can see, from a gross

number of approximately 500 articles only almost 80 articles talked about the protests from Cluj-Napoca and this through the local newspapers view. It is interesting how only few articles detail with extensive information the events from Cluj-Napoca regarding the protests. More specifically, during the period of analysis a total number of 493 articles on the topic of Roșia Montană were identified, from which a number of 84 articles related to the protest from Cluj-Napoca were analysed.

Newspaper	Total nr. of articles related to Roșia Montană	Total nr. of articles related to protests
<i>Ziua de Cluj</i>	122	33
<i>Făclia</i>	237	7
<i>Monitorul de Cluj</i>	83	31
<i>Gazeta de Cluj</i>	51	13
Total of articles	493	84

The content analysis results emphasized that at a local level the protests are described and detailed in a small amount. There is no trace of subjective cover of the protests, the articles being written on an objective, informative, documented manner, with information about the number of the protesters varying from one week to the other. There are several contradictions regarding the number of protesters, numbers that vary from some hundreds of individuals to thousands or ten thousands of them.

As shown in the table below, we can see differences in terms of the number of protesters identified by the four online journals. We can see that *Monitorul de Cluj* and *Ziua de Cluj* offer a more detailed perspective on the number of participants, whereas *Gazeta de Cluj* and *Făclia* almost lack information related to the number of protesters. Moreover, there are significant differences in terms of number of identified participants. For example, in the first day of protest in Cluj-Napoca, *Monitorul de Cluj* and *Făclia* reported there were approximately 1000 protesters, whereas in *Ziua de Cluj* we read about 2000 protesters or in *Gazeta de Cluj*, the number of protesters was not even reported. Significant differences exist in all the analysis weeks. One contrasting example is related to the third week of protests, when *Monitorul de Cluj* stated that there were about 4000 protesters in Cluj-Napoca Union Square, whereas *Ziua de Cluj* stated there were almost 10000 people attending the protest, while the other two newspapers did not even talk about the number of participants.

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Journal/No of participants	<i>Monitorul de Cluj</i>	<i>Ziua de Cluj</i>	<i>Gazeta de Cluj</i>	<i>Făclia</i>
1.09.2013	500-1000	2000	-	1000-5000
8.09.2013	6000	6000	1000	6000
15.09.2013	4000	10.000	-	-
22.09.2013	4000	500-2000	-	1000-3000
29.09.2013	5000	5000	-	-
6.10.2013	-	1000	-	-
13.10.2013	3000	2000	-	-
20.10.2013	1000	2000	-	-

Most articles discuss the political opinions of political opponents or supporters of the mining project. Most of the newspapers, but especially in *Ziua de Cluj* the news are picked from national news agencies such as mediafax.ro. Regarding the public opinion and political opinion representatives, the articles cites statements of the leading politicians who are involved in the start of the project; there are detailed opinions of secondary politicians who are not targeted by the issue, but we also find local and international celebrities statements about the issue. In all the newspapers there are no specific authors that recount the events, there are few authors that randomly write about protests or we can also find articles that are not signed, belonging to the editorial.

In terms of headlines, we find in majority of cases informative titles, concise ones that either locate or identify the representative politicians that debate the issue of protests. In some case, like in *Gazeta de Cluj* we can observe some subjective headlines, somewhat tendentious like: "Anaemic protest for RM in the centre of Cluj: Roșia Montană is just the beginning", "Roșia Montană case- judged in the family", "A nice case of conflict of interest", "Abnormal things happen for a Clean Justice in Cluj County Courthouse", or "Media ballet at Roșia" in *Ziua de Cluj*. Its headlines are centred on the main politicians who are related to protests from Cluj-Napoca, Roșia Montană or Bucharest, namely: Emil Boc, Crin Antonescu, Victor Ponta, Daniel Barbu, Radu Stroie etc. Also, the headlines report events from Cluj-Napoca protests (e.g.: „Over 6,000 people protested in Cluj against mining project in Roșia Montană”, "Protest against exploitation at Roșia Montană in Cluj, hundreds of participants have paralyzed traffic in the centre"), from Roșia Montană ("Spontaneous protestin the centre of Roșia Montană: We are tired of

waiting”, “Roșia Montană protests continue: the 22 miners remain stuck underground”), or from Bucharest (“HUMAN CHAIN around the Parliament Palace against Roșia Montană project”, “Daniel Barbu, booed by protesters at a debate in the capital. His car was damaged”).

From the 84 articles identified related to the protests, 20 of them recount the events with live-updates and details about the march route. The articles are accompanied by pictures from the protests and report the protesters’ march route that had changed weekly. The articles are well documented with pictures (usually from 5 to 10-15 pictures per event) that capture the atmosphere and excitement of the protests and people’s mimics and involvement. The photographs accompanying the text are very suggestive, showing the human chain of protesters both for the projects (in Roșia Montană) and against it (in Cluj, Bucharest and other towns and cities from Romania and abroad, such as Toronto, Montreal, London, Budapest), the damages made at Roșia Montană, the active voices of the protests etc.

We found out only a small amount of tendentious and biased articles related to the events. Most of the articles present the events as peaceful manifestations, with no violent incidents, with precise schedule and consecution. Also, the protesters are described objectively, with reference to their type of behaviour which is predominantly active but non-violent: “peaceful protests”, “non-violent protests”, “there were no incidents” etc. The only time when the protests were described as violent was when events took place in Bucharest: “Clashes between protesters and gendarmes. The gendarmes have used pepper spray. What generated the scandal?” as they have been reported in *Gazeta de Cluj*, or when Secretary Daniel Barbu was attacked with tomatoes by protesters or his car was attacked “Daniel Barbu, booed by protesters at a debate in the capital. His car was damaged”, “Ministry of Culture made a complaint to the police for the destruction of ministry’s car”, as reported in *Ziua de Cluj*. The manner in which the protests are described varies from peaceful to violent protest. At the beginning of the events, mainly the newspapers discussed about peaceful protest, which, even if not legal, was organized and carried out without incident. However, in September the protests have involved violence directed towards the Secretary of Culture, Daniel Barbu’s car which was invaded by protesters and hit with tomatoes. Some of the newspapers related the story in a pure

objectively manner, but in *Ziua de Cluj* we identified some tendentious articles that state the happenings. Also, in *Gazeta* we have identified several biased articles, with tendentious remarks, concerning the implication of justice in the investigations of the RM project. But they seem to be more of a personal vendetta than a serious journalistic coverage of the events (articles with titles such as: *Roșia Montană file judged in the family, A nice case of conflict of interests, Cluj Courthouse: Abnormal things for a clean justice*).

Overall, we can identify extensive talk about the protests in *Monitorul de Cluj* and in *Ziua de Cluj*, and in limited amount in *Făclia* articles. *Monitorul* is covering widely the events in Cluj, with hourly live update on the newspapers site; in comparison with *Făclia* which only talks about three protests out of eight that took place.

The manner in which the protesters manifest themselves varies: they shout slogans, they had drawn placards and t-shirts with anti-government messages, respectively with the Roșia Montană symbol, they wore them faces painted or have masks, and they have flutes or plastic bottles with which they tried to make noise and tried to be heard. The protesters are described differently according to the newspapers. In general, all articles describe protesters props that include banners, musical instruments, printed t-shirts, megaphones, flags, masks etc. The manner of representation of protesters targets shouts, marches, open discussions, dancing and singing, occupying public spaces etc. Also, the type of participants varies from local adults, students, children, elders, student organizations, football supporters, "dog-protesters that wear Roșia Montană T-shirts".

Regarding the protests, the majority of online newspapers, effectively describe the main slogans used by the protesters. Some of these slogans are: "Country betrayal is measured in gold!", "We all have a wound: Roșia Montană", "We want nature, not cyanide", "Not the corporation makes the legislation", "United, we save Roșia Montană", "If you care enough, come outside", "Your profit, our protest", "The gold belongs to the land. Save Roșia Montană" (*Făclia*, 2 and 8.09.2013) etc. From week to week of protests, new slogans are shouted and created. We will discuss in a more in-depth manner the slogans meaning through a content analysis. From *Monitorul de Cluj* we find out that such protests are taking place simultaneously in several cities (Cluj, Bucharest, Câmpeni, Turda, Abrud)

and abroad (Montreal, Toronto, London, Budapest). "People from 33 cities in Romania and 41 from abroad have solidarity in the fight to save Roșia Montană". Among the usual participants to the protest, one significant group is the one of the bicyclers or the one of those who protests against dog euthanasia (*Monitorul*, 10, 22.09.2013).

We have observed that most of the articles describe in a concise manner people's motivation to participate in the protests, but rather describe the protest route and have live-updates. Some of these motivations are found in an article from *Ziua de Cluj* (3.09.2013): "Protesters hope their action will empower both ordinary people and especially the rulers: "I finally put my foot down", points out Dan, a student. "We want to change people's state of indifference or recklessness." "It is important to make people conscious" says one young woman from Germany that participates in a protest in front of City Hall of Cluj. "We have nothing but the fact that we are free."

In *Făclia's* article from 8.10.2013 we find some more detailed opinions of the protesters: "The opposition to the Roșia Montană project exists! We came here, we true-born Roșia Montană citizens, owners of Roșia Montană, we came here and we weren't brought by bus as the miners. We came alone, willingly here among you to send a simple and important message: we caught them in trap in time! It's the first time over in 20 years, when we can win too, not just them. [...] We are tied by cord to this cause. I am extraordinary glad to see that a cause like Roșia Montană has truly awakened civil society" - said Eugen David, chairman of *Alburnus Maior*. "Each of us must make a covenant with his conscience that we will not stop the protests before the law falls. Our MPs are as they are: some of them are of good quality, but the rest, the majority, expect instructions from parties or interest groups. They will not take a proper decision only under the pressure from the street. Don't let them take you down! - was prof. Ioan Piso urging".

To summarize, the press review lead to some key ideas. For starters, local media mostly chose to cover and report hard news, leaving out the purpose or the significance of events, and the protesters' motivations. The events were reported in a quasi-objective manner (but there were, of course some exceptions, as we previously signalled). However, the contradictions regarding the number of participants raise some questions over the accuracy of the coverage.

Slogan analysis

The slogan analysis is complementary to the press overview because it offers a different perspective on the development of the protests and gives insight regarding the protesters' points of view and motivations. Moreover, "slogans are part and parcel of social protests. As part of building collective identity, activists attach labels to activities and name them appropriately in relation to slogans" (Liao, 2010, 34-37). Consequently, analysing the protest slogans represents a way of defining the elements that construct the collective identity.

Generally, protest slogans may come from three different sources (Liao, 2010, 34-37). Firstly, they can be carefully developed by organizers; secondly, they can be borrowed from other sources and adapted to the context and integrated in the current situation. Thirdly, slogans can be taken from published sources, mostly when they represent a certain philosophy or ideology that fit the needs of the current protest. Furthermore, there are special cases of spontaneity regarding slogans. Some are made up, on the spot, but, however, these examples are rarely memorable and have little resonance. This paper will aim, on one hand, to distinguish between the constructed discourse (where slogans are prepared by the organizers) and the spontaneous one.

Slogans can be considered protest props, alongside costumes, emblems, flags, and organization banners. A slogan becomes more effective when it has institutional retention, retrievability, rhetorical power, and resonance.

Complementary to the content analysis of online newspapers, we wanted to analyse what slogans predominate in the articles. Our goal was to try to identify what kinds of slogans predominate. Also, another aspect of the analysis was to identify whether the degree of memorability and clarity of slogans is influenced by the word count, thus increasing or decreasing slogans' resonance. Another aspect we took into consideration was if the mood of the verb influences the rhetorical power of a slogan.

Slogans can be considered protest props, alongside costumes, emblems, flags, and organization banners. A number of 74 slogans were taken into account in the previous research. The slogans were extracted from local newspaper articles, which have been included in the press review.

In order to obtain both a quantitative and qualitative data, following aspects were taken into consideration: the length of the slogan (number of words), the use of rhythm and rhyme, number of different parts of speech (nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, conjunctions etc), clarity, memorability and representativeness. For last three aspects, “1” (one) represented the presence of that specific characteristic, while 0 represented the absence of it (for instance: *clarity* – “1” = the slogan can be easily deciphered and put in connection to the Roșia Montană issue, while “0” = the main idea of the slogan is not clear).

General findings

The first stage of the research revealed the existence of the following types of slogans:

1. Anti-government - 24
2. Anti-RMGC - 3
3. Call for action – 16 (the significant number of such slogans suggests a shift in attitude, from passive to active citizens)
4. Environment-friendly – 13 (rather few, taking in consideration the nature of the manifestation. People seem more preoccupied with winning the quarrel with the government, rather than having Roșia Montană’s interest at heart)
5. Resistance – 2 (related to the “call to action” messages)
6. Solidarity/ Unity/ Use of national values/patriotism – 12 (could suggest attempts of manipulation/propaganda. Exploiting such feelings has proven to be effective, given similar slogans were used in other types of protests.)
7. Neutral/ Other issues – 4 (mostly referring to Chevron and the non violent manifestations)

Surprisingly, the eco-friendly and the “call to action” discourses were not the most popular. About 32% of the slogans taken into consideration are directed towards the political class – the government, the parliament and specific people in the state administration (Ponta, Antonescu, Barbu, Bănescu). Politicians are accused of corruption, dishonesty and stealing. They are portrayed as being thieves, untrustworthy, always securing their best interests, while people suffer the consequences

("Your profit, our protest"). Some slogans used caricature ("Antonescu Crin, the finest cyanide user", "Pontaur") in order to convey the protesters' contempt towards the political class. Others employ direct incrimination, also implying that some illegal doings took place: "There was a sizable bribe", "Down with the thieves", "All political parties, and same misery"). Finally, the anti-government speech also takes a moralizing turn, but this type of slogans has a lower frequency ("Shame on you").

Memorability and use of rhythm go hand in hand – a slogan that rhymes is easier to remember. In this particular case, memorability is also achieved by wordplay ("Pontaur"), re-use of proverbs ("silence is golden", "Country betrayal is measured in gold") or by paraphrasing famous quotations ("I think, therefore I don't believe RMGC commercials").

The average number of words is 4.92. The longest slogan for this analysis has twelve words, while the shortest only has one. The average number of nouns was 2.27, while the one for verbs was 1.33, 0.22 for adjectives and adverbs, and 1 for conjunctions and prepositions. It can easily be observed that there are very few determinants and linking words, keeping the slogans simple and short, while conveying only vital information.

Regarding the verb moods, one would expect to come across more imperative forms, given the nature of the manifestation; however, overwhelmingly, the most common mood used is the indicative, present tense, suggesting that the manifestations are strictly anchored in the present time.

"Us" versus "them" discourse is suggested not only by the multitude of anti-government slogans, but also by the verb persons (mostly first person plural). The use of such verbs implies a need for unity and helps mobilize the population by engaging every individual in the process. Furthermore, it gives the individual a certain power and the feeling he or she can make a difference. It should be noted that this specific type of discourse was also used in past manifestations, even in other countries. A similar parting took place during the manifestations generated by the global economic crisis, when the protesters used "We won't pay for their crisis" as a slogan (Liao, 2010, 34-37).

The slogan analysis offered some valuable conclusions. Firstly, given the rather high memorability (55.4%) and clarity (50.67%) rates, it is safe to assume that, generally, the Roșia Montană slogans are part of a

larger pre-fabricated discourse, rather than being spontaneous. The use of nationalist messages, the anti-government discourse, and the strict anchorage in the present moment demonstrate that “movements not only develop rational and strategic action, they continuously draw from cultural memories and repertoires, from values and moral principles to redefine their situations, events, and relations in ways that would legitimate action, sanction inaction, gain bystanders’ sympathy, reduce governments’ ability to use social control resources, and attract media attention to reach distant audiences” (Oliver, Cadena-Roa, Strawn in Dobratz & al. 2002, 11).

Discussions and conclusions

We have developed a content analysis that includes online versions of four local journals: *Ziua de Cluj*, *Făclia*, *Monitorul de Cluj* and *Gazeta de Cluj*, from the first September to the 21th November, a period that encompassed the organization of eight protests against the Roșia Montană minier project, project that was submitted by the government. We have analyzed over 80 articles on this topic.

All in all, the events were reported in detail on a small scale; predominant is the politicians’ opinion targeted by the project or the opinions of secondary politicians. Local events are presented in a small amount. We find the account of events only in the days when the protests took place, while in the other days, the newspapers articles discuss in general about the project and the opinions of politicians. Also the articles depicting the protests that had taken place are abundant in pictures from the events; usually 5 to 10-15 pictures accompany an article. These findings are consistent with the theoretical outline. Given that the media attention is mainly shaped by official sources (McCarthy et al., 1996), the lack of high detailed media coverage of Roșia Montană protests is plausible.

It is surprising to see that the articles describe in a poor manner the opinions of the participants at the protests and their motivations; rather the articles describe with live updates the events and the march route, or they list the slogans chanted by protesters. Also, we were surprised to discover inconsistencies between the online newspapers regarding the number of protesters that is considered to participate at the events. *Monitorul de Cluj* and *Ziua de Cluj* circulated several evaluations of the number of participants, while *Făclia* and *Gazeta de Cluj* hardly reported the

number of participants. Also, of all major articles identified on the topic, we saw that very few capture and describe the local events from Cluj, but rather describe the general issue or transcribe the opinions of politicians, opinions covered by major media agencies.

On the other hand, the slogan analysis offered some insight, showing the protesters' motivations and their views on the matter. Although the Roșia Montană protest is, at origin, an environmental one, the research revealed the idea that, in fact, the participants are driven, among other things, by frustration towards the political class and the inefficient governing. As it was pointed out in the theoretical framework, there are other reasons behind the urge to protest; because a protest offers the chance to start solving problems and satisfies the need for action, and is, after all, a reaction to the sense of injustice being done (Redekop 2002 in Redekop and Paré 2010, 19).

We consider that it will be useful that in a future article to conduct interviews to the protesters in order to find out their motivations, their opinions related to the events and the manner in which the participants see themselves. Also, we believe it would be interesting to study this topic in the future in order to analyze nationwide generalized views of the participants in the protests and to highlight the manner in which they describe themselves as active citizens with a voice that must be heard by the government. The events surrounding the Roșia Montană mining project perfectly illustrate how protests are devised in order to try to influence public discourse and political decision-making on certain issues (Verhulst and Walgrave in Purdue 2007). More importantly, the media coverage of these manifestations also suggests that the protesters not only fought to change the course of events, but they also struggled for visibility.

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Annexes

Gazeta de Cluj

Date	Title (translation)	Title (original)	Author	Column
01.09.2013	SOCIOPOL POLL: Romanians endorse Roșia Montana Project and shale gas	SONDAJ SOCIOPOL. Românii susțin proiectul Roșia Montană și exploatarea gazelor de șist	Andreea Udrea Sursa: evz.ro	news
02.09.2013	Basescu: I have no problem to trigger a referendum on Roșia Montana	Bănescu: Nu am nicio problemă să declanșez un referendum pe Roșia Montana	AGERPRES	news
02.09.2013	Civil society representatives invited to the debate on Roșia Montana	Reprezentantii societatii civile, invitati la dezbaterile privind Roșia Montana	AGERPRES	news
06.09.2013	The fifth day of demonstrations against the Roșia Montana project	A cincea zi de manifestatii împotriva proiectului de la Roșia Montană	-	news
06.09.2013	Hearings for militants anti-Roșia Montana at Section 17	Militanți împotriva proiectului Roșia Montana audiati la Sectia 17	-	news
08.09.2013	The seventh day of protests against Roșia Montana	A șaptea zi de proteste față de proiectul de la Roșia Montană	mediafax.ro	news
11.09.2013	15 people trapped underground in Roșia Montana ask for project initiation	15 de persoane blocate în subteran la Roșia Montana cer începerea proiectului	-	news
13.09.2013	Minister of Culture awaited with tomato es in Cluj	Ministrul Culturii, așteptat cu roșii la Cluj	-	news
23.09.2013	Roșia Montana and the country's fate	Roșia Montană și soarta țării	Adrian Man	news
23.09.2013	Roșia Montana case-trialed in the family"A nice case of conflict of interest»	Dosarul Roșia Montana se judeca in familie « Un caz frumos de conflict de interese »	Radu Lupu	news
08.10.2013	Abnormal things happen for a Clean Justice in Cluj County Courthouse	Tribunalul Cluj se petrec lucruri anormale pentru o Justitie curata	-	news
15.10.2013	Ovidiu Vasile Rusu opens anti-RMGC protesters' eyes	Clujeanul Ovidiu Vasile Rusu le deschide ochii protestarilor împotriva Roșia Montana	Tiberiu Hrihorciuc	news
21.10.2013	Advertisements with political message	Spoturi publicitare cu mesaj politic	Radu Lupu	news

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Monitorul de Cluj

Date	Title (translation)	Title (original)	Author	Column
03.09.2013	RM Protesters have blocked the traffic in the center of Cluj	FOTO - VIDEO: Protestatarii Roșia Montană au BLOCAT TRAFICUL din centrul Clujului!	Bianca Preda	news media
03.09.2013	Emil Boc' wife at the protest: I don't want to see this project accomplished	Soția lui Emil Boc, prezintă la protestul Roșia Montană: "Nu vreau să văd acest proiect realizat"	Bianca Preda	news media
03.09.2013	Poll: How many Romanians endorse RM project and shale gas	Sondaj: Câți români susțin proiectul Roșia Montană și gazele de șist?	Monitorul de Cluj	news media
04.09.2013	RM investment, attacked on all hands: in the street, at the stock market, in justice	Investiția de la Roșia Montană, atacată din toate părțile: în stradă, la Bursă, în justiție	Angelica T. Cîmpan	economy
05.09.2013	The walls of buildings in the center "decorated" with anti-RMP messages. No one was punished	FOTO - Zidurile clădirilor din centru "decorate" cu mesaje anti-Roșia Montană. Nimeni nu a fost sancționat	Monitorul de Cluj	news media
05.09.2013	Cris Antonescu, encountered at Cluj by RM protesters	GALERIE FOTO: Crin Antonescu, întâmpinat la Cluj de protestatarii Roșia Montană	Gabriela Dragotă	news media
06.09.2013	Anemic protest for RM in the center of Cluj: RM is just the beginning	FOTO: Protest ANEMIC pentru Roșia Montană în centrul Clujului: Roșia Montană este doar începutul	Bianca Preda	news media
08.09.2013	Anti-RM protest continue. Over 6000 people have blocked the center	UPDATE - FOTO - Protestele față de proiectul de la Roșia Montană continuă. Peste 6.000 de persoane au blocat centrul orașului	Bianca Preda	news media
09.09.2013	Anti-RM protests at Turda too	Proteste și la Turda față de proiectul minier de la Roșia Montană	Daciana Derda	news media
10.09.2013	Spontaneous protest in the center of Roșia Montană: We are tired of waiting	FOTO EXCLUSIV: Protest spontan în centrul comunei Roșia Montană: Ne-am săturat de atâta așteptat	Monitorul de Cluj	news media
10.09.2013	A citizen from Cluj tells how he experienced anti-RMP protests in Montreal	Un clujean povestește cum a trăit experiența protestelor anti-Roșia Montană din Montreal	Monitorul de Cluj	news media
10.09.2013	Turda against Cyanide exploitation at Roșia Montană!	Turdenii s-au declarat împotriva exploatării cu cianuri la Roșia Montană!	Daciana Derda	news media
13.09.2013	An actor from Hollywood militates for Roșia Montană	Un actor de la Hollywood militează pentru Roșia Montană	Monitorul de Cluj	map of the word

Date	Title (translation)	Title (original)	Author	Column
13.09.2013	RM protests continue: the 22 miners remain stuck underground	PROTESTUL de la Roșia Montană continuă: Cei 22 de mineri rămân blocați în subteran	Monitorul de Cluj	news media
14.09.2013	RM protests continue: the 33 miners refuse to get out. Some have health problems	PROTESTUL de la Roșia Montană continuă: Cei 33 de mineri refuză să iasă la suprafață. Unii au probleme de sănătate	Monitorul de Cluj	news media
15.09.2013	RM protests: the miners ask for a debate with Parliament group leaders or Guvern representatives	PROTESTE la Roșia Montană: Minerii cer să discute cu liderii grupurilor parlamentare sau cu reprezentanții ai Guvernului	Monitorul de Cluj	news media
18.09.2013	Ponta, on RM protests: There are economic interests from abroad	Ponta, despre protestele privind Roșia Montană: Există interese economice din afara României	Monitorul de Cluj	news media
22.09.2013	HUMAN CHAIN around Palatul Parlamentului against RMP	LANȚ UMAN în jurul Palatului Parlamentului împotriva proiectului Roșia Montană	Monitorul de Cluj	news media
22.09.2013	Over 4000 people from Cluj marching to save RM	FOTO - UPDATE: Peste 4.000 de clujeni, într-un marș Centru-Mănăstur și retur, pentru a salva Roșia Montană	Gabriela Dragotă	news media
23.09.2013	Anti-RMP protest in Budapest	Protest la Budapesta față de proiectul Roșia Montană	Monitorul de Cluj	map of the word
25.09.2013	RM: Groups of foreign youngsters with German and Hungarian cars paste posters against RMGC project	Roșia Montană: Grupuri de tineri străini, în mașini de Ungaria și Germania, lipesc afișe împotriva proiectului RMGC	Monitorul de Cluj	news media
29.09.2013	Clashes between protesters and gendarmes. The gendarmes have used pepper spray. What generated the scandal?	UPDATE: Altercații între protestatari și jandarmi. Jandarmii au folosit spray lacrimogen. De la ce a pornit scandalul?	Angelica T. Cîmpan	news media
30.09.2013	Tudor Chirila called out at Cluj: United we save RM!	Tudor Chirilă a strigat la Cluj: „Uniți salvăm Roșia Montană!”	Angelica T. Cîmpan	news media
30.09.2013	Romanians' Anti-RMP protest from all around the world	Protestele românilor în toată lumea față de proiectul Roșia Montană	Monitorul de Cluj	map of the word
06.10.2013	Cluj students join anti-RMP protests	Studentii din Cluj se alătură protestelor pentru Roșia Montană	Gabriela Dragotă	news media
06.10.2013	USA Romanian political scientist: In another	ziare.com: Politolog român din SUA: În alt sistem, la	Monitorul de Cluj	press review

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Date	Title (translation)	Title (original)	Author	Column
	system, at RM they would have buried some talkative protesters	Roșia Montană mai îngropau și câțiva protestatari guralivi		
07.10.2013	Hundreds of Canadians have heard about Save Roșia Montană Campaign through the art protest in Toronto	Sute de canadieni au aflat despre Campania Salvați Roșia Montană datorită protestului prin artă de la Toronto	Andreea Vlad	map of the word
13.10.2013	Piata Unirii demonstrators threatening to strike and block institutions of the Roșia Montană Project will be approved	GALERIE FOTO Cluj: Manifestanții din Piața Unirii amenință cu grevă și cu blocarea instituțiilor dacă proiectul de la Roșia Montană va fi aprobat	Bianca Preda	news media
15.10.2013	SVM: Where have you seen something like this: people not being able to ask for working places?	SVM: Unde s-a mai văzut ca oamenii să nu poată cere locuri de muncă?	Monitorul de Cluj	economy
16.10.2013	Mining company's employees and supporters, threatened with death	Angajații RMGC și susținătorii exploatării miniere, AMENINȚAȚI CU MOARTEA	Monitorul de Cluj	news media
20.10.2013	Traffic jam solved after negotiations between the gendarmes and the protestors	UPDATE Traficul în fața Prefecturii Cluj, deblocat în urma negocierilor dintre jandarmi și protestatari	Monitorul de Cluj	news media

Ziua de Cluj

Date	Title (translation)	Title (original)	Author	Column
01.09.2013	SOCIOPOL POLL: Romanians endorse Roșia Montana Project and shale gas	SONDAJ SOCIOPOL. Românii susțin proiectul Roșia Montană și exploatarea gazelor de șist	Ziua de Cluj	event
01.09.2013	Protest against exploitation at Roșia Montană in Cluj, hundreds of participants have paralyzed traffic in the center	Protest împotriva exploatării de la Roșia Montană la Cluj; sutele de participanți au paralizat traficul în centru	Mihai Prodan	event
03.09.2013	Traffic blocked in front of City Hall Cluj-Napoca, on Motilor street, by protesters	Trafic blocat în fața Primăriei Cluj-Napoca, pe Motilor, de protestatari	Ovidiu Cornea	event
08.09.2013	Large protest in downtown Cluj PHOTO / VIDEO	Protest de amploare în centrul Clujului FOTO / VIDEO	Ovidiu Cornea	event
08.09.2013	Over 7,000 people, on Miner's Day at Roșia Montană. Mayor asks for miners support PHOTO	Peste 7.000 de oameni, de Ziua Minerului la Roșia Montană. Primarul cere susținere pentru mineri FOTO	Ziua de Cluj	event

Date	Title (translation)	Title (original)	Author	Column
09.09.2013	Uioreanu "imperative" asks Cluj MPs to vote against the Roșia Montană gold mining. What reasons he has	Uioreanu le cere "imperativ" parlamentarilor clujeni să voteze împotriva exploatării aurului de la Roșia Montană. Ce motive are	Ziua de Cluj	event
11.09.2013	Tensions at Roșia Montană: dozens of miners are blocked underground, hundreds protest at the surface	Tensiuni la Roșia Montană: zeci de mineri s-au blocat în subteran, sute protestează la suprafață	realitatea.net	event
12.09.2013	MPs vote against exploitation USL Cluj in Roșia Montană	Parlamentarii USL din Cluj votează împotriva exploatării de la Roșia Montană	Ziua de Cluj	event
12.09.2013	The 22 miners continue the underground protest at Roșia Montană	Cei 22 de mineri continuă protestul în subteran la Roșia Montană	mediafax	event
12.09.2013	The 22 miners continue the underground protest at Roșia Montană VIDEO	Cei 22 de mineri continuă protestul în subteran la Roșia Montană VIDEO	REALITATEA TV Cluj	event
13.09.2013	Minister Barbu boycotted by protesters in Cluj VIDEO	Ministrul Barbu, boicotat de protestatari la Cluj VIDEO	Ziua de Cluj	event
14.09.2013	Protest at Roșia Montană: the 33 miners refused to come out. Some of them have health problems	Protestul de la Roșia Montană: cei 33 de mineri refuză să iasă la suprafață. Unii au probleme de sănătate	mediafax	event
15.09.2013	Major protest at Cluj against Roșia Montană exploitation, PHOTO/VIDEO	Protest de amploare împotriva exploatării de la Roșia Montană, la Cluj FOTO/VIDEO	Ziua de Cluj	event
15.09.2013	Miners gave up protests after talking with Prime Minister Ponta	Minerii au renunțat la proteste, după ce au discutat cu premierul Ponta	realitatea.net	event
15.09.2013	Ponta: "I discuss even with the protesters from University Square that I know on the subject Roșia Montană"	Ponta: "Discut și cu protestatarii pe care-i cunosc din Piața Universității pe subiectul Roșia Montană"	mediafax	event
22.09.2013	New protest in downtown Cluj PHOTO / VIDEO	Nou protest în centrul Clujului FOTO / VIDEO	Ziua de Cluj	event
24.09.2013	Antonescu: I don't go to the Univeristy square. We can be cursed by the protesters	Antonescu: Nu merg la Universitate. Putem să vedem dacă ne înjură sau dacă ne înjură mai rău	mediafax	event
25.09.2013	The mayor supports his wife, from distance: "Politicians have other means to protest on issues such as Roșia Montană"	Primarul își susține soția, de la distanță: "Politicienii au și alte mijloace de a protesta în probleme precum Roșia Montană"	Ziua de Cluj	event

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Date	Title (translation)	Title (original)	Author	Column
25.09.2013	Incidents at Roșia Montană VIDEO	Incidente la Roșia Montană VIDEO	realitatea tv cluj	event
25.09.2013	Media ballet at Rosia VIDEO	Balet mediatic" la Roșia VIDEO	realitatea tv cluj	event
26.09.2013	MPs visit in Alba ended in Câmpeni, protesters stopped manifesting	Vizita parlamentarilor în Alba s-a încheiat la Câmpeni, protestatarii au încetat manifestarea	mediafax	event
29.09.2013	The fifth week of ample protests at Cluj. Several demonstrators were pushed by gendarmes, using pepper spray PHOTO / VIDEO	A cincea săptămână de proteste ample la Cluj. Câțiva manifestanți s-au îmbrâncit cu jandarmii, folosindu-se un spray lacrimogen FOTO/VIDEO	Ziua de Cluj	event
06.10.2013	The sixth week of protests in Cluj's downtown PHOTO	A șasea duminică de proteste în centrul Clujului FOTO	Ziua de Cluj	event
07.10. 2013	Nine suspects identified in the incident in which the Minister of Culture was assaulted	Nouă suspecți identificați în cazul incidentului în care a fost agresat ministrul Culturii	mediafax	economy
13.10.2013	New protest again in the center of Cluj, against RMGC. In the market - a few, at the march - thousands	Protest nou în centrul Clujului, împotriva RMGC. În piață - câteva sute, la marș - câteva mii	Ziua de Cluj	event
18.10.2013	Daniel Barbu, booed by protesters at a debate in the capital. His car was damaged	Daniel Barbu, huiduit de protestatari la o dezbatere în Capitală, mașina sa a fost avariata	mediafax	politics
18.10.2013	Ministry of Culture made a complaint to the police for the destruction of ministry's car	Ministerul Culturii a depus plângere la Poliție, pentru distrugerea mașinii ministerului	mediafax	event
18.10.2013	Rem prosecution for assault against morality, in the incidents whith Barbu Minister	Urmărire penală in rem pentru ultraj contra bunelor moravuri, în cazul incidentelor cu Barbu	mediafax	event
19.10.2013	Stroe wants that the protests against the Roșia Montană mining project to remain peaceful. "Violence is not a solution!"	Stroe vrea ca protestele față de proiectul minier de la Roșia Montană să rămână pașnice. "Niciodată violența nu este o soluție!"	mediafax	event
20.10.2013	New protests in Cluj against the Roșia Montană project PHOTO / VIDEO	Noi proteste la Cluj față de proiectul de la Roșia Montană FOTO/VIDEO	Anca Mureșan	event
21.10.2013	Tobă: If protests will escalate, we will promptly deal with any criminal accusations	Tobă: Dacă protestele vor degenera, vom soluționa cu celeritate eventualele dosare penale	mediafax	event

Faclia

Date	Title (translation)	Title (original)	Author	Column
02.09.2013	Protest against mining at Roșia Montană in Cluj: with cyanide you can not wash your hands	Protest împotriva exploatării miniere de la Roșia Montană, la Cluj: Cu cianură nu te poți spăla pe mâini	M. Tripon	social
03.09.2013	A new protest against the mining project of gold deposits in Roșia Montană, in Cluj-Napoca	Un nou protest împotriva proiectului de exploatare a zăcămintelor de aur de la Roșia Montană, la Cluj-Napoca	Faclia	social
08.09.2013	Over 6,000 people protested in Cluj against mining project in Roșia Montană	Peste 6.000 de persoane au protestat la Cluj împotriva proiectului minier de la Roșia Montană	M. Tripon	event, social
11.09.2013	Catalin Ivan (PSD): Emil Boc has not said a word about Roșia Montană	Cătălin Ivan (PSD): Emil Boc n-a scos un cuvânt despre Roșia Montană	Faclia	politics
13.09.2013	Cluj PSD MPs announced Thursday that they will vote against the mining project in Roșia Montană	Parlamentarii clujeni ai PSD au anunțat, joi, că vor vota împotriva proiectului minier de la Roșia Montană	Faclia	editorial
15.09.2013	Miners trapped underground in Roșia Montană surfaced after discussion with Prime Minister Ponta	Minerii blocați în subteran la Roșia Montană au ieșit la suprafață după discuția cu premierul Ponta	Faclia	event, politics
22.09.2013	A new protest against the Roșia Montană project in Cluj-Napoca	Un nou protest împotriva proiectului de la Roșia Montană, la Cluj-Napoca	Faclia	politics

PROTECTING AND RESPECTING COPYRIGHT. ROMANIAN PRESS PHOTOGRAPHY

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ABSTRACT. Currently, through its implications, the infringement of the intellectual property rights is one of the greatest issues regarding the photography industry. This also applies to press photography, and when taking into discussion this aspect, Romania makes no exception. However, not many are those who realize the legal implications and the result of the unauthorized usage of photography. Therefore, this study is meant to raise awareness regarding this particular problem of the infringement of the intellectual property rights in the Romanian press photography.

Keywords: copyright, Romanian press photography

Copyright is an issue that people, generally, and photographers, especially, stumble over every day. However, not many are those who realize this and are aware of all the implications of its infringement. On the other hand, not many are those who are aware of the fact that copyright exists and *has been created for the public good, not for the private benefit of the authors*¹. While surfing the web, people daily pass by hundreds of images out of which some are powerful or meaningful enough to get their attention. From time to time, one downloads images in order to post them in their personal online galleries, on social networks albums, to use them as chat programs avatars, illustrations

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¹ Patry, William, *Moral Panics and the Copyright Wars*, Oxford University Press, 2009

for blog posts and so on. Not always do they realize that showing no interest in the copyright of the images and using them without permission may have consequences under the incision of the law.

When it comes to press photography, the situation does not stand different at all. It often happens that newspapers, media websites and sometimes even TV channels use pictures from sources that are not given credits to in order to illustrate their journalistic products / materials / articles. In other words, the press institution does not mention the author or the source of the images. This is as an even more critical matter, taking into consideration the fact that the pictures get to be broadcasted.

In order to get an extensive image on how Romania positions itself regarding the whole copyright protection issue, this research aims to deal with this aspect from multiple perspectives: of the photojournalist, of the press institution and of the media consumer. It will be focused on observing the way in which all of these three entities relate to copyright.

The hypothesis that initiated the research is that when it comes to photography, a consistent percentage of Romanians (including here not only the media consumer, but sometimes even the journalists and the media institutions) tend to ignore and infringe copyright.

Internationally valid aspects regarding copyright

Whether we are discussing music, literary creations, films, visual arts or performing arts, whether if it is about science or about art, we are talking about intellectual property, and the authors of the creations are implicit copyright holders. Nevertheless, copyright does not refer exclusively to the authors of the creation for that matter, but also to producers, performers, interpreters, transmitters and broadcasters, depending on the situation².

As a copyright holder, you have a series of exclusive rights on your creation³:

- the reproduction right (the right to make copies)
- the adaptation right (the right to adapt the creation in order to obtain derivative creations)

² <http://wipo.int/copyright/en/>

³ McJohn, Stephen, *Copyright: examples and explanations*, Aspen Publishers, 2006

- the public distribution right (the right to distribute copies of the creation by sale, rental, lease, lending or other means of transfer of ownership)
- the public performance and public display right (the right to perform and to display the creation publicly)

According to the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), *Copyright and related rights protect the rights of authors, performers, producers and broadcasters, and contribute to the cultural and economic development of nations*⁴. WIPO is the organization responsible with and constantly working on developing internationally valid standards regarding copyright and related rights. It was founded back in 1967, under United Nations' aegis, and nowadays 185 states are members of it. WIPO's aim is to establish a balanced and accessible intellectual property system which would support and reward creativity, stimulate innovation and bring a notable contribution to the economic development, therewith protecting the interest of the masses.

According to WIPO, copyright and related rights have three main purposes: first, they bring progress and prosperity on a global scale, by supporting the technological and cultural creations; secondly, the legal protection of the artistic and scientific creations encourages the investments; thirdly, they stimulate the economic growth, by creating new jobs and new industries. In other words, respecting the copyright brings benefits to both the creator and the consumer.

The *WIPO Copyright Treaty*, adopted in 1996, is the latest and most complex international copyright treaty. The other two, that constituted the basis of this treaty, are the *Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works* (dating from 1886, with subsequent additions and revisions) and the *Universal Copyright Convention* (dating from 1952). The *Berne Convention* remains the most important of the two, since, basically, the *UCC* was nothing but an alternative for the states which disagreed with several aspects of the *Berne Convention*, but still wanted to submit to a multilateral form of copyright protection treaty. On basis of the *Berne Convention* had later been established several sets of legislative rules regarding the protection of intellectual property, rules that every signatory state has adopted.

⁴ <http://wipo.int/copyright/en/>

WIPO is establishing global standards regarding the protection and abidance by copyright; however, it has no legislative power, therefore it cannot apply sanctions in case of infringement. This is an issue that every country handles by its own laws.

Copyright in Romania

As any other civilized state, Romania has also created and improved, along the years, a set of legislative norms which protect the intellectual property, by virtue of the stipulations of the *Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works*. The convention was ratified by Romania through *Law no. 77/1998*.

In Romania, the first law regarding copyright was the *Law of literary and artistic property*, adopted on the 28th of June, 1923. On the 24th of July 1946, there came a law regarding the editing contract and the copyright on literary creations, but it was repealed on January 14th, 1949. Two years later, in 1951, a new decree on copyright was adopted, and then it was modified a year later. On June 27th 1956, all these laws were repealed by *Decree no. 321/1956 regarding copyright*. Nowadays, *Law no. 8/1996* is the legislation protecting copyright in Romania. It has been changed twice: first by *Law no. 285/2004*, and later by the *Emergency Ordinance no. 123/2005*.

Law no. 8/1996 refers to any kind of original creation in the field of arts, sciences, literature etc. It mentions the fact that copyright is about the author and it embodies *both moral and patrimonial attributes*⁵. The moral rights include the following: the right to decide whether, how and when the creation will be brought to the public; the right to request the recognition of the paternity; the right to decide the name under which the creation will be brought to the public; the right to demand respect for the integrity of the creation and to oppose to any modification of it; the right to retract the creation, compensating, if necessary, the owners of the right to use, prejudiced by the retraction. The patrimonial rights include: *the right to broadcast, reproduce, copy, sell, lend, borrow, import, retransmit and create derivative works; also, the patrimonial rights include the right to disallow any of the above mentioned*⁶.

⁵ Ch. 1 of *Law no. 8/1996*

⁶ Ch.3 of *Law no. 8/1996*

According to the law, the author is the person or group of persons who has created the piece of work. The copyright is recognized even if the creation is not brought to the public and it is valid even if the creation stands incomplete. However, we have an issue rising here: the law stipulates that, in case there are no proofs to attest the contrary, the author is considered the first person to ever bring the creation to the public. In other words, the law does not necessary protect the author, but the person who assumes the creation as being his own. Lacking any other evidence (the real author might not even be aware of the fraud), he legally remains the author of the creation.

The author owns the copyright on his creation throughout his entire life and the first 70 years after his death. If the creation is the result of a collective work, copyright expires 70 years after the death of the last author. The law is also applicable for creations published or broadcasted anonymously or under a pseudonym. However, in this case, copyright expires 70 years after the work has been published or broadcasted. Copyright is indefinitely inherited by the author's legal descendants. If there are no descendants, copyright goes to the management organization with the largest number of members from that creation field. The owner of the copyright can give, written, the patrimonial rights that he benefits from.

Law no. 8/1996 has a few special provisions regarding plastic arts, architectural and photographic creations, enlisted in *Chapter 10*. The persons who organize exhibitions featuring artwork are responsible for the integrity of the creations, also having the duty of eliminating the factors that could facilitate, in any way, the infringement of copyright. In case of reproducing a creation, the copies cannot be commercialized without the author's or copyright owner's consent. Also, every copy has to wear the signature or a representative visual element of the author. If the photograph has a signature or a watermark of any kind on it, it is imperative that each replica has that particular visual element on, too. The law stipulates the fact that copyright is applied to photograms of the movie films, but is not applied to photographs of letters, documents or drawings.

In case the photos are made under contract, the employer owns the copyright for three years since the moment the photos entered in their possession (unless the contract stipulates something else). In case

a portrait is made to order, the person in the photography has the right to publish and reproduce the portrait without the author's consent, unless there is a contract stipulating something else.

The law also stipulates a series of technical measures of copyright protection that the author can institute. These measures consist in *applying a code of access or a protection procedure, such as encrypting, jamming or any other transformation of the work [...] via a copying control mechanism*⁷. When it comes to photography, these so-called *protection procedures* are nothing but the watermark and written warning about the protected nature of the creation. (see the section about Watermark)

The infringement of the right provided by *Law no. 8/1996* entails civil, contravening or penal liability. The copyright owners can solicit the recognition of the rights, being able to claim compensation for the damages caused by the infringement of these rights. While establishing the compensation, the court takes into consideration not only the financial damage (economic consequences of the infringement of copyright), but also the moral damage suffered by the copyright owner.

Any kind of photograph, no matter if it is a professional creation or a simple family photo, brings the above enlisted rights to their author⁸. Therefore, press photography also benefits from all the rights stipulated by *Law no. 8/1996*, whether the copyright owner is the photographer or the media institution (depending on the provisions in the contract).

In Romania, the legislative body responsible for the protection of copyright is The Romanian Copyright Office (ORDA), subordinated to the Ministry of Culture and established by *Art. 137 of Law no. 8/1996*. This institution unrolls its activity around the intellectual property rights, the copyright and the related rights. ORDA is the only Romanian authority able to bring under regulation, hold record, supervise, authorize, arbitrate and technical-scientifically ascertain in the area of copyright and related rights. The institution is particularly useful to the creators, supporting their interests, and its mission is *to promote the protection and efficient use of the copyright and related rights*⁹.

⁷ Ch.3 of *Law no. 8/1996*

⁸ McJohn, Stephen, *Copyright: examples and explanations*, Aspen Publishers, 2006

⁹ <http://www.orda.ro/default.aspx?pagina=124>

Means of protection

Photography is one of the intellectual property creations which to some extent can be protected by the author himself, thus preventing the unauthorized use of the work. However, none of the means of protection can guarantee that the photograph will not be taken and used.

The copyright symbol, the written notice and the watermark

The encircled capital letter C (©) is used as the copyright symbol since 1909, when it was introduced in the U.S. *Copyright Act*. The draft of the bill stipulated that copyright protection would require putting the word “copyright” (or the abbreviation “copr”) directly on the work. However, since artists organizations’ representatives did not agree to put anything but the authors’ names on the creations, it has all come to a compromise: on their works, the artists would use an encircled capital C letter, standing for “copyright”, before their names. Instead of encircling, one can put the capital C letter in round brackets.

Followed by the name or a pseudonym of the author or of the media institution belonging to, the symbol is either placed straight on the picture or in its vicinity (when talking, for example, about newspapers and magazines), warning people that the creation is protected by copyright laws.

An equivalent to this graphic symbol is the written notice that warns people of the fact that the creation or set of creations are copyright protected. Unlike the copyright symbol, the notice is never placed straight on the photographs (sometimes it is not even placed nearby them). Since it is especially used in online, the notice can usually be found on the home pages of websites where photographs are published. Mostly, the text in the warning is either something like: *The photographs on this website are property of the author and cannot be used without his permission, according to Law no. 8/1996*, or like *These photographs are protected by Law no.9/1996 regarding copyright. They cannot be used without the written consent of the copyright owner*. Any mention of this kind stands either as a warning or as a reminder for those who would consider using the photographs in personal purposes.

The copyright symbol placed directly on the photograph makes the name of the photographer remain visible, therefore even if the photograph is taken and used, the author's name is still to be seen by everyone. Because of this, we could say that the copyright symbol placed on the photograph and followed by the name or pseudonym of the author or the media institution is more efficient than the written notice, when it comes to protecting copyright. Unfortunately for those who decide to use it, the inscriptions can easily be removed from the pictures, using the cropping procedure. Cropping refers to the removal of unwanted elements in the photograph, by reframing the whole image. Since the copyright symbol and the name of the author are usually put near the edges of the photographs, they can easily be removed. Even if the writing would be placed elsewhere on the photograph, one could still remove it by using a digital photo editor.

The graphic element that is the hardest to remove and almost impossible to ignore is the watermark. In the past, the term "watermark" was used to designate the visual elements on the banknotes that can only be seen when the light falls from behind. Nowadays, the term is used to designate the post-processing operation of including, within a digital work (audio, video or photographic), an element which is impossible to remove, thus turning the creation into an outworn¹⁰. When it comes to photography, that element is nothing but a graphic transparent symbol which is usually positioned, single or repetitively, on the whole photograph. Although the subject in the photograph remains visible, the image cannot be used by someone else, because the watermark contains information about the author or the copyright owner: the name, a pseudonym, a logo etc.

There are some user-made artwork websites, such as DeviantArt or Flickr, which give the user the option to automatically apply a watermark including the logo of the website and the username of the artist. Also, the watermark turned to be very useful to press institutions. As much as possible, they protect their copyright ownership by posting a watermark including their logos on the pictures. In this case, even if someone takes a picture and posts it elsewhere, its source will still be visible.

¹⁰ Cox, J. Ingemar, *Digital Watermarking and Steganography (Second Edition)*, Morgan Kaufmann, Massachusetts, 2008

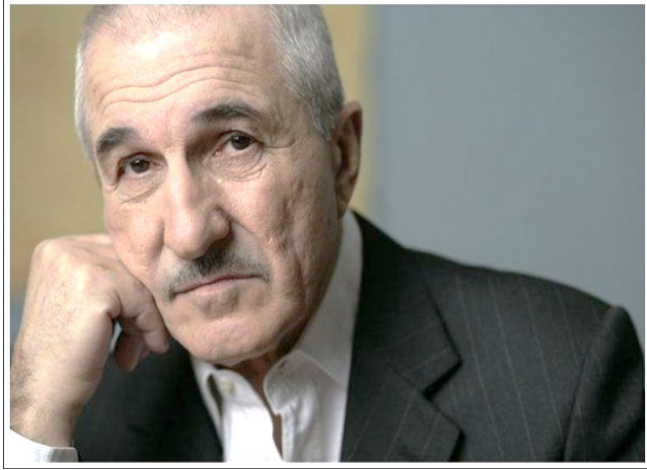
The copyright symbol and the watermark are visual elements that catch the eye when looking at a picture. Not only they destroy the whole aesthetics of the photograph (the watermark sometimes makes it hard to properly see and understand the subject in the picture, parts of it being covered by the graphic elements), but also distract the attention from the subject. This is why, regardless of the benefits they bring in protecting the copyright, many photographers decide not to use them and simply leave the photographs in their original form.

Infringing copyright. Alex Gâlmeanu's portrait of Gheorghe Dinică

Alex Gâlmeanu is currently one of the top rated photographers in Romania. He does mostly portrait, commercial and fashion photography, honouring contracts for companies such as Orange, Audi, BMW, Samsung, HP, McDonald's, L'Oreal, Millenium Bank, Raiffeisen Bank, Prigat, Toyota, Pizza Hut, Western Union, Banc Post, Asirom, Rexona, Praktiker, Danone, Metro and so on. At the same time, he occasionally collaborates with Romanian media institutions such as the televisions Antena 1, Antena 2, Antena 3, Realitatea TV, Kanal D, Prima TV, the radio stations Radio Guerrilla, Kiss FM, Star FM and the magazines Esquire, Maxim, Cosmopolitan, Glamour, Forbes, The One, Readers' Digest, Bravo, Unica, Bolero, Beau Monde, Viva, Look, Playboy, FHM, Popcorn, TV Mania, TV Satelit and so on. He has never worked as a photojournalist; however, he is often assigned by newspapers and magazines to photograph various personalities of the Romanian political and cultural scene.

By the end of 2005, Alex Gâlmeanu has photographed the actor Gheorghe Dinică for a pictorial which was going to illustrate an interview in the January 2006 issue of *Viva!* magazine. The magazine came out by the time it was supposed to and some of the photographs of the actor were also promulgated online, on *Viva!*'s website. On the 10th of November, 2009, the whole Romanian media was announcing the death of Gheorghe Dinică. As illustrations of the news (on TV and online), there have been used several photographs and videos featuring the actor. One of the photographs (Photo #1), however, seemed to be the favourite, since it was used by the majority of websites and televisions which presented the news.

On the 10th of November, 2009, Alex Gâlmeanu posted on his blog an article entitled *Copyright in Romania*¹¹: *The absolutely tragic context has turned the photo above (Image #1, a.n.) in one of the most published photographs today. The picture illustrates an overwhelming percent-*



age of the online news announcing the death of the famous actor. Do you happen to know who took this picture? You wouldn't know, for it was used with no signature, with no mention, with no right, with no permission, with no notice, nothing. [...] Yes, the picture belongs to me. [...] I think this is the most flagrant copyright infringement I have ever encountered in my whole career. In the same blog post, Alex Gâlmeanu shows a series of screenshots of Romanian websites using his picture in that day, in articles announcing the death of the actor – a total of thirty screenshots, each one of a different website.

According to the photographer's observation, his portrait of Gheorghe Dinică has been taken and used by many important Romanian news websites, such as *antena3.ro*, *realitatea.net*, *jurnalul.ro*, *ziare.com*, *sport.ro*, *ziua.ro*, *ziua.net*, *gardenul.ro*, *click.ro*, *curentul.ro*, *financiarul.ro*, and also by other significant websites, such as *24fun.ro*, *apropo.ro*, *stiri.rol.ro*, *cinemapro.ro*, *cinemagia.ro*, *hmultiplex.ro*, *infoms.ro*, *filme.ro*, *stirisibiu.ro*, *cinemabox.ro*, *ziaremondene.ro* and so on.

Therefore, a lot of websites, including some which belong to prestigious media groups, have taken and used the photograph without the author's notice or permission and without mentioning the name of the author or the source of the photograph. Along with them, a few national televisions have also used the picture, among others, to illustrate their features on the subject: *Antena 1*, *Antena 3*, *Pro TV*, *TVR*

¹¹ <http://blog.alexgalmeanu.com/blog/2009/11/10/drepturi-de-autor-in-romania/>, t.a.

1, Prima TV, Realitatea TV, Kanal D and so on. The picture has also been used, by some of the websites and televisions enlisted above, on November 13th, 2009 – the day of the funeral.

In August 2010, the Romanian online photography magazine *Fotografa.ro* has published an article¹² of mine on the Romanian law of copyright, featuring the opinions of six photographers - out of which some had previously faced cases of copyright infringement. Focusing on the protection that this law actually offers, I have asked the photographers to give me their opinions on the copyright law, especially on whether is it worth it or not to sue the ones using the photographs without permission. Alex Gâlmeanu was one of the six interviewees, and he made the following statement: *I cannot appreciate the efficiency of the Romanian copyright law. I have never sued anyone so far and I have no idea how easy or difficult that is. We do have a legislative framework. It is not perfect, but there are instruments.*

The photographer hasn't sued any of the media institutions which used his photograph without permission. Also, he didn't inform any of the institutions about his discontent or about the laws they have infringed by publishing the photograph. His only public remarks regarding the incident were limited to his blog post from the 10th of November, 2009, and a few answers to the comments he received on the post page.

Protecting and respecting copyright. The Romanian media institutions

In order to get a more extensive image on how media institutions in Romania relate to the copyright issue, this section presents another perspective of this matter: the media institutions' respect towards copyright in press photography. For this, I have used a quantitative analysis on print newspapers of Romania, pursuing to identify and quantify the amount of uncredited photographs.

The materials used as a support of this part of the research consisted of ten daily newspapers in Romania. In order for the results to be as objective as possible and in order to be able to create a generalization out of this, I have chosen five local newspapers (from

¹² <http://www.fotografa.ro/index.php?cmsID=3&newsID=2290>

Cluj-Napoca) and five national ones. Among the national daily newspapers, I have chosen the first five ones in descending order of the circulations¹³: *Adevărul*, *Jurnalul Național*, *România Liberă*, *Evenimentul Zilei* and *Gândul*. As for the daily local newspapers from Cluj-Napoca, they have been chosen as it follows: the first three ones in descending order of the circulations (*Făclia*, *Monitorul de Cluj*, *Ziua de Cluj*) and the first two Hungarian ones in descending order of the circulations (*Szabadság* and *Krónika*). Considering the fact that the Hungarians are the main minority in Cluj-Napoca, representing around 23% of the total population of the city (therefore, the above mentioned newspapers have a relatively large public), I have opined that this quantitative analysis should also apply to their newspapers. Although it is a nationally distributed newspaper, *Krónika* was included in this analysis, too, because it has a bigger circulation than any other newspaper edited in Cluj-Napoca.

I have only taken into consideration general daily newspapers, for they address to the general public. Also, I have only taken into consideration paid newspapers, for I opined the circulations to be completely irrelevant when it comes to free newspapers. The analysis was only applied to the print versions of the papers, for the flow of the photographs in the online versions is bigger, thus more difficult to quantify.

For this analysis I have taken into consideration all the photographs published in each of the first five editions of 2011 of the above mentioned newspapers. I wanted to identify and quantify the uncredited photographs and the percent they represent out of the total amount of photographs of the edition. Since this is a research on photography only, I have not included, in the quantification, any other illustration from the newspapers, such as graphics, drawings, caricatures, screenshots, book covers and pictures of posters, paintings and so on. Also, I have not included the commercial photography – on one hand, because it is not used for it to be credited, and on the other hand, because the newspapers are not responsible for the content and the form of the advertising message. The pictures used to promote movies have not been taken into consideration either.

¹³ According to the data made public by BRAT (The Romanian Audit Bureau of Circulations), January 2011

What have been taken into consideration are the photo reportages, the feature photos, the photo manipulations, the portrait that illustrate the vox pops, the featured portraits of the editorship. Also, I have decided to also take into consideration the stock photography, even if the decision might be questionable (depending on the stock website, the one buying the photography is or is not indebted to specify the source of it). The photographs counted as credited were the ones which had the author, press agency, stock website or any other source mentioned in the vicinity of them (whether it was on the picture, next to the picture or in the article).

The analysis was operated using a coding scheme in the form of single table for all the newspapers in an edition; in total, there were five tables, each one representing a day. In each table, for each newspaper have been filled the following fields: *Total amount of photographs*, *Number of credited photographs*, *Number of uncredited photographs*, *Percent of the uncredited photographs* (out of the total amount).

Even though all the newspapers were full of photographic illustrations, there was no edition of any of them with a hundred percent credited photographs. The minimum percentage of uncredited photographs (33.3%) was held by *Evenimentul Zilei* in the 3rd of January, with 10 uncredited photographs out of 30. On the other hand, the maximum percentage (100%) was held by *Monitorul de Cluj* in the 5th of January, with 12 out of 12 uncredited photographs. *România Liberă* is the newspaper with the biggest amount of uncredited images: on an average, around 80% per edition. *Evenimentul Zilei* had oscillatory percentages of uncredited photographs in every edition (33.33%, 76.65%, 51.61%, 46.15%, 46.42%), while the rest of the newspapers had around the same percent in every edition: *Adevărul*: 40-50%, *Jurnalul Național* – around 40%, *Gândul* – 50-60%. As for the local newspapers, *Monitorul de Cluj* and *Făclia* were the ones which had, on average, the maximum percentages of uncredited photographs: 100%, 80%, 88.23%, 64.70%, 70.58% (*Monitorul de Cluj*), respectively 41.17%, 90%, 84.21%, 91.66%, 80%. (*Făclia*). The three other newspapers (*Ziua de Cluj*, *Szabadság* and *Krónika*) have had very different percentages from an edition to another.

The results of this analysis make it impossible to generalize about the habit of the newspapers to credit their photographs. What can be concluded is the fact that there is a general tendency of not

giving credit for the portraits of the editorship, the cover photos, the international celebrities' portraits and the vox pop photographs. The portraits of the editorship were not signed in any of the editions of the five newspapers; also, the cover photos were almost never credited, even though they were also featured among the articles of the edition. Usually, the press agencies' photographs were credited, and also most of the photographs illustrating the main articles of the edition. The same cannot be said about the stock photos, out of which most have remained uncredited. When the pictures were taken from a website, this was mentioned in the form of "*Source: Facebook*" or "*Photo: Facebook*", without, however, mentioning the page or giving the link.

Thirty-four out of the fifty newspapers (68%) have each more than 50% uncredited photographs, while forty-seven out of the fifty (94%) have more than 40% uncredited photographs. Based on this numbers and on the previously presented results, we can conclude, once again, that generally, the media institutions (in this case, the newspapers' editorships) do not give too much importance to the copyright. In the cases presented in this section of the research, the situation is slightly different than the one from the previous section. Basically, this copyright infringement is not as severe as the one with Alex Gâlmeanu's portrait of Gheorghe Dinică, for example. This time, it is about the editorship having an amount of photographs they have the permission to use (whether they belong to their own photographers and photojournalists or they are brought from press and stock agencies). From there on, the decision of whether to credit or not the source belongs to the editorship – unless there is a document stipulating something else. Even if we skip the whole ethical dimension regarding copyright, when it comes to serving the interests of the readers (who, for some reason, might want to know who took one picture or another), the ideal situation would be that each photograph would have the author mentioned in its vicinity.

Conclusions

Promoting one's intellectual and artistic creations online is free, near at hand and very efficient, if we take into consideration the amount of people who get access to the creations. However, this comes with a reverse: since everyone gets access to one's piece of work,

anyone can take it and use it in any purpose, without the author's knowledge. Therefore, the internet becomes a double-edged weapon: on one hand, it helps promote the creations and the artists, but on the other hand, it becomes a supplier of free creations posted on various websites.

This research was based on the premise that in Romania, when it comes to photography (especially press photography), media consumers, journalists and media institutions tend to ignore and infringe copyright. The hypothesis was based on direct observation carried out over several years, and this research was meant to prove its truth. The purpose of this research was to obtain an extensive and objective perspective on how Romania stands towards the copyright issue, which exerts implications not only on the copyright holders, but also on media institutions and media consumers.

Even though the quantitative analysis was only applied / operated on fifty newspapers, its results have proved, through overwhelming percentages, the fact that the infringement of copyright is a frequently found procedure in the Romanian press photography. Any further direct observation does nothing but to highlight the truthiness of these results. Every year, new cases of copyright infringement come to the public opinion's attention, but most of them end up bringing no advantages or solutions whatsoever for the authors (who, from personal reasons, usually decide not to sue the copyright infringers). Due to lack of antecedents to guarantee the success of such an action in court, and also because this procedure would require a lot of financial and time resources, many of the injured ones decide to take no action about this. Unfortunately, this does nothing but to encourage the unauthorized use of photographs.

We can also conclude that the press is guilty of encouraging this unhealthy habit. The media institutions not only do not take any measures against this phenomenon and do not promote it as being wrong and liable to prosecution, but they also bring the personal example in this equation, by not giving credit to the authors or sources of the photographs they use.

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MICROTARGETING IN SOCIAL MEDIA: DEFINITIONS AND ETHICAL ISSUES

ADELA-OANA BARBU-BANES*

ABSTRACT. This paper is aimed at microtargeting and its implications in promoting strategies in the present consumerist society. We look at it firstly through definitions, then through specific, personalized implementing in regards to client need and finally in the context of the ethic issues implicated in utilizing personal information in specific segmenting of the public.

Keywords: microtargeting, definitions, ethics, promoting, consumerist society.

1. Definitions and internal workings

Microtargeting is a recent term used in more and more situations: it is brought up anytime a sampling process is based on detailed segmentation of the target audience, mostly in online commercials, but the term was firstly used during American election campaign lobbying.

One compelling definition comes from Tom Agan¹, who defines microtargeting as a way to successfully create personalized messages or offers, correctly estimate of their impact (in regards to sub-grouping) and delivery directly to individuals.

A summary of the evolution of this process in marketing during the last 20 years also comes from Agan: initially this kind of targeting was done using postal codes (Zip codes) and a geographical segmentation

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¹ Agan, Tom, *Silent Marketing: Micro-targeting*, Penn, Schoen & Berland White Paper, p. 2, http://www.wpp.com/~media/sharedwpp/marketing%20insights/reports%20and%20studies/psb_silent%20marketing_mar07.pdf

of the target audience was achieved. Such personalized offers were exclusively destined to a certain region, the audience receiving a particular offer based on the characteristics of the socio-geographical region it belonged to. In the past 10 years though, the phenomenon and techniques related to microtargeting have evolved, from targeting families, when the information known was little (understood strictly as the lifestyle of a community), to targeting individuals, given the massive contribution of social media and personal profiles set up by their users. Recent studies emphasize that this kind of micro-segmenting can be done to an unparalleled before level, inclusive of the precise prediction of the target audience's reaction.

On a more detailed look, microtargeting can be defined as advanced psycho-geographic segmenting which is based on an algorithm determining a series of demographic and attitudinal traits to distinguish individuals for each segment.

Microtargeting is well known in the US, especially because it is used during election campaigns, where with the help of companies that have huge databases containing information about the voters, and efficiently utilized, can become a most potent weapon for winning elections.

Microtargeting and Social Media

The huge marketing potential social networks² possess is old news, as they are – through their users – solid and credible databases for brand promoting. When an individual sets up a user profile on a social network the information supplied is collected, stored and then used by promoters for easier reach to more and more specialized segments of the target audience. Although access to the data in question is not direct, an online profile will supply indirect info about the user's location, his preferences and interests. For example, when a Facebook add is activated it will be visible to those people who have some shared interest to the add in question, or are situated in a geographical area that allows them to benefit from the product or services offered.

² We define social media as the media utilized for social interaction which uses the Internet and mobile networks (apud Ulmanu, Alexandru (2011), *Cartea Fețelor*, Humanitas, Bucuresti, p. 29)

Targeting the audience in Social Media allows the placement of ads that speak to the interests and preferences of the target. In short, you can say that the multitude of personal information concerning age, gender, preferences, habits, friends and friends of fiends, allow social media users to see ads regarding services and products that might interest them (according to their stated preferences) and thus eliminates a dissatisfaction element that may be the outcome of bombarding clients with general ads. The advantages of such an approach are obvious for marketers, which reach their clients easier through social media. Through the online environment they also have access to detailed data that can be analyzed and used in progress reports, having access to a direct source of real data, not estimative numbers as in the case of market research statistics.

In his book, "Likeable Social Media", Dave Kerpen uses the term "hyper-targeting" and defines it as directing marketing and publicity efforts to a specific group, depending on their profiles, networks and activities on social media platforms.

If specific targeting is done as soon as the target audience is selected according to a set of shared, well defined, multiple characteristics, microtargeting, as Kerpen sees it, is defined when the target audience is very much restricted to only a few individuals, that have a very specific element in common (let's say the Black English Cocker Spaniel owners from Timisoara). Kerpen takes the concept even further and tells a story about extreme microtargeting that can reach a sole individual³. While complaining about the accommodation at one Las Vegas hotel he received a simple Twitter message from Hotel Rio "We are sorry for the bad experience, we hope that next time you will have a much better one". The approach was simple and empathic, no aggressive ads, no discrediting the competition. A short message that had the right outcome given the question asked directly to the microtargeted client, the author, himself, confessing that the next time he was in Las Vegas he stayed at Hotel Rio. This is a very compelling example regarding tapping into the emotions of the target audience, where a personal touch and adapting the message will give the impression of an emotional link between the marketer and individual, based on adapting to the specific need of the

³ *Ibidem*, p.1.

individual rather than the general ones of a larger group. Restricting the group and adapting the message is a sure way to get closer to potential clients and allows for better feedback.

Micro and nanotargeting

One extreme example, regarding the extreme level of social media targeting comes from the same author. Pushing the concept of hipertargeting to its limits leads to what Leslie Bradshaw, the author's friend, called nanotargeting⁴: criteria for targeting can become so precise that they can refer to a single individual. Kerpen took the concept and applied it on the Facebook Add platform, succeeding in targeting his own wife, a 31 years old married female, employee of Likeable Media, resident of New York City, the sole person who was able to see the author's add.

Of course it seems rather unproductive to try to target just one person, but the fact that the commercial message can be scaled down from addressing a large group to fewer, more specific people, is a major change in business to consumer communication. Nanotargeting can have a practical purpose: in a B2B system you could target people from the management of a company you would like to collaborate with, the CEO of a specific company or potential investors.

Efficient microtargeting is based on a few important steps. Firstly, the needs of the target audience need to be accurately determined. This is done by studying the intended segment of the market, including user behavior as results from social media networking usage and consumer behaviorism in relation to similar products. The second step is designing a product to cover these needs as best as possible, one with the appropriate discourse, approach and response to the said needs. The third step is made out of presenting the product to the target audience and directing a microtargeted dialogue as well as evaluating the results. The intense study of the targeted market segment can mean turning to databases of consumer data, but the world of social media is a much cheaper alternative.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p.25.

The simplest example comes from Facebook. The settings on the add platform are divided over location, country, county or town, age, gender, preferences and interest, Facebook connections, education, place of work, relationship status (including “in a relationship” and “engaged”). These items can help define a very precise target audience.

After determining the target group characteristics social media apps like Facebook, LinkedIn, Twitter can be used to estimate the number of people falling into these criteria.

The personal details used in restricting the search by activating specific selection criteria raise issues regarding privacy.

Microtargeting –is there an ethical issue?

Microtargeting can seem, at first, a very useful marketing tool, one that, with the help of new technologies, seems very handy to every agency and company. Segmenting the market means that the intended public is not assaulted with dozens of commercials, but is offered tailored promotions and campaigns in accordance to preferences. However, the ethical issues could come into play, especially in regards to personal data privacy and users’ intent.

A big warning comes from Aleksandra Korlova, from Stanford University, who indicated, in a recent study⁵, a set of serious risks concerning ill use of audience microtargeting through the Facebook Add Platform. The authors not only brought these issues to light but also got Facebook to make some changes to the system, to ensure that exploiting it in unethical purposes is more difficult. Unfortunately, this is still a possibility, and agencies pay huge amounts of money for applications that generate databases of the habits and consumer behavior.

Aleksandra Korlova demonstrates that interfacing the relationship between promoters and the audience is not enough to protect privacy. Indeed, the personal information is not sold directly to marketers, but the app allows information extrapolation through the careful triage of targeting options in the add creation process, information which is expected to remain private by the owner, or visible to just themselves or friends.

⁵ Aleksandra Korlova, *Privacy Violations Using Microtargeted Ads: A Case Study*, http://theory.stanford.edu/~korlova/Privacy_violations_using_microtargeted_ads.pdf

Her analysis⁶ has shown that Facebook uses personal information that was marked “private”, or “Friends only”, to determine that the user is suitable to the publicity campaign. Microtargeting options allow focus on individual and a large amount of precise and confidential information can be extrapolated by using the Add Platform, or can be inferred by clicks on specific ads. Besides the obvious issue of personal information there is the second one of not indicating to the targeted user that he is one of the few ones that can see the ads and that clicking on them can reveal delicate personal information.

Warnings also come from a study on Facebook ads⁷, which revealed that 40% of the users dislike the ones they see in their newsfeed, some of them being even baffled as to why were they targeted for some products , especially in the cases of those focused on delicate niches (e.g. sexual behavior).

As a response to Aleksandra Korlova’s study and as a precaution measure, Facebook introduced a meter for “estimated reach” and it will suggest widening the target audience of a paid campaign if it numbers less than 20 individuals. This is legal and was explained as a natural consequence of the accord signed between the user and Mark Zuckerberg’s company when setting up an account. Social media lead to an excessive liberalization of the public sphere and its access in the private space and the other way round. Sharing online experiences, emotions, important life events are free decisions that people make. Celebrating Christmas with a Coca-Cola bottle on the table seems natural, but at the same time is a quantifiable resource that not marketing agency should miss. Because of this hundreds of thousands of profiles are watched by marketers before launching a campaign in order to achieve the effect of connectivity and contagion so indigenous to social networks.

Microtargeting is not by any means a new concept, evidence of “surveillance” in voting campaigns existing from as early as Abraham Lincoln’s times in America. Concerns⁸, especially in the political sphere come from the fact that the audience can be coached and influenced into choices that can be in contradiction to their actual beliefs. It can be said

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

⁷ <http://www.insidefacebook.com/2010/06/15/facebook-users-survey-results-ads/>

⁸ Michael LaBossiere, *The Ethics of Microtargeting*,
<http://aphilosopher.wordpress.com/2008/05/01/the-ethics-of-microtargeting/>

that persuasion was always part of the political and marketing discourses and is not less ethic than other methods. It can be also said that better knowledge of the voters allows politicians and marketers to better address their needs, but such a perspective does not eliminate the ethics, or lack of, in observing private behavior.

The main concern is that microtargeting models can lead to manipulation and the access to personal and confidential information is a critical step that needs not to be taken. The threshold is harder and harder to distinguish because the public is used to offering, mostly voluntarily, a lot of information that they would like to actually keep confidential.

Such an extreme example is Aristotle Inc., a specialized company dealing with information gathering for election campaign, whose implications are detailed in a Vanity Fair article from the 12th of Sept 2007⁹. Such an app can be easily transformed into a sort of “global FBI” which contains information about online users that include personal data such as age, address, name and number of close relatives, political standing, preferences and estimated income. Obtaining and possession of such data seems illegal and certainly upsets but using such a database is for not tolerated, risks and negative aspects being considered less than well defined.

The founder and CEO of the company in question, John Aristotle Philips, admitted in the 2007 article that citizens should have more control and express explicit approval to the use of the data the make public, sometimes unknowingly. There is a long list of complaints and accusations for the company but on the other hand the hand they had in unveiling the election fraud from Ukraine in 2004, with the use of the same app, has its supporters. Phillips has now contracts outside of the US, and in his vision of the future we will be able to vote using and ATM machine or a smartphone. The market for such an app is widening and online apps that allow geo-targeting of target audiences seem to be more and more appreciated by a tech savvy consumer but ignorant to his personal exposure.

⁹ <http://www.vanityfair.com/politics/features/2007/12/aristotle200712>

Irrelative to the way in which this information is gathered, either direct by offering by the user on a social network, inferred through the methods described by Aleksandra Korlova, or extracted from the sea of online information and voter databases, the ethics involved in their usage needs to be a topic for communication specialists. Who and to what extent has the right to use personal information for profit? Which are the limits that need to be set up in monitoring social media and how can we ensure safety for the personal information of users? Discussions toward a clear legislation for the internet that can protect the individual from unethical use of confidential data are in play for over a decade, but still we are in the midst of such advanced technology that one individual's privacy can be invaded for the sole purpose of promoting a certain product.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Peter Gross, *Mass Media in Revolution and National Development. The Romanian Laboratory*

Peter Gross is a journalism professor specialized in international communication and the director of Journalism & Electronic Media at the College of Communication & Information, University of Tennessee, Knoxville. He authored valuable research studies about the post-communist transition in former communist East-European countries such as: *Entangled Evolutions. Media and Democratization in Eastern Europe* (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2002); *Mass Media in Revolution and National Development: The Romanian Laboratory* (Iowa State University Press, 1996); *Mass Media and Democracy* (Polirom, 2004); *Introduction to Newswriting and Newsgathering* (Editura de Vest, 1993); *Giants With Feet of Clay. The Post-Communist Romanian Press* (Polirom, 1999). He co-authored *Media and Journalism in Romania* (Vistas Verlag, 2006), and *Eastern European Journalism. Before, During and After Communism* (Hampton Press, 1999); *The Basics of Public Relations* (NIM Press, 1998). He co-edited the volumes *Understanding Foreign Correspondence: A Euro American Perspective of Concepts, Methodologies and Theories* (Peter Lang Publisher, 2011) and *Media Transformations in the Post-Communist World. Eastern Europe's Tortured Path to Change* (Lexington Press, 2013).

Peter Gross has travelled and conducted journalism workshops in Western and Eastern Europe, in China, Taiwan, India and Cuba. He lectured at the Oxford University United Kingdom, the University of Madrid, Barcelona, Bilbao, Murcia and Santiago de Compostella in Spain, the University of Dortmund Germany, University of Tirana Albania, Vyautas Magnus University Lithuania, Babes-Bolyai University, the University of Timisoara, the University of Bucharest, and the Black Sea University Romania, the Jagiellonian University Poland, the University of Salzburg Austria, the Central European University Hungary, Shanghai University China, Rutgers University, Georgetown University, and the U.S. Department of State. Peter Gross worked as a consultant on East European media to the International Media Fund in Washington D.C. and to The Freedom Forum.

The study *Mass Media in Revolution and National Development: the Romanian Laboratory* emerged in the early 1990's after a series of *working trips* to East-Central Europe financed by U.S. Information Agency, Voice of America, International Media Fund, and Freedom Forum. The book was awarded the American-Romanian Academy of Arts and Sciences Book Award in 1996.

Peter Gross arrived in Romania a few days after the Revolution, aiming to find out the way Romanians would take back and recreate its mass media system. The author provides a detailed examination of the period between 1990 and 1996 and the changes occurring in the former communist Romania, viewed as an *interesting and rich laboratory* (Gross 1996, ix) for researching journalism development in a post-communist background.

Peter Gross successfully argues that in the first years after the Revolution, Romania was showing the same symptoms as all the former communist states did at that time: Poland, Hungary, Albania, Bulgaria etc. However, Romania had experienced the most *extreme communist regime*, and the bloodiest revolution in the region, which impacted its future evolution in a specific way. In this study, the author tries to find answers for a series of justified questions concerning the starting point of rebuilding the society, the appropriate type of journalism to be implemented, and its contribution to the transition period. Peter Gross expresses his trust in the *media's positive evolution in the next decade or two*, but he also gives his fair opinion on the society's long road to democracy: "it will take 40 to 60 years for the country to arrive at that exalted stage of a truly open society". This argument is supported with detailed evidence and extensive research outcomes. Between 1990 and 1995, 10.5 million citizens in Romania lived "bellow the official poverty level" and almost 12 million worried about daily subsistence. The civil society was "barely mushrooming", the political

knowledge was "ill-developed", the concepts of pluralism and tolerance just started to outline, and the idea of citizenship was "in its infancy". The open, democratic society was "in utero", the state had "several social, political, economic, educational, cultural and national psychological problems". The communist legacy and the "deep-rooted mentalities" ingrained required time to change (Gross 1996, X-XI).

Romania's image abroad as "the hopeless enfant terrible" was generated by dramatic issues such as the "bloody, confusing revolution", Ceausescu's execution, the orphans, corruption, miner-ads, nationalism, and the Gypsies, which Peter Gross considered it was an incomplete and unbalanced reflection of Romania. His conclusion is that in order to become a truly democratic society, Romania has to make certain changes such as: "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". Furthermore, it is necessary to "close the gap between the state and the people and between the intellectuals and other social strata" (Gross 1996, XII).

Chapter one, *The Legacy*, provides a brief history of the country's media starting with the year 1821 and divides it into three time lines: 1821-1918, 1920-1947 and 1947-1989 which influenced the media development. In the first period, the first Romanian language newspapers emerged after a long fight to unify the country and get rid of the foreign occupation. *Curierul romanesc* pub-

lished in 8th of April 1829 was the first Romanian language weekly newspaper directed by Ion Heliade-Radulescu. Since 1830, it becomes *Curierul romanesc. Gazeta administrativa, comerciala si politica*, as the approval for publishing for initially obtained for a literary magazine. A few decades later, in 1884, 1888 and 1904, *Universul*, *Adevarul* and *Dimineata* appeared as daily newspapers professionally reporting news. *Universul* daily was founded by Luigi Cazzavillan and first published on 24th of August 1884; *Adevarul* daily was first published on 15th of August 1888 as founded by Al. V. Beldiman; *Dimineata* daily's inception was on 2nd of February 1904 directed by C. Mille and gradually gained the reputation of the *New York Times of Romania*. At the same time, various magazines were printed in Transylvania region ruled by the Austrian Empire: *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, *Albina*, *Telegraful Roman*, *Familia*, *Tribuna*, *Foaie pentru minte, inima si literatura*. (*Romanian Literary Press Dictionary 1790-1990*).

The second period represented the best part of Romanian media since nowadays. Radio Bucharest started broadcasting on the 1st of November 1928, the Romanian agency press Agentia Romana established in 1889 became Rador news agency in 1921. A plethora of 1.090 publications were printed in 1922 and their number grew up to 2.300 publications by the year 1936.

For the third period, the author goes into details about the communist regime, pointing out the media control and the censorship institution created those times. The communism began to install in Romania in 1945 when Petru Groza officially became prime minister and it

grew stronger in the 1946 elections. On the 30th of December 1947, the monarch Michael I Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen of Romania was pressed to sign his abdication and the Communist Party took over the government and the state was proclaimed a republic. Peter Gross divides the Romanian communism in four stages between the years 1947-1965, 1965-1971, 1971-1978, and 1978-1989. The censorship was institutionalized and the democratic publications started to disappear and only the Marxist-Leninist journalism was allowed to be practiced. The state owned all the media and the journalists that were agreed had to be "party activists" and "communist fighters" (Gross 1996, 13). The professional journalists migrated to sports and literary magazines trying to flee the Marxist-Leninist ideology. In 1980, there was only one national television broadcasting a few hours a day, usually propagandistic and cult personality feeding shows. The journalistic discourse was highly Orwellian, creating a meta-reality by publishing "mostly inauthentic, manipulative" and dissimulative news and systematically ignoring important events, with journalists facing detention if not abiding the rules. The opposition was criminalized and its members were strictly monitored by the political police and usually they were beaten, imprisoned, assassinated or forced to leave the country.

Chapter two depicts the media's role in the Revolution as taking place in the National Television headquarters and *the final days of the communist media*. On 22nd of December at 11.50, Mircea Dinescu, Ion Caramitru, Sergiu Nicolaescu and an army officer were live claiming the victory of revolution. Pouring out on the

streets to demand Ceausescu's downfall then getting back into their homes, Romanians turned into a nation of television viewers as the television became the "motor of revolution" (Gross 1996, 37). Ceausescu's trial and execution and the terrorists' hunts were the main interest topics. Afterwards, the press started to run subjective information that consisted in rumors and biased opinions.

Chapter three titled *Media on a Noncommunist Footing* gives an account of the democratic press freshly arising in the new society. He accurately describes the current situation of the print press, radio and television market, and the Romanian media laws which he carefully examines. In 1990 there were 589 publications, and by 1994 their number had risen to 1.800 periodicals. Till 1995, the Romanian media was usually of three types: national media, regional media and local media, all of them facing difficulties with the printing monopoly and the distribution, as well as the government control. The most popular newspapers of the period were *Evenimentul zilei*, *Romania libera*, *Tineretul liber*, *Gazeta Sporturilor*, *Adevarul*, *Jurnalul National*, *Libertatea*, *Sportul Romanesc*, *Curierul National*, *Cotidianul* and *Ora*. In the visual sector, there were around 73 television licensed among which Pro TV, SOTI, and local cable televisions. The National Television was mainly under the government control conveying biased news about major issues such as the mineriads, and the students' anticommunist protests in University Square.

Chapter four is centered on the journalistic discourse, media ethics and the quest for *neutrality and objectivity*.

The early democratic Romanian journalistic discourse was subjective and biased, usually showing the obvious tendency to comment and criticize, and not to inform accurately. There were four different styles of language in use: the communist wooden language, the intellectualized language, the yellow and sensationalizing language, and the "new wooden" language (Gross 1996, 114). The confusion of values generated issues such as the preferential access to data for the "house" journalists and total refuse for the rest of them which lead to the business of selling the information.

Chapter five is a theoretical approach on the role of the media in the political and social context and its *effectiveness and influence*. The slow professionalization of post-communist Romanian media affected its credibility on long-term basis and consequently lost its audience. Media did not succeed to effectively accomplish its main roles and functions as "means of communication and information, of education and socialization and of democratization" (Gross 1996, 126). During the elections in 1990 and 1992, mass media's effectiveness in covering the competition among a great number of newly established parties and candidates was ambiguous and the content was subjective. Media perpetuated mistakes as journalists preferred to deliver *views* on certain issues, not *news*, showing lack of tolerance, balance and respect for the public. Media failed its mission to mainstream opinions and attitudes regarding democracy and failed to act for the social, economic, political and cultural growth. However, it was effective in

reflecting the Romanian communist and procommunist history, as well as the environmental problems.

Chapter six titled *The Laboratory and Its Lessons* comprises the conclusions and gives prospects for the future in the form of the *lessons* being learned so far. The post-communist period had a certain component of “Third Worldness” as it resembled a “veritable jungle” awaiting a future “that still begs for definition”. The media was subjected to manipulation and attempts were made to politicize it by the “new kings of the jungle” (Gross 1996, 158-159). There are fifteen lessons to be learned focused on the agenda setting attuned to western democracy values, the media role as information deliverers and educators, the role of the media as the watchdog of democracy and the Fourth Estate, media ethics and responsibility, the move towards a journalism of information and reject the opinion journalism, journalists training and audience educa-

tion, lack of managerial skills and unprofessional approach on running a media organization, the tendency to yellow journalism and sensationalism.

As prospects for the future, the author is certain that given the economic market expansion, the Romanian media will evolve into a professional industry layered in three interwoven segments: the elite press, the popular press entertainment oriented, and the specialized “informational and analytical media”.

Peter Gross was awarded the Order of Merit in Education Commander Grade by the President of Romania, in 2009. He is *Doctor Honoris Causa* at the University of Bucharest since 2005 and at the University of West since 1992.

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Cornel Nistorescu, A Dangerous Story Getting out of Disaster

Cornel Nistorescu, journalist, manager at *Cotidianul* daily newspaper, and author of the article *Ode to America* launched his latest volumes titled *Reporter at the End of the World (1978-1988)* and *Romanians, Something is Getting Ready! Political Letters, Stories, Interviews, Editorials from Express (1990-1995)* early in December. *An Ode to America* was published on 24th of September 2001 in the Romanian *Evenimentul zilei / News of the Day* newspaper.

The editorial was written after the terrorist attack launched on 11th of September 2001 by al-Qaeda terrorist group upon the United States in New York City and Washington DC. During these attacks, two airplanes were hijacked and crashed into the World Trade Center towers and another airplane was crashed into the Pentagon building.

The volume *Reporter at the End of the World* collects stories published by Nistorescu in newspapers and maga-

zines between 1978-1988. *Reporter at the end of the world* republishes his previous books *Happenings in the Silence of a Photography / Întâmplări în liniștea unei fotografii* (Reporter Collection XV, Junimea, Iași, 1978), *Provisional Paradise/ Paradișul provizoriu* (Albatros, București, 1982), and *The Owner of Illusions / Proprietarul de iluzii* (Cartea Românească, București, 1988). The stories are taken down on the field as Nistorescu was a field journalist covering the events and reporting on the scene in those years. He talked to people working at building sites, in mines, factories, hospitals, at sea, inmates detained in prison, and depicted events and real characters: *Lady Beti and the Judgment Day*, *The Mornings and the Springs of a Lowland Man*, *A Man and a Horse Connecting the Village Albac to Six Continents*.

In his nonfiction literature, Cornel Nistorescu has a New Journalism approach on the stories written using literary techniques. His texts are close to literature as it is well-known that the professional journalists in the communist period faced difficulties in doing their jobs because of the institutionalized censorship. Consequently, the best journalists were forced to find refuge in cultural journalism which offered them proper strategies to codify certain meanings and avoid censorship. Literary journalism in Romania flourished in the interwar period and Geo Bogza was the main representative with his *Countries Made of Stone, Fire and Earth / Țări de piatră, de foc și de pământ* and *The Book of the River Olt / Cartea Oltului* where he reported about the life people used to live in the suburbs. In the '70s, his style

re-emerged and *Flacăra* magazine established a literary journalism school.

The modern nonfiction inception moment is dated 1930 when literary journalists as Joseph Mitchell, A.J. Liebling, John Hersey, Lillian Ross had their contributions. It was followed by the 1960s movement of Calvin Trillin, John McPhee, Jane Kramer, and then by the 1970s and 1980s wave of the New Journalism. The term New Journalism was coined by Tom Wolfe in the volume *The New Journalism* published in 1973 consisting of a series of articles written by himself and other journalists like Truman Capote, Hunter S. Thompson, Norman Mailer, Joan Didion, Robert Christigay, John Sack, Michael Herr, and Gay Talese. According to the volume *Literary Journalism*, the literary journalism generally depicts common people and gives them a voice and the journalists assigned "write narratives focused on everyday events that bring out the hidden patterns of community life" (Sims & Kramer 1995, 3). Reading literary journalism texts, one can make an idea about the way of life people had in a specific historical context. It was the rise of the *journalists* as Seymour Krim coined the new mixture between literature and journalism in the volume *Shake it for the World, Smartass*.

The study *The New Journalism: Conversations with America's Best Non-fiction Writers on Their Craft* makes it obvious that "The New Journalism was a truly avant-garde movement that expanded journalism's rhetorical and literary scope by placing the author at the centre of the story, channelling a character's thoughts, using nonstandard

punctuation, and exploding traditional narrative forms" (2005, xii). The New Journalists are allowed to experiment innovative reporting and immersion strategies rather than textual techniques, dealing with "impoverished subcultures" issues: Ted Conover, Leon Dash, Alex Kotlowitz, William Finnegan, Adrian LeBlanc, Eric Schosser and Alex Kotlowitz. Ted Conover took a job as a prison guard, Johathan Harr engaged in the *Civil Action* for almost a decade, as LeBlanc worked on *Random Family*. The New Journalists are activists socially concerned and voicing the symptomatic problems of the middle and lower social strata thus feeding *the literature of everyday*.

Nistorescu's characters are usually common people observed and talked to on the field and the emphasis is on the human interest expressed in the reporter's empathic attitude. Countryside folks working the land, miners, workers, war veterans populate a constructed textual reality which stands the test of time and lets us know about ephemeral destinies. Nistorescu is a journalist in accurately taking down the facts, a writer in the writing techniques and a restless wanderer trying to connect the dots spread across a vast unknown area. Here and there, in the villages and in the cities, in the middle of nowhere or in the wilderness, he finds the secrets hidden behind the silence, and beauty in the ordinary. In the story *A Man and a Horse Connect Albac Village to Six Continents*, the reporter goes to the fair, accompanies the mail man on duty and gets to know the village inhabitants by their nick names. The story *Sometimes the Infinite Passes through a Small Town*

describes Orăștie, its history and some of the inhabitants. The reader flows with the story and finally gets to understand that "not only the buildings resemble each other, but even the people, that there are similar lives and maybe in a way that means the future or only a gate people carrying their town in their backs go through, and that what you see now is not for a long time" (Nistorescu 2013, 77). The author feels the unrelenting time flow and the similarities between people and places scattered all over the country, and conveys the emotion to his readers. He relies heavily on the symbolism of facts which are subtly embedded in the textual composition.

The story titled *The Wooden Table* is focused on the turners' workplace, a cold, dirty and rudimentary space where the employees took shifts. Their hands were blackened by the cast iron dust and they had to erase it using the grinding wheel. Most of the turners were a "strange makeup of calm, anger and massiveness" and Herr Rudy was the educational agent as he used to pack his sandwiches in newspapers which were stolen by the younger apprentices and read afterwards. The greasy newspaper pages talked about the atomic bomb, Walt Whitman poems, Tolstoi biography, and Hamburg's image.

The story *The Last Night of Love / Ultima noapte de dragoste* is centered on a sexual harassment case reported by a young employee at a building site against one of her bosses, Stoenescu; the story slowly reveals a dramatic secret regarding a love affair between this nineteen years old woman and her team leader, a man in his sixties, Milighiu. Another story titled *Printesele*

de mucava / The Cardboard Princesses talks about the prostitutes hanging out at the Intercontinental hotel and their way of life. They are beautiful, and they smile charmingly, but they are the nocturnal inhabitants of “the last circle of hell”.

The volume *Romanians, Something is Being Prepared for You!* includes a series of editorials published in the magazine *Expres* between 1990-1995 which capture the transition to a democratic post-communist Romania: *Out of Disaster, The Elite and the Punks, Today and Tomorrow, What a Deadly Danger!*. The editorials were written in the post-communist Romania and as the communist censorship disappeared, the journalist changed his angle and perspective. Nistorescu was concerned with the process of transition to democracy and he took a sharp tone to criticize the corruption, the delays and difficulties encountered on the way. In the first *Expres* issue, Nistorescu committed to his readers that the magazine would be where it is needed, and where “it burns and it hurts” most. He promised to “tell the truth”, to not “forgive stupidity, falsehood, and hypocrisy”, to “dot the i” and to be “harsh with bad faith, theft, and selfishness” (Nistorescu 2013, 14).

The journalist was committed to be on the vulnerable people side, poor and psychologically traumatized by the totalitarian decades. He addressed them in the article *Work and Ask for Explanation* telling them: “I know how it is to have only three coins in your pocket for a whole week, how it is to ask for half of a bread, to eat water with sugar and vinegar or bread and plums, I know how it is

to sleep on a grill made out of battens or on a table, I know how it is to wear your shirts second hand, I know how much it hurts to be despised by rich people and what shadows leave behind in your children hearts the unfulfilled wishes when you can’t afford to buy them what they need” (228). The text *The Legal Recourse of the Poor* was addressed to the Prime Minister in the name of the impoverished people stating that the national “economy looks like a tormented race of a wooden leg runner”.

The editorialist expresses his disappointment in the article titled *The Tablespoon Identify Itself* and puts it bluntly: “An emptiness and uselessness, helplessness and resignation feeling astound even courageous people. Many of them feel their dynamic movements stopped by the oakum-like power reactions. There is nothing clear, there is nothing efficient, everything is delayed, and the desperation continuously grows, thus making us the inhabitants of a huge sanatorium” (157).

The headlines for the articles written in the first year are strong words as *The Revenge, The Art of Threatening, Getting out of Disaster, A Dangerous Invalidity, Sinners and Hypocrites, High Level Mambo Jambos, Mr. Vasile, Go There By Yourself!, Zero Level Alarm, Defend the Romanian Teacher, A Winged and Horned Elephant, Dead Bodies and Policemen*. A dangerous investigation conducted after the assassination of Ioan Petru Culianu in Chicago is inserted in the volume titled *A Crime in Political Dispute*. *At the Crossroads* is an open letter addressed to the former president Iliescu in which Nistorescu blamed the official of covering-up

the guilty: "I remember that in 1990 when the irritated crowd asked for explanations regarding the dead in December, you insisted that justice should be allowed to do its duty. And justice has done its duty as it removed all the traces; it buried them all and put aside all the evidence and documents that could tell us something".

Nistorescu kept an eye on the political manoeuvres and closely analysed the new laws being prepared and debated, like the new Constitution, the new law of the secret service. The article *Full of Blood and Raped by the Army* conveys the symbolic image of the law depicted in a raped and beaten woman in distress while the rapists are still free and unpunished and nobody cares. He wrote several open letters addressed to the public officials such as: the head of the Secret Service, the General Attorney of Romania, the Senate president, the Prime Minister, the President of the country, the Internal Affairs Minister, the Finance Manager, the National Television manager, the Romanian Church head and so on.

The journalist is inquiring the former president and he even makes a list of sixty seven questions to ask, among which the question "Don't you think that you neglected one of your basic responsibilities as a state leader in the aftermath of the revolution which is to catch and punish the criminals?". Another question on this list is "Why didn't you object when you heard that on Bucharest's streets people shouted *death to the intellectuals?* Didn't you feel targeted?". One of the numerous letters addressed to the former president Iliescu was entitled *The Mascot of Liberty / Mascota*

libertății and its lead starts saying that "President Iliescu stuck his bottom on the seat". Former president Iliescu is called "exported Gorbaciov" in another letter and one of the political letters addressed to the head of the Secret Service is entitled *Give Explanations to the Romanian People!*.

Cornel Nistorescu was born in Hunedoara, Romania in the village Turnaș, son of Aurel and Ilina. He studied the Italian language and culture at Babeș-Bolyai University, Faculty of Philology in Cluj-Napoca. Before graduating, he worked in a real factory as a turner so he got to know the hard work common people were subjected to for making a living. He debuted in *Student Life / Viața studentescă* magazine in 1971 where he worked for nine years, but he also wrote stories for other cultural magazines such as *Equinox / Echinox*, *The Star / Steaua*, *The Flame / Flacăra*. In 1990, he founded together with Michael Carciog the magazine *Expres* where he signed the columns *Pocket Stories* and *Political Letters*. Since 1997, he took over the management of the daily newspaper *Evenimentul zilei / The News of the Day*. Then he established the private national radio station Europa FM. Later, he signed editorials for *Foia transilvană* and *Ediție specială* based in Craiova. Since 2009, Nistorescu manages *Cotidianul* newspaper and the online news platform www.cotidianul.ro.

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