



UNIVERSITY OF CRAIOVA
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICAL SCIENCES SPECIALIZATION &
CENTER OF POST-COMMUNIST POLITICAL STUDIES
(CESPO-CEPOS)

REVISTA DE ȘTIINȚE POLITICE.
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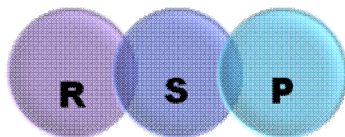
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EDITORS' NOTE

Urbanity and Systemic Changes after Communism in Eastern Europe

Note of the Editors of the
Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques

Issue 62/2019

Anca Parmena Olimid*,
Cătălina Maria Georgescu**,
Cosmin Lucian Gherghe***

Issue 62 / 2019 of the *Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques* (RSP) launched in June 2019 expands the research of communist and post-communist periods re-focusing on urbanity and systemic changes in Eastern Europe. The current issue is aimed at providing a forum of debates in the field of education, law, administration, transport, digital area and technology, namely:

1. The study entitled *Diplomacy and Motivation in the Political Discourse* (authors: Anca Păunescu, Ileana Mihaela Chirițescu) points at the following issues: the structure of the political discourse, the personal motivation and the

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- political careers, the role of diplomacy in the political discourse, the linkage between communication and politics, the sources and resources of motivation within political discourse, the phases of the gestural plane and the paths to political leadership etc.;
2. The study entitled *Transport exclusion as a heritage of the post-communist period. The example of Poland* (author: Andrzej Dubicki) focuses on the systemic transformation after 1989: the state's transport policy and the challenges of the post-communist reforms, namely the challenges in the field of the communication models, the administrative and education sectors. An inner phase of the research argues on the problem of the financing and the programs of combating the transport exclusion;
 3. The study entitled *The Tale of Two Cities: Engendering Urbanity in Romania after Communism* (authors: Elena Banciu, Iulia Anghel) maps the nexus point between the “engendering phenomena” after the fall of communist in Bucharest and “the mechanisms for spatial production of gender discrimination”. Furthermore, the research follows the linkage between the following areas of research: 1) gender and the city; 2) the urban universe of Bucharest; 3) the feminine perspective of space in Bucharest;
 4. The study entitled *Athena Rising? Mentoring in Higher Education* (author: Costina Denisa Bărbuceanu) argues on the role of mentoring in higher education focusing on the role of the work environment and, also, on the paths to career development;
 5. The study entitled *Fitness Clubs Revolution and Social Interaction* (author: Irina Onea) presents the linkages between the social life, the social interactions and the importance of the physical activity, here including the debate pointing on the recreational centers and the fitness market in Bucharest;
 6. The study entitled *Political Communication between Tradition and Actuality* (Lavinia Lăpădat, Maria-Magdalena Lăpădat) points out four main aspects of the research in the field: the political communication, the role of non-verbal symbols, the role of the media, the importance of norms and the polarization of classes;
 7. The study entitled *King Carol II's Political View – from the “Governing over the Political Parties” formula to the Authoritarian Regime* (author: Mihaela Ilie) analyzes the political visions and the role of the formula of governing in a peculiar period of time;
 8. The study entitled *Digital Natives Romanians Can Hardly Imagine Life without Internet* (author: Anda Anca Rodideal) researches the phenomenon of the internet consumption in Romania. The paper also addresses the perspectives of the excessive technology use focusing on quantitative and qualitative methods;
 9. The study entitled *The Regulatory Framework of International Arbitration* (authors: Sevastian Cercel, Ștefan Scurtu) analyzes the regulation of international arbitration in Romanian law and, also, in international conventions pointing the importance of the legal documentation in the field;
 10. The study entitled *Consequences of Lacking Loyalty towards Constitution in the Rule of Law* (author: Maria-Nicoleta Morar) debates on “the lack of loyalty in terms of the state's fundamental law” by analyzing the consequences in the field of the respect of the fundamental rights and freedoms;

11. The study entitled *Education, Social and Media Communication* (author: Andreea Mihaela Stoian) debates on the role of education and the systemic changes determined by the evolution of technology. The author also points out the importance of the web platforms, the online communication and social media;
12. The study entitled *Representing Public Health in Romanian Communist Media (1945-1989)* (author: Valentina Marinescu) focuses on the media coverage of public health in the communist period (1945-1989). Furthermore, the major phases of the research are: the analysis of the key elements of the public health in the period; the economic crisis in Romania at the beginning of the 1980s and the consequences of the program of scientific nutrition for population; the anti-abortion legislation; other health issues during the communist period;
13. The study entitled *EFL in the Post-Communist Era: Background, Methods and Values* (author: Diana Marcu) offers a complex research of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in the post-communist era pointing out the role of English in international communication and the challenges of the Romanian education system after the fall of communism.

Finally, the RSP Editors wish to welcome in issue 62/2019 new areas of the research enabling a cross-sectorial framework of the post-communist reforms extending the focus on the social structures and systemic changes.

Wishing you all the best,

The Editors



ORIGINAL PAPER

Diplomacy and Motivation in the Political Discourse

Anca Păunescu*
Ileana Mihaela Chirițescu**

Abstract

Communication and politics are consubstantial. Communication relationships are inseparable from power relations, which, by their form and content, depend on the material or symbolic power accumulated by political institutions and agencies engaged in these relations. Political communication has as a specific the manifestation of a tension between cooperation and conflict. Political discourse allows for agreement, but the same kind of speech promotes conflict and domination. Whether persuasion or conviction, negotiation or intimidation is desired, recourse to political language is an alternative to physical violence. Public space has a conflicting character, but compromise is negotiated within its perimeter. Differences are balanced, the representation of those who are not in power becomes more lenient, those in power regulate their discourse. What is dominant in political communication is the word, written or spoken. In society, any problem can become politics. Politics evolves into the dynamics of economic, social, cultural, religious, ethnic, linguistic stakes. Political activity is focused on the emergence of collective issues, the formulation of questions addressed to public authorities, the development of solutions, the conflict between these projects and their regulation. In each of these processes communication is involved and its contribution to political activity is omnipresent, whether it is socialization and participation, agenda development, mobilization or negotiation. Communication impregnates all political activity to the extent that almost all such behaviors involve the recourse to some form of communication. The specificity of contemporary political relations and activities is the political belief crisis, which forces political people, as Gabriel Thoveron said, to invest more and more in the communication: "as soon as there is any difficulty between them and those who mandate them, it is considered to be a communication problem, to convince citizens of the basis of their acts or decisions."

Keywords: *Elements of political discourse; expressiveness; strategies; theatricality of argumentation; adaptation to interlocutor; intertextual intensity.*

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Diplomacy and Motivation in the Political Discourse

Introduction

Political discourse should be both diplomatic and motivational. In order to truly attract political followers and sympathizers, politicians should be motivated by high levels of aspirations and ideals, such as the harsh desire to work for the benefit of their own people. They should not only seek personal motivation through their political career. Like any other profession, that of a politician should be adopted by people who are really meant to follow the path of politics. Politics should not only be a profession adopted in the absence of any other possibility or vision, or because the mere conjuncture of existence guides you to it. Moreover, the political career should not be followed simply because it is fashionable to be a politician, to appear on television or to be a leader of opinion. Politics should be made and thought for citizens and for the benefit of nations, not for politicians, to the detriment of the state. The diplomacy and motivation of political discourse should be self-understood, not forced, but studied.

Diplomacy in the political discourse

The political discourse can be directly addressed to the general public on television or radio, or it can be indirectly addressed through written press. Usually, if the member of the press does his job loyally, the political discourse of the politician cannot be a staged one. In the written press, however, one can speak of some sort of analysis of what the politician said, a speculation that may be for or against.

Steluta Coculescu asserts that: "The dialogue discourse of the moderator and his guests, the second discourse, the speech-agent that distorts the orator's discourse - considered a primary speech - forms an interdisciplinary controversy. In this situation, two strategies would be possible: integration, thus the semantic assimilation of the adverse discourse, criticizing only the claim of monopoly on truth, or the exclusion, thus the rejection of the adverse semantic universe as incompatible with the truth. Given the televised nature of speech on a show, the distortion of the presidential ethos, exclusion is preferred and the proliferation of the discourse is incompatible with the truth. Incorporating the voice and the image of the president into the verbal and visual components of the television statement, DA (the distorting agent) interprets the source discourse semantically to disqualify it. The speech-agent proposes a pejorative reading of the source discourse, then pass it into negative and reject it as incompatible" (Coculescu, 2008: 81).

During a television show, the relationship between the politician and the moderator can become harmonious or conflicting, depending on the interests of the television network, or the sympathy or antipathy the moderator has for the politician concerned or for the political party he represents. When one of the two wants to attack the other's speech in one way or another, usually this is targeted and even prepared in advance to highlight the defects of the interlocutor and implicitly of the political party represented by him or of the television in the case of the moderator. So, we can not say that the discourse is a personal one, because neither the politician nor the moderator speaks in the name of their own person, but they represent genuine interests or well-established groups.

On the other hand, if we talk about the encounter between two people who have the same interests and political visions, things are radically shifting. The moderator raises the ball to the politician in order to highlight the successes and achievements of the political formation he represents, in turn the politician praises the television that is

his partner and enjoys his favors whenever necessary. We are talking here about a double success and advantage, both in terms of politics and visibility.

The critical analysis of discourse delineates research trajectories which predominantly allocate an elevated degree of behavioural extension in the attempt to comprehend the prerequisites of power and the need for control as they are inextricably generated on the foundations of social and political understanding. Language, as a methodology of expressive playfulness, will ultimately explore all valid options that are relevant in assuming fields of ideological representation which aim to capture the very thoughts and emotions of the listeners.

In fact, political discourse involves an act of language from which a text, context or intent is revealed. Usually, if we report to the written press we are talking about a text. If we are referring to a television program that has political purpose, we speak of a context (as described above: favorable or unfavorable to both dialogue partners - moderator and politician as the image of a political party in question), or an intention that may be good or bad (the moderator's intent, which through questions can favor the politician who knows both the weaknesses and the strengths, or the intention of the politician as a guest who can attack or praise the television, of course in a positive or negative way).

Clearly, political discourse can be a source of power. That is why it appears as a struggle between two visions, between two individuals, between two powers. In general, the characteristics of a political discourse are as follows: it requires the struggle between Good and Evil; it is aimed precisely at action in a concrete sense, for example, a certain political party calls the world to vote or to abstain; targeting the masses; having a strong psychological and emotional component, so there are politicians who appear on television and shed some tears in the name of the underprivileged nation because of the bad decisions taken by the political party with which is in opposition; controlling and manipulating, so he does not leave anyone indifferent.

In their analysis of political discourse Colodeeva and Pricopciuc argue that: "In a more general sense, political discourse is held in relation to power management. In other words, political discourse only works where the people or their representatives take part in political affairs. Political discourse is a form of discourse through which the locator follows the intention of power in a political struggle against other politicians or political groups" (Colodeeva, Pricopciuc, 2014: 53-54).

The utility of a political discourse is to inspire voters (the citizens of a larger or smaller community), so he does not have the gift of describing a phenomenon or a special success (these things may exist, but they are in the second plane of the politicians' intentions), determining the citizens of a community to resonate with the proposed intentions of a concerned political party.

Ever since Aristotle we know that argumentation is the art of persuasion and conviction, therefore politicians must have the diplomacy to persuade citizens to follow them with the arguments they think most powerful. Simply put, political discourse is clearly a public discourse; politics is not a career to be followed in silence because without public visibility it is practically non-existent.

Diplomacy is, in turn, an art of presenting this speech either harmoniously or incisively. Being a diplomat is somewhat on the psychological side of each individual, and the politician must acquire this art from the military rather than from the public.

Diplomacy must be thoroughly studied, not only the psychological or temperamental features of the politician, but also the characteristics that resonate with

Diplomacy and Motivation in the Political Discourse

the voters of the community in question. The diplomatic aspects of the political discourse differ from one community to another depending on the social, family and moral dimension, but also the intellectual level of the individuals forming that community.

For example, the mayoral elections in a rural community where the average age of citizens is over 50, places emphasis on the development of agriculture, on the state of the roads in that community, so the target of the discourse deals with the concrete side of everyday life. Unlike the mayor's choices in a city, there are other aspects: improving the city, attracting more investors to create jobs, changing peripheral areas in order to incorporate all areas of discourse.

A description of assertive communicative protocols can and must formulate the analytical subject of a connection between politics and discourse effectively practising a plethora of schematics that articulate the art of manipulation and dissimulation in the world of public discourse.

A special vision belongs to Christian Le Bart who claims that the political discourse is the one that holds men and women in politics in the exercise of their function. (Le Bart, 1998). Bonnafous tells us that politics presupposes “any value judgment that targets a community” (Bonnafous, Ciron, Ducard, Levy, 2003: 87).

The elements concerned should be different from one community to another and still applied to diplomatic aspects. In parliamentary elections, where the purpose is common to all the citizens of a nation, and the names found on ballot papers, unlike local elections, are relevant, the ways politicians use to convince citizens to vote are different. In the rural area, the elected mayor is the one who plays a key role in assembling the citizens of a community to give the vote to the representatives of a particular political party. In the city, politicians' speech must be higher, more concrete, and address aspects of strong ties with the outside of the country. Political functionalities can assume a multitude of expressive forces in areas that are enshrined in collective consciousness as major values.

The theatricality of argumentation, adaptation to the interlocutor, intertextual intensity, staging, meets the theatricality of language games as a strategy of chance and discursive creation.

Furthermore, Thoveron tries to convey the fact that: “Political discourse manifests itself in a socio-political context as a reaction to a concrete and dynamic reality. This type of discourse, therefore, has an event character as a direct reaction to the present political situations, and is also challenged by events and future phenomena. At the same time, political discourse gains a greater capacity to influence if it is spoken in a concrete setting in front of an audience and is accompanied by elements of non-verbal communication: mimics, gestures, posture, attitude.” (Thoveron, 1996: 17). Diplomatic political discourse should target all voters regardless of which category they would fall into and the politician's vision should coincide with the wishes and needs of the community's voters.

Motivation in the political discourse

As pointed out above, the motivation must come from the politician rather than the voter, but the advantages of the politician's motivation should be rather the voters instead of the politician's own interests. According to Schopenhauer, the “art of persuasion is the use of the human concepts that can be achieved with skill.” (Schopenhauer, 1891: 73).

The roles of politicians and moderators in the case of a politically-oriented television show are interpreted according to rituals that bring to attention notions such as action schemes, speech contracts, interaction rules and interpretation. From this perspective, the verbal-nonverbal interaction is obvious, and it has a decisive contribution to the fulfillment of the communication. The world of nonverbal premises includes a variety of ways of communication.

Gestures are as important as discourses, and gestures “errors” have institutional or interpersonal consequences as serious as linguistic errors, as gesture configures the identity and image of the orator politician, optimizing or distorting communication. That is why the political locator will have to have purpose, becoming the recipient of his own speech, anticipating his effects and feedback. Therefore, gesture in political communication should focus on the possibilities of modulating the complementary nature of gestures, language and gestural communication strategies.

Gestures are determined and regulated in a cultural way and express a social belonging, a group identity that becomes observable by permissible behaviors and by forbidden behaviors at the level of a society that any political person has to know.

To be successful among voters, politicians should be charismatic and have a certain gesture force to make citizens vote for them. Voters are sensitive both to the political candidate's speech and to his gestures and mimics. A certain rigor imposed by the use of hands, for example, lifting from the eyebrow at the right time, sometimes has the force to change public opinion. Managing his emotions, or, on the contrary, the intense vibration of voters' emotions, changes the face of a candidate from a common one, usually into a favorite one. The intonation also has its important role. The willful emphasis on ideas that could change the results of the vote, the adoption of a natural and very relaxed posture, attracting attention through a very careless, but not excessive work, and they can be the strengths that a political candidate can rely on if studied in advance and applied diligently. Certainly, any politician plays a role for his voters. It is important that the role fits and also matches the profile of its voters.

Let's take the example of Nicolas Sarkozy, who adopts a natural, relaxed, atypical posture (or, at least, this is the case of his appearances).

In the article *La gestuelle des politiques*, we are informed that this posture is the most difficult for politicians: “Nicolas Sarkozy uses slow and horizontal gestures, rather sudden, fast and vertical. These gestures accompanying verbal discourse reinforce its credibility”

(<http://la-gestuelle-des-politiques.e-monsite.com/pages/ii-les-gestes-conscients-de-la-politique.html>). Daniel Murgui-Tomas, passionate about non-verbal communication, is a former journalist who studied child psychology and analyzed in detail in the article *Gestuelle des politiques* the gestures of important political leaders of the world. The article also reminds that Nicolas Sarkozy is an innate leader, not only politically but also socially. He uses as a weapon the provocation of the interested voter to follow the smallest gestures that are usually positive, because he is aware that as you attract sympathizers, you are on the right track to be a political leader. The same article says that the most representative manipulator through gestures is the political leader Adolf Hitler: “His gestures and mimics were calculated in a scholarly way. Hitler carefully prepared each of his speeches: He stood right in front of the viewership, adopting a combative, imperative, ironic, visionary posture. Behind him a gramophone broadcasts the speech in question. His gestures: raised arms, tight fists, the exalted mimic of his face, glassy or dreamy eyes, his lips sketching an ironic smile - were all meant to strengthen his words and communicate to his listeners his mood. Hitler gives

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his mimics and gestures a special importance for the obvious purpose of attracting, manipulating and controlling followers.” (<http://la-gestuelle-des-politiques.e-monsite.com/pages/ii-les-gestes-conscients-de-la-politique.html>)

In order to prepare his public discourse, Hitler relied on the gesture used in theater and opera. It was through this gigantic gesture that his speech became a hypnotic one. An excellent example of this was the speech that Adolf Hitler held in 1933 in the building of the German Parliament, called the Reichstag. Warmly aspiring to hypnotize the masses, Adolf Hitler used the power of impressive voice, gestures of force (tight fists, hands fluttering in the air, raised either laterally or upward, stating or denying gesture, delivering speech as a theater scene). The audience responded with the same gestures, which made it even louder.

An example to the opposite of Adolf Hitler is that of François Hollande, a non-expressive politician with a poor gesture repertoire, even impoverished after the 2011 elections, which meant that before this year, he was pushing to do all those gestures. Hollande “makes little use of his hands”, but rather uses them unconsciously as a tic, in the opinion of Joseph Messinger, who also says of Hollande that he “loves people and is a sincere politician who wants to present himself exactly as he is” (Messinger, 2006)

A charismatic leader with an all-encompassing discourse, with an attempt to convey the discourse in an interactive way (questions and answers), captivates the audience through abundant laughter or jokes more or less appreciated by the public.

Obama's speech was built using positive politeness, and he tried to emphasize his interest and appreciation for his receiver (the crowd at Denver Stadium, Colorado, as well as the viewers watching TV on public television). The message intended to seek out the approval of the broadcaster and its common points with the interlocutor (which in this case is also a receiver) whose main objective is a construction that cannot be interpreted as hostile.

Necessity is expression of listening, of dialogue, of meeting a populated space of ideas in perpetual becoming, creating timely moments in politics. If this need is evident, if social dialogue can evolve, its lack does not necessarily mean a loss to everyone. On the contrary, an entire generation of politicians still experience trust deficits, trying to recover dynamics similar to other problems.

The gesture of a televised media discourse is thoroughly studied in our times, or especially in our society. We live in the age of visibility and communication, so if a politician has vision and qualities, he also needs visibility. The fierce fight for television appearances is a clear example that politicians demand the participation in television shows and, despite public opinion, they are especially encouraged by incisive moderators because such a show is being watched by a large number of viewers, and advertising of any genre would be most efficient.

The way in which the politician, in his communicative position, justifies his change of opinion on the basis of the alliance game must be examined. To the extent that political stakes are trading from one area to another, political responsibility becomes the Achilles' heel where the collapse of the justification act is orchestrated. The function of engaging the word and asking the speaker to be coherent in its actions emphasizes the difficulty in assuming a contradictory discourse without appearing discordant. From a political point of view, it would be surprising to produce both a stability and panic on the opponent's side without being criticized. Even if the politician makes a justification, he suggests that his *modus operandi* of control is heavily reliant on the political lie.

Ducrot says that “the idea to take control of speech does not represent, at least in the forms of civilization we know, a free act or a gratuitous one” (Ducrot, 1972: 8).

Such a definition implies that the politician, speaking on topics of public interest, de facto accepts the code of conduct that defines this activity by aiming to change a certain socio-political situation. Speaking, therefore, becomes a legal act, capable of transforming political relations and public opinion.

At a political talk show, everything is organized and studied long before. Nothing, but absolutely nothing happens unless it is necessary and with the intended intensity. Motivation is the key point of the political discourse, not just the discourse, but also the debate or the simple discussion on political issues. The politician is the one who gives the tone and decides what he wants to highlight, and the moderator helps or, on the contrary, disturbs him in his intentions.

Kendon distinguishes as many categories of gestures as there are functions: “referential, pragmatic and interactive gestures” (Streeck, 2009: 23-24). Instead of privileging this functional distribution, we prefer to focus on the pragmatic effect. Thus, we will speak of impulsive gestures for modal pragmatic gestures and gestures for referential undertakings. The implications of this option, somewhat daring, but necessary to understand intra-discursive conflict, are directly perceptible to coding and the descriptive approach. Therefore, there will be gestures whose coding will be reduced to the simple use of alphabetic letters to facilitate word labeling. The combination of two or more gesture forms is what we call a gestural attitude. Switching from one attitude to another or one specific gesture corresponds to a movement; however, the return to the attitude (or gesture) of departure should not be confused with the withdrawal from which Kendon carries out the analysis of gestures.

Impulsive gestures incorporate impulsive acts that in some way “violate the self-control that one has to preserve in the presence of others and thus gives witnesses a glance at what is hidden under the mask” (Goffman, 1987: 129). Their interpretative relevance is acquired in combination, and it is in this complexity that they provide information about the contribution of self-obedience to the idea of being contradictory.

However, motivation is usually very strong inside, and this happens not only in the case of political discourse. Politicians know how to talk while keeping their ace up their sleeve for the end when they want to get the applause of their audience.

Politicians are well aware of the actual structure of the discourse in public, they know the presentation steps, they know exactly what the theoretical and practical aspects needed to be met, and when to ask for feedback and interact with the participants or with viewers. In conclusion, the attack plan is well-established. Perhaps, however, something is lacking in order to achieve maximum appreciation? Of course, there are innumerable factors that intervene to get to that point. It can be charisma, intonation, innovative elements, etc. Or it may be the impact of Columbo's technique, that of waiting very calmly for the end, of breathing, intonation, voice, mimic intact, and when the world would expect it to end, that is exactly the moment that hides the key, and the politician marks the decisive point.

Motivational speech is currently a trend without which it would not be a problem for the politician to come out in public. The art of oratory weighs a lot during a speech. Unfortunately not everyone has this ability. Phrases such as: “When you come to me with suggestions or problems, I encourage you to think about options as clear and concrete as possible so I can say yes or no as easily. On the other hand, if you do not know what to do, do not hold for yourselves, the problems needed to be discussed

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quickly. I'm a moral man. Not crunchy, not shaky, not timid, but very honest, transparent, trustful" - necessary to capture attention and gain public confidence.

In her research regarding political discourse, the author Nicoleta Neșu expounds the fact that: "A speech is political if it assesses situations of public interest; from this point of view, its specificity would consist of the conventionality it assumes and which is just a materialization in and through the discourse of the institutional character of the specific political interaction. As a result, any political discourse operates on the basis of conventional or institutionalized argumentation which, on a first level, argues the role played by the institution it represents, and then at a second level justifies the image of the institution that represents it. In close connection with this value of truth, in the political discourse there must also be some "credibility strategies", activated by the political actor during the discursive construction. They are meant to communicate the truth on the one hand and, on the other hand, to make the politician the person who can be perceived as the only one able to communicate these truths in general, independently of the actual discursive situation, to become the "guarantor" of these values" (Neșu, 2003: 232). In a controversial situation, justification is the very common strategy of reconciliation between politicians and public opinion (Charaudeau, 2005: 96-105). How can the politician take responsibility for previous opinions that have become contradictory to his new positions? The feasibility of such action is rooted in the linguistic bases of political discourse, legitimacy in this case.

In front of a contradictory statement, the politician justifies the changes of his thinking through the legitimacy of the circumstances. Each discursive being is responsible for a position that the speaker is telling to assume in the temporal space where it was declared: it is the recognition that certain aspects of his discourse are overcome. On a gestural plane, space serves rationally and symbolically to the act of justification. Specifically, the right hand represents the events that interlocutors cling to in order to fuel the debate. The center translates the place of the semantic distortion of its political approach while the left presupposes and attempts to contextually explain the misunderstandings.

The author Maria Preda believes that: "Motivation is the result, the consequence of the interaction between the individual, the task to be fulfilled, and the external environment" (Preda, 2006: 106). In this sense, the motivation of a high-ranking politician is to overcome adversity and the hostility of those in the political party he is part of, because only through his way can he differentiate, gain capital of image and why he can not become an undeniable leader. While it may be difficult to believe that we are dealing with current Romanian politics, there are also politicians who are motivated by intrinsic factors such as devotion and love for political career, opportunity for promotion, social recognition. The financial reward is also a motivating factor that should not be neglected.

Conclusions

Diplomacy and motivation are absolutely necessary in any type of discourse, especially for politicians who want to gain notoriety. Above we gave examples of diplomacy and political leadership, and how they represent qualities, especially as media representatives have become more and more incisive, and the press has gained more power than ever, often challenging the rules of the state itself.

Nicholas Kralev, a 21st Century expert in diplomacy, said in an interview for the television station Digi 24, to journalist Cristina Cileacu: "For a journalist it is an

opportunity that few have. Traveling with the US State Secretaries on the same plane and talking to them about politics, events, and everything they do in their work unofficially is extremely valuable to any journalist. My tendency is to look at all of this from another angle, because I believe it is a rare chance to get there, especially for someone who has never dreamed that he or I in this case would have the opportunity to do so, especially if we think about growing up in Bulgaria. I remember seeing George Schultz when he was a state secretary in the 1980s, as he descended the stairs of the plane, and I did not dream that such a thing was something to achieve. Thus, being on a plane and traveling around the world with the head of US diplomacy is simply an invaluable fact and I do not think I have ever thought of any negative aspect of this. Because, for a journalist who loves diplomacy and foreign policy and wants to understand exactly what the US wants to do all over the world, the opportunity is invaluable” (Kralev, 2015). Therefore, diplomacy and motivation go hand in hand, both being the subject of study and analysis. Both have become things without which they cannot aspire towards a public life.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

Transport Exclusion as a Heritage of the Post-Communist Period. The Example of Poland

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Abstract

The period of system transformation after 1989 resulted in many transformations in the social structure in post-communist countries. Countries that after 1989 rejected the system of people's democracy affected various kinds of changes that did not necessarily positively affect various aspects of the broadly understood social policy of the state. In many cases, including Polish, social policy is conducted unevenly by the state, being, for example, very advanced in one aspect, where in comparison, even up to 2015, we observe a significant improvement in the situation. On the other hand, we also observe sectors in which there was a significant deterioration in the confrontation with the realities of 1989. Such an example is exactly the issue of communication exclusion, which is one of the disgraceful results of systemic transformation, emerging in the second half of the 1990s. At the present time, the subject of exclusion is popular, its study often fits into the fight against differently understood discrimination. While it is often mentioned about the exclusion due to age, the inability to use modern forms of communication, sex, race, etc. Other forms of exclusion are often overlooked by the attention of decision-makers. A specific example is the communication exclusion, which in a wider form appeared paradoxically along with the process of socio-economic reforms. What is important, apart from the obvious social aspects of this, is also the ecological aspect, where the lack of the possibility of convenient access to work properly enforces the purchase of a car, which intelligibly worsens the ecological situation due to the fact that the vehicle is not new and usually does not meet the latest exhaust emission standards. In connection with the current work on laws to counteract traffic exclusion, the article presents the state of knowledge as of 22 March 2019.

Keywords: *Poland; transport; transport exclusion.*

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The year 1989 is an important turning point in shaping the state's transport policy. Departure as a result of the so-called Balcerowicz's reforms from the principles of a centrally managed economy led to significant changes also in the field of transport. In general, the main culprit was the change of priorities and directions of population movements, especially in local traffic. It was noticeable both on the micro scale, i.e. on the example of individual cities and public transport, as well as on the macro scale, i.e. on the provincial or national level. The image of communication in Poland at the threshold of political and economic changes was as follows. Railway - whose operator was the company: Polskie Koleje Państwowe [PKP], remained in the hands of the state and what was understandable was the only operator operating on the Polish railway network - was then a monopolist in both passenger and freight transport. The situation was similar in the case of road transport, where inter-city and regional transport provided various branches of Przedsiębiorstwo Komunikacji Samochodowej [PKS] (State Car Transport), while urban and suburban transport remained under the control of urban (voivodship) enterprises. As far as the aviation communication outside the subject area of the article is concerned, PLL LOT had a monopoly on domestic flights.

Basically, the services provided by the mentioned above state entities were managed by the state, although at least several forms of its provision could be indicated, significantly affecting the limitation of communication exclusion. First and foremost, publicly available transports connecting usually smaller towns with administrative centers: municipalities, and those with the seat of the voivodship should be indicated. The travel prices were not high at that time, however, especially in public transport, there were some restrictions for season ticket holders who actually brought public transport closer to the employee transport, for example, season tickets were not valid on non-working days.. At the same time, no attention was paid to the economic factor. The volume of transport was quite large, with the largest number of passengers recorded in the year of the fall of the previous system, in 1989. At that time, over 2 million passengers benefited from PKS services, for example in 2014 it was below 500,000. In the scale of the entire country in 1989, the volume of transport covered over 2 billion passengers (2.16 billion), while in 2014 only 354.6 million people were transported - there is a huge drop in the number of people using public transport (Książek, 2016: 54). This is a visible sign of transformations in the model of communication in Poland, as well as the general collapse of communication organized for public money, because of the said number of 354 million people only 109 million, which is less than 1/3 benefited from transport organized by local governments (Książek, 2016: 54). It is worth noting, however, that in this case, the presented data are still understated because they do not take into account the market share of enterprises employing less than 9 people - and it is known that they constitute a noticeable element of the Polish transport system.

The second important communication model also then de facto sponsored by the state were the so-called transport of employees, officially not available to all passengers, but intended for employees of individual plants. Often, the employees' lines reached a quite large distance, bringing people to work sometimes and within a radius of 50 km. At the same time, they fulfilled an important social function, providing the opportunity to reach the workplace, even from the most distant places, but it usually took a lot of time to use them. It was, however, a source of income for PKSs that provided this service for workplaces, because these were rarely able to afford transport on their own. As for the railway, along with the development of road transport (bus) and following asphaltting of roads, which in turn translated into the quality of the service, ie from the

1960s, there was a tendency to liquidate local railway lines that are not able to compete with traveling time with developing bus communication. In addition, the distance from the settlement network was often added here, which intensified the decrease in the attractiveness of the railways as a means of transport - because it made it necessary to reach the railway station, while the bus usually reached the center of the town. This primarily led to cuts on local lines in Greater Poland and Lower Silesia, where the rail network was the densest. Another reason for the loss of attractiveness was the frequent limitation of maintenance works to the necessary minimum, but also such factors as, for example, the profile of the line preventing the speed increase without a thorough reconstruction of the route, which was unprofitable in economic terms.

In this form, collective communication of all kinds survived until the turn of 1989. Shortly thereafter, the state seeking active savings sought to put the rules governing transport into practice. Since marketization of the railways for various reasons, including strategic ones, was not possible in this section, it was decided to maintain the actual state monopoly, unfortunately limiting transport work and modernization of the railway, which led to the liquidation of many railway lines, which in the longer term resulted in transport exclusion many rural areas - the reasons for this phenomenon will be presented later in the article.

Bus transport was much easier to restructure, it was not perceived as a strategic factor, what's more the drivers did not create such a strong lobby as railwaymen, which made it easier for the government to try to market this sector. The first step was to split the PKS into 176 local companies, which had to take up the fight for the passenger, often competing with each other on more profitable and profitable lines. An additional element undoubtedly negatively affecting the costs of running the business was the rather archaic and outdated rolling stock available to the companies. Despite the fact that production was maintained by Polish factories (mainly Autosan and Jelcz), new companies often saved their rolling stock by buying old buses from the West - they were cheaper, more often more economical than the products of local factories. What was crucial for the further development of events, the new enterprises were registered as commercial law companies, which in fact forced them to optimize business operations, especially in the direction of cost balancing. This, in turn, led to the withdrawal of car communication from less profitable courses. However, more serious problems appeared with the wave of reforms that began to be carried out in Poland after the victory of the Solidarity Electoral Action (AWS) in 1997.

Here, first of all, indicate two of them: administrative and education. They have greatly influenced the development of events in the transport sector, both in terms of wheels and railways. The first of them - administrative - created 16 provinces instead of the previous 49. This led to further fragmentation of transport issues, since the main organizer of transport has since become a county (powiat - intermediate level between the commune and the voivodship). It also led to the change of existing passenger flows because each district primarily wanted to connect smaller towns with the seat of county authorities, often leaving the municipalities an aspect of organizing intra-municipal communication (if it was needed). This led to discontinuation of service on the so-called contact areas between individual municipalities. The delimitation of new, larger voivodships to a large extent in the long term resulted in abandoning the service on routes going beyond the border of the voivodship, which involved the financing of such a merger. Often, new administrative units were not interested in further financing of local lines leading to the neighboring commune, but located in another voivodship. In a

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natural way, this leads to the exclusion of transport of people living in those places that would remain active on the labor market, but also socially need to purchase an individual mode of transport. Another reform, the negative effects of which are probably the most indirectly felt in matters related to exclusion, is education reform. At this point, its essence will not be analyzed (especially that after 20 years it has been withdrawn and the education model existing in Poland since the 1950s has been restored). From the point of view of this article, its impact on public transport is important. Until its introduction, free transport of children to primary school, especially in rural areas, was provided by the commune, usually in cooperation with the parents of pupils. The legislator envisaged such a solution in case when the road to school was over 3 kilometers for students of grades I - IV and over 4 kilometers for students of older classes (Cyrankiewicz, 2012). The service of the connections usually resided at the local PKS branch, which usually included these courses into the network of public connections, which positively affected the mobility in the villages, providing a minimum of communication of most villages - 2 courses per day. The reform changed this state of affairs by creating the next level of school - junior high school (former classes VII-IX), and handed over the task of running them to the commune. The problem was that quite often their network did not coincide with the network of primary schools (due to the need to comply with statutory conditions - the need to locate a gymnasium in a separate building), often accompanied by their consolidation, which also translated into problems of transporting students to schools. To remedy this, the legislator decided to introduce and even subsidize special school buses (so-called *gimbus*). Finally, it turned out that due to statutory requirements, this led to further deepening of the transport exclusion, especially of adults. *Gimbus* could not be used for regular transport. Due to the need to mark it as transporting children, it was impossible to travel in it adults. On the other hand, this requirement certainly extended the operation of Polish bus factories (Autosan and Jelcz, which were produced by the appropriate bus models). The exclusion of school transport from the network of public connections has undermined the revenues of PKSs, which the municipality has so far paid for services rendered, or has paid up adequate amounts as part of compensations for statutory concessions. In addition, *gimbuses* were passed to specific municipalities, which excluded their use by PKS. Statistical data confirms that a significant slump in the transport market occurred after 2000, when many communication companies started the process of liquidation of connections. It was related, as already mentioned, to the transfer of student transport by local self-governments, and thus with the subsequent outflow of funds from communication enterprises. It caused a snowball effect, because limiting the transport offer caused a further outflow of passengers, etc.

The year 2019 is the election year in Poland - elections to the European Parliament will take place, and much more important the next election to the Sejm and the Senate, it is also a prelude to the presidential elections planned for 2020. Therefore, the issue of transport exclusion was noticed by the government, actively seeking the possibility of extending the mandate to exercise power.

The Polish government, sponsored by Law and Justice (PiS), and currently headed by Mateusz Morawiecki, in his electoral program, announced at the beginning of March 2019, announced the fight against transport exclusion, making this task one of the main points of his election strategy referred to as "the Kaczyński's Five". The fight against transport exclusion holds in it an important place alongside: the 500+ program for each child in Poland (this is a flagship program of the PiS government in Poland,

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consisting in paying the parents of the child support in the amount of PLN 500 (about 550 lei) for each child, currently the right to support are mainly families with 2 or more children), the so-called. "Thirteen" in the amount of PLN 1,100 (1210 lei) for pensioners; tax breaks for people up to 26 years of age and reduction of the first income tax rate from 18% to 17%.

Understandably, most of these demands were enthusiastically received by the electorate in Poland, somewhat less by the Ministry of Finance. The essence of the idea in the area of combating transport exclusion is to restore the network of liquidated connections at the county level, by increasing the number of so-called "vehicle-kilometers" from 500,000 to a million a year. According to the leader of the PiS - Jaroslaw Kaczynski, this should happen gradually, so as not to incur excessive expenditure of the state budget. Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki in his promises was much more enthusiastic and clearly announced the start of the program from April 2019. Regardless of the clearly electoral basis of these promises, it should be noted that it is only now to the awareness of the political caste that the problem of transport exclusion has disappeared. As it was mentioned, it has been growing in Poland since at least 2000.

An important element in this case is ensuring the financing of the program. Here, of course, the issue is its cost. The first estimates presented by "Puls Biznesu" estimated the costs of the program at approximately PLN 1.5 billion. Subsequent declarations of government members are gradually decreasing (the amount to be allocated for the implementation of the program, which implies the need to supplement the difference from the own funds of the local governments, which is one of the conditions for the future awarding of co-financing). Government spokesman Joanna Kopcińska declared PLN 800 million for this purpose, while the last announcements even further reduced the declared expenditure to 500 million. The trouble in presenting the right amount is due to a lack of knowledge (March 7, 2019) about the government's vision for the final resolution of the problem. Although it was announced that the relevant law will be issued by May this year, its details are not yet known. It should be mentioned that the original announcement of Jaroslaw Kaczyński about transferring PLN 1.5 billion to the missing 500 million. km indicated a real approach to the problem, because it gave a surcharge of 3 zlotys per kilometer, the later announcements that add to the size of the zloty for a vehicle kilometer do not allow real thinking about restoring all connections (Dybalski, 2019b). The methodology of calculating this amount is also unknown, whether it is an additional amount to be spent on improving the quality of transport in *poviat* Poland, or whether it already includes the refund of any tax relief already applied in the country.

It is likely that the co-financing will be transferred under the next special act, the currently applicable and binding law on Public Collective Transport (PTZ) provides for support for local governments by a total amount of PLN 1130 million (Dybalski, 2019b).

Another problem is proper diagnosis of the problem and selection of counteraction. Here, it is appropriate to return again to the definition of social exclusion and to indicate the groups of people who are affected by it. As a rule, this will apply to older people, for specific reasons (often health) that can not use a car - for them the priority will certainly be reaching out to public institutions, such as: health centers or offices. Students who are too young to guide a car are already a similar group. Their needs can not be reduced, especially in the case of high school youth only to reach the

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school. Another group indicated in the study of the problem, and often overlooked in the current discussion are women who statistically less often have a driving license, moreover they rarely decide on objective reasons for a bus trip, especially in conditions of moving away from the bus stop. Therefore, perhaps the right solution at the local level should be to bring urban / communal communication closer to the potential passenger (Nagalski, 2019). Another important element, essential for every passenger, especially those layers threatened with communication exclusion (but also in connection with digital exclusion) is the necessity to access the timetable in the form understandable for the average passenger. Unfortunately, Polish examples pointing to many different restrictions, or containing many departure options for the same connection can certainly give rise to uncertainty about whether a given vehicle will appear at the stop at the scheduled time and may discourage you from making a decision about choosing this mode of transport. In addition to the clear and clear timetables for all, the side problem will be the use of a consistent and relatively simple numbering system of public transport lines. For example, in Łódź, we deal with variants of line 53, serving areas threatened with exclusion (ie peripheral to the city, 5 in number (marked 53A-53E), plus 3 variants of 54 and 58 operating in similar areas of the city. This causes a certain chaos, especially for visitors, not to mention the uncluttered timetable. Finally, an important element of the fight against exclusion is, especially in the cities mentioned above, the fight for the shortest possible way to the bus stop. On the one hand, most passengers are quite positive about this issue, but very often their enthusiasm ends at the moment when it turns out that the bus will be going directly under their windows. In addition, the problem was also a fairly small amount of rolling stock designed to operate such lines, which sometimes threatened the need to issue full-size rolling stock on the line; he could block individual streets, which further deepened the problem. Currently, Łódź deals with the problem by purchasing a 8-meter rolling stock - Isuzu Novocity Life, which joined Jelcz M081, which was much earlier.

Of course, the program of combating transport exclusion is not a question of recent months, the relevant laws have already been prepared for a long time, as experts say - for example Adrian Furgalski from the TOR Economic Advisers Team, even for 4 years, in fact from the beginning of the current parliamentary term (2015) (Dziennik Łódzki, 2019). Currently, it is estimated that the scale of transport exclusion is close to 14 million people (Żakowska, 2019) and the solutions proposed at Kaczyński's five are currently only able to stop the current liquidation of the line, and not their reconstruction in regions where it has long ceased to drive something. The said expert also points to a fairly vague system of awarding subsidies to local governments, which does not promote those areas that have already been excluded; the reason for foreclosure was usually the lack of money - which usually involved smaller local government units, not larger ones. In the meantime, the proposed solutions clearly promote larger entities, which will be easier to obtain state funding. An important postulate, already mentioned earlier, is the so-called release of *gimbus* or allowing these buses to carry also normal passengers, which is currently not allowed in regular traffic. Experts estimate that this would allow reducing the cost of transport organization by nearly half and additionally earning on tickets (Dziennik Łódzki, 2019). What is important, this would avoid a significant cost category, namely the purchase of new buses - you can use your existing resources to do this. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that it would not completely eliminate the problem of exclusion, because these vehicles are usually high-floor, technically rather inaccessible to the disabled and the elderly. There is also a question about the possibility

of convincing people to return to public transport. Here, it is estimated that about 60% of the population can be convinced to do so, while several factors must be ensured in this case: first of all, the certainty of transport, and the regular timing of calls. It is known that the reconstruction of transport on the basis of the so-called “alibi-zug” (or rather in this case, “alibi-bus”), or connections that run in strange hours, practically driving the proverbial air, will not pass the exam and will only generate additional costs and will still plunge the entire reform. Of course, regular connections, carried out preferably in an hourly hour, will generate adequate costs, but they will nevertheless constitute a possible success of the reform.

The 800 million zloty promised in the current election campaign, unfortunately, will not ensure the implementation of the program. As already mentioned, the program presented in the recent draft laws promotes actually larger local governments that will be able to guarantee coverage of at least 30% of the bus connection deficit. In addition, the government subsidy is also not expected to be of an alarmingly high level - by 2021 it is to amount to PLN 1 for the so-called the vehicle is then to be lowered to 80 gr. per kilometer (Bereszczyński, 2019). Some of the counties, eg in the Łódź voivodship, are quite skeptical about the aforementioned possibilities, indicating that local governments are already burdened with, for example, educational matters and it will be difficult to find funds for the so-called own contribution to the transport subsidy (Bereszczyński, 2019). Further skepticism of interested parties comes from the fact that the granting and subsequent continuation of transport subsidies will depend on proper reporting, which in turn generates further bureaucracy. The whole subsidy program is to be managed by the Bus Transport Development Fund, subsidies will be granted in the form of subsidies to the deficit of a line with public utility features (Urbanowicz, 2019). In fact, the Law and Justice Party offer is directed to richer local governments because the planned subsidy in the case of urban transport would cover only 1/6 of the costs of running the bus on the line (the real cost of the so-called one kilometer in urban traffic is 6-7 zlotys), in the case of regional traffic it may be slightly lower (less frequent arrangement of stops), but also insufficient.

The costs of the program will certainly exceed the already mentioned 800 million. Because to start the connections, which unfortunately the government clearly forgets, are also needed buses, which municipalities or counties as potential transport organizers do not have, moreover, to fully counteract the exclusion, eg due to the unavailability of means of transport for the elderly or disabled), should they are low-floor, the cost of such a vehicle on the secondary market is: from 20,000 PLN for a 20-year-old vehicle, of course, together with the younger year-old the price increases accordingly. The situation is so uninteresting that the *poviat* Poland is dominated by vehicles whose vintage and state leaves much to be desired. A notable problem noticeable especially in eastern Poland is the relative discretion of the timetable, which is very often not observed by private carriers, the courses are canceled, shortened etc., which does not create an atmosphere favorable for the use of organized transport (Rydzyński 2019: 45). An additional problem for communes will also be fuel costs, but most importantly the biggest problem will be the recruitment of drivers who will have to propose favorable working conditions and pay. It is known for a long time that this is a serious problem in Poland, especially in larger cities, where large communication enterprises are struggling with the lack of people willing to work, despite offering fairly competitive employment conditions (eg at MPK Łódź or ZTM Warsaw).

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The average salary in MPK Łódź is approximately PLN 3,400 per hand (Losik, 2018); in ZTM Warszawa, earnings are at a similar level (Zajac-Malarowska, 2017). It is hard to expect that municipal enterprises would be able to offer more, especially that local self-governments will not be able to offer the opportunity to earn a salary, eg overtime. In the context of combating transport exclusion, an important issue should also be not limiting only to support for bus transport, and its reorganization, which takes place in the Czech Republic, so that the bus only serves as a rail transport function, which of course should be realized on one ticket regional. Providing convenient changes to the railway which is faster and usually more convenient, especially in the context of providing connections with larger urban centers may also be treated as a solution to communication problems. Unfortunately, in Polish conditions a significant obstacle can be encountered in this respect, namely a significant increase in electricity prices for an industrial customer that has occurred since the beginning of 2019 (even by 50-60%). This puts a huge question mark on the communication integration around the railway, especially in the situation of a permanent lack of an alternative in the form of combustion vehicles on the Polish rail network, which are simply too few and not enough to even ensure current traffic. The reasons for this state of affairs are systematic, due to the negligence of the case, in the mid-1980s, when the Hungarian SN61 series railbuses of Hungarian provenience were withdrawn from the service, and no sensible alternative was designed. This forced providing traffic on lines not electrified by means of classic sets, i.e. a locomotive + wagons, which in turn negatively influenced the profitability of such a solution. This led to the liquidation of many regional connections and further deepening of transport exclusion. Currently, some connections are reactivated, they are usually successful, but the problem here is the Public Procurement Law and strange ambitions of individual public transport organizers (Marshal Offices), they order short series of vehicles from different manufacturers (PESA, NEWAG), which increases costs repairs and causes problems with obtaining spare parts, which in turn negatively affects the quality of transport offered. It is also important to build an appropriate political climate, so that the fight against transport exclusion can lead in the fashionable spirit of the so-called sustainable transport. In Poland, there is a lot of pathologies in this area, eg in Tuchola Forest, it was postulated to suspend railway traffic on peripheral sections, which would bring significant savings and thus enable the financing of a larger number of bus services. However, a simple matter was not taken into account - such a shape of the road network in the region, which would cause two-fold lengthening of the passage time of the same section, which, of course, would further discourage people from public transport, however under the influence of public opinion, this idea was abandoned, (Rydyński 2018: 42). Similarly, it looked like Hel, where at least during the off-season the trains were tried to replace buses, but the idea is questioned even if buses are not transported and Hel is a popular place for cycling outside the holiday season (Rydyński 2018: 42). A model for solving the situation may be the example of large urban agglomerations in Poland (Warsaw, Łódź, Kraków, Wrocław), which after launching their own agglomeration railways "redirected" the bus traffic from the direction of the village-metropolis towards the village-railway station, which allowed for enrichment transport offer in smaller urban centers.

It is worth mentioning that there are also parishes and counties that, without waiting for money from the state on their own, began to fight exclusion. One of such counties is Lipno, which organized its own communication in the area. It was successful, generating success in turnout, especially through its reliability, which prompted some

people to leave the car as a means of movement. Lipno's starost also points to another socially important element of the distribution of costs of functioning efficient county communication. It attracts students to schools in the country, preventing their outflow to other places, which means that, for example, the educational subsidy remains in the commune / county, which is a serious financial injection for the local government (Dybalski, 2019a).

The government's response to the publication of the PiS program's assumptions is also important. There was unconfirmed information about the possible dismissal of Finance Minister Teresa Czerwińska, who alarmed Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki that the assumptions of the previous century are virtually unrealistic due to the excessive burden on the state budget. The finance minister believes that the implementation of all program assumptions could disturb the so-called an expenditure rule, in principle to counteract the emergence of too large a financial deficit. A certain dangerous for public finances may be statements of some members of the government, indicating that the budget is to be a tool for the implementation of the policy of the Council of Ministers and not the goal itself. Finally, the law on bus transport is to come into force in mid-May and then we will finally find out how many local governments will be really interested in participating in the program; (we can *a priori* assume that it will be all those in which the PiS has the majority, while further continuation of the program will undoubtedly depend on the result of the parliamentary elections that will take place in autumn 2019.

Generalizing, the problem of transport exclusion is an important problem in Poland, especially since it is highly complicated and its problems can not be limited only to strictly communication issues. It is one of the bricks that build the entire wall of exclusion, and also has a fairly large impact on ecology and, for example, which is noticeable especially in larger agglomerations for the demand for parking spaces. Lack of access to good and effective public transport leads to serious limitations, for example in the case of job seeking (although often larger employers often offer their own substitute for employee transport), but also access to broadly understood culture (cinemas, theaters), which further deepens the gap between city and village. The inclusion of the issue of transport exclusion in the governmental program is an action in my opinion rather serving to draw attention to the problem rather than an attempt to solve it in a comprehensive way, especially as, as already indicated, the proposed measures are not enough to fully heal the situation. There is at least one additional program supporting the purchase of buses for local communities, which in turn may further support the Polish economy (production of Solaris, Ursus Bus and Autosan buses), although this aspect is highly controversial, especially when we follow the latest developments in this market segment, especially the withdrawal of some companies from already won tenders. Finally, it should also provide municipalities with the opportunity to employ drivers on competitive terms - this is an important gap on the Polish labor market, which the legislator clearly did not think about. What is understandable about the scale of success will be something to say only in the next few years, of course the first step to the fight against exclusion will be to extend the parliamentary mandate for the Law and Justice Party in the upcoming elections scheduled for autumn 2019.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

The Tale of Two Cities: Engendering Urbanity in Romania after Communism

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Abstract

The end of communism and the abolishment of egalitarian policies upon use of public spaces challenged women's visibility, autonomy and emancipation in most of the transitional playgrounds. Mythology of urban moral corruption fostered also millennialist echoes, transitional societies confronting with new formulas of foundational violence, targeting women and minority groups. The article presents the preliminary findings of an extended research project, dedicated to the engendering phenomena in post-communist Bucharest, following topics as: mechanisms for spatial production of gender discrimination, recrudescence of oppressive gender spatiality (forbidden spaces vs asylum spaces, M. Foucault) or role of semio-spatial devices (G. Sonesson) as squares and boulevards, in reinforcing gender borders.

Keywords: *engendering urbanity; post-communism; Romania; women's narratives; fragmented modernity.*

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Gender and the City. Translations of modernity after Communism

Urbanization could be considered a key factor of modernization triggered by communist regimes in Eastern and Central Europe at the end of the 4th decade. Accompanied by an influential industrialization dogma, nascent vernacular urbanity was however paying a significant tribute to a hybrid legacy. Urban mutation did not fully sanctified the departure from patriarchal bounds and narrative identities of the village, communist cities becoming the embodiment of a cultural syncretism. Artificial implantation of the former rural inhabitants into new spatial and temporal orders of the city did not contribute to establishment of a new urban conscience. Moreover, cultural landmarks of the rurality continued to exert a silent influence, one of the most disputed topics remaining gender. The rise of modernity inside communist world was celebrating in fact the tale of two cities. Birth of communist version of urbanity implied the presence of a mirrored architecture, the private and public spaces hosting parallel cultural pacts. Women's narratives, discourses and representations were exposed to contradictory semiotic processes, their identity crisis being soon aggravated by the double burden of productive and reproductive duty (Kligman, 1998). Forced to play the part of the new liberated working class, benefiting apparently by equal economic rights, but still compelled to accept the domestic burdens and the vestigial traditional duties, communist heroines-mothers were trapped between two ages of modernity.

After communism's fall, the socialist model of "amorphous public ownership" (Sonne, 2017: 186) was replaced by a multi-modal urban geography, wherein women's place(s) made the subject of multiple inquiries. Post-socialist landscapes were thus engraved by contradictory urban trends, the reigniting privatization and enclavisation of space fostering new symbolic borders. Most of the post-communist cities were experiencing two key tendencies: the rediscovery of public communion places, as squares and boulevards (long time controlled by state's pervasive authority) and the reconstruction of the private space. Previously, within great majority of the communist cities, the border amid territories of private and public life were intentionally diminish, the autonomy of the individuals, even within their personal sphere, being placed under unwitnessed tutelage of the state. The very presence of leaders' portraits immersed within apparently benign sceneries as schools or hospitals were the sign of a spatial oppression, while the suspicions of political treachery often distorted the relations with family members, neighbours or friends. Geographies of suspicion nurtured by communist regimes became the ground for a silent separation of the experience of both urbanity and modernity. The heritage of the post-socialist cities remained linked by a hypothesis of restitution, the clash of oppressive regimes giving the chance for a reconstruction of the private identities and spaces. The reinvention of the private life after communism was influenced however by an unexpected return of the traditional imageries. The sources of this inverted cycle, which opposed former liberation and emancipation narratives to patriarchal mythologies of return to origins, were still unclear. Nonetheless, the revival of a countrified and bucolic imaginary may be explained by intervention of a cultivation mechanism (Gerbner et. alia., 2002). In this context, communist regimes propensity for nationalist discourses in the late '80 prefigured the future ascent of neo-traditionalist gender ideologies (Johnson and Robinson, 2006:130), all across the transitional realms.

Taking into the account the peculiar historical trajectory of the modernization theme at the Eastern border of the Communist Bloc, whereto the constitutive clauses of activism, mobilisation and emancipation of the rural (Lerner, 1964: 59) were not fully

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accomplished, genesis of the urban life was marked by complex antinomies. Even if the industrialization and rise of a small-scale urban culture had started in Eastern Europe at the end of the previous century, some countries, as new created Greater Romania, were dominantly agrarian and patrimonial societies (Aslanbeigui, Pressman and Summerfield, 1994: 41). The assertion of communist rule triggered here a forced modernization wave, which however did not succeed in eliminating the influential cleavages amid the centre and peripheries. In this context, the age of the urban started in Romania at the middle of the '50, due to massive and often forced expansion of the cities. Communist regime interest in shaping a new working class, connected to performative and lucrative identities, encountered however a solid resistance, especially as concerns the "woman question". For the communist project of modernization, gender emancipation was seen as necessary step in decomposing the traditional economic and social architecture, the liberation of women remaining strongly dependent by new spatial meaningfulness of the urban. Yet, the new inhabitants of the cities did not fully severed the bounds with their native communities, the intersections of the urban with the heritage of the rural fostering provocative trajectories of modernity. For instance, the city vocation in promoting anonymity of individuals and the chance to play multiple social and cultural roles, was in Romania's case replaced by a hybrid paradigm. Women's condition as keepers of the cultural memory and as vectors of communication within the familial clans transformed the city experience in a dual cultural endeavour. Women's perception upon the city was gradually segregated from the masculine perspective, silent cultural orders emerging within the new landscapes of Romanian towns. Genuine rural rituals, as sitting outside on a bench during rest days, in front of new concrete apartment blocks or the compelling force of the family in matters as marriage or deviant behaviours, were acting as a living proofs of the reluctance of village culture.

Women's condition was isolated under formula of an adjoined modernity, their lucrative emancipation and new depictions as bread-winners, citizens and comrades being accompanied by discrete servitudes well-hidden into the fabric of new cultural narratives. The Soviet stage of emancipation, militating for complete liberation from the household, lucrative autonomy and state's support in topics as education, health or childcare, brutally ended in 1966. The anti-abortion legislation inaugurated an era of reigniting gender traditionalism, Romanian experience of modernity engaging on an inverted trajectory. Thus, women's cultural, political and economic roles were reinterpreted in a patriarchal equation (good mothers or wives and cheerful peasant girls, Massino, 2007: 52), the image of the barn shadowing once again the one of the factory. Gender identities were gliding back into an edenic rurality, the vivid nationalism of Ceaușescu's rule being followed by isolation of feminine workforce within inefficient economic branches as education, light industry and health. In the same time, the vernacularization of Romanian communism under formula of a sultanistic drift (Linz and Stepan, 1996), added supplementary burdens for women, now exposed to stigma (due to unwanted pregnancies), poverty (as a result of economic vulnerability) and dependence (the return under tutelage and moral censorship of the origin family). The story of Romanian communism remains intrinsically shaped by the forgery of two capital landmarks of modernity, gender liberation and establishment of urban culture. The separation move instituted at the middle of the 6th decade conserved the village within the city, more than twenty years after the fall, the semiotics of the rural still influencing the identities and urban conscience of women.

The retreat of the communist state from its ubiquitous sphere of authority let the city's streets, squares and boulevards empty. Still, the spectrum of the inner village, preserved within the imaginary of the inhabitants, filled this semiotic void, the life and civilization of post-communist towns being engraved by new countrified nostalgia. The clash of communist discourses upon women's political, maternal and productive duties let the feminine identities at crossroads. The city map, elusory pacified after the revolutionary convulsion which transformed the central squares and boulevards in identity production devices, remained fractured and hostile. Ascent of symbolic aggressions based on implicit cultural scripts (women's bodies seen as territories of male authority) and reigniting foundational violence raised complex questions concerning the true colours of Romanian modernity. The study presents the preliminary findings of an extended research project, dedicated to the topic of engendering urbanity within nowadays Bucharest. The research is grounded on a central hypothesis which claims that the spatial order and cultural narratives of the city create emotional geographies, women's performative identities within the urban frame revealing the genuine configurations of both modernity and democracy. The methodological design favoured a two-step approach: first stage employed focus group sessions (three meetings, carried between December 2018 and March 2019), while the last stage concentrated on in-depth interviews (target group including five subjects, age between 20 and 65 years old) with women experiencing trauma and exclusion within their everyday urban experience.

What is like to be a Woman? Untold stories from Bucharest, now and yesterday

Engendering space in post-communist Romania stays connected to a hypothesis of restitution. Contradictory echoes of woman's place within the urban universe recollects an influential patrimonial legacy, so much the more the symbolic denotations of the space tend to govern the language. To decide (*a hotări*) derive from the term of land border (*hotar*). There is a culture patronized by locative identities, wherein gender represents a troubled constructed, placed at intersection of successive cultural layers. In today's Romania we may speak of a residual remembrance, rooted in communism infantile pedagogy and cultural propaganda, mixing the feminine with the mythology of the nation, and a new imaginary of gender, colligating a nexus of themes concerning citizenship, civic action and discourses of autonomy. The rising tide amid a glocal substratum and the global trends of liberalisation promoted however contradictory reflections. Giving the fact that popular culture, new media and even art productions disclose those days antagonistic discourses upon women, represented in heterogeneous hypostases as glamorous housewives, stay-at-home and anti-vax mothers or *stahanovite* business women, the research project aimed to explore the role of spatial meaningfulness in reconstructing the gender identity in contemporary Bucharest. First stage of the research intended to highlight the role of familial model in shaping feminine experiences of guilt, duty and shame, while the second part of the research concentrated on women's individual experiences of trauma and discrimination, as users of the public places.

The focus groups discussed following themes: the recollections of gender founding narratives, experienced by women in relations with family, authority figures or education and media sphere, the personal interpretations of space, connected to women's place and roles within the city (asylum vs. forbidden spaces), the place-identity connection (Taylor, 2009: 40) and the prolongation of invented traditions (Hobsbawm

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and Ranger, 1992). The in-depth interviews analysed the perceptions upon spatial production of gender discrimination and intended to disclose the role of semi-spatial devices, as squares and boulevards, in reshaping feminine identities.

The theoretical frame is inspired by Göran Sonesson's perspective on public space, which propose a resignification of the subject, transformed into a topological construct. The individual is seen as a succession of concentric circles, separating the public, social, personal and intimate levels, the last layer being identified with the "body envelop" (Sonesson, 2003: 7). Despite the fact that all cultures tend to design their public, social, personal and intimate spheres in a coherent manner, the semiotic architecture of the feminine body may offer a distinctive translation of the spatial orders. Feminine body continues to be perceived in many traditional or pseudo-modern cultures as it is naturally bound to the territory of the private, the transgression of women in open arenas of the social (boulevards, squares, leisure places), being frequently sanctioned. The free movement of the feminine body in space nurtured new formulas of violence, the reigniting rampancy of post-communist societies being connected to phenomena such as masculine appropriation of public places (Ostermann, 2009: 30). The authority of the deceased parent-state was gradually replaced by spectre of masculine hegemony, the coercion against feminine bodies being made as part of a confirmation ritual. The case of the "Women in blue dress" aggressed and carried as trophy along Bucharest's central square during one of the miners' violent uprisings in June 1990, stays as a graphic evidence of the disruptive interpretations of the feminine autonomy in relation with space.

In this context, a great part of the testimonies concerning the founding feminine narratives are marked by presence of a traumatic episode, confirming a separation move. Young girls are extracted from the group and taught to assume a preventive condition of shame and guilt. The segregation has beyond all a spatial meaning, the establishment of borders and limits of women autonomy being considered as capital for the so called native equilibriums of the community. In this context one the subjects recounts: "I was maybe 12 or 13 years old. I went to school wearing a yellow skirt. Not too short, but it was bright yellow. I was home alone most of the time. I could choose what to wear. At school an old teacher called me in front of the class and told me that I was improper dressed. I felt humiliated, just sitting there. The parents were notified that I had an insolent behaviour and the boys in the class could not concentrate because of my bright, to elegant outfits. Still, it was after communism and we were living in Bucharest. When I came back home I was crying. Mother said nothing. In the end just asked me to dress just like the other girls and never stand out" (Female, 29).

Women's degree of mobility and spatial autonomy was conceived in relation with a heliocentric model, the centre being represented by the masculine authority within the family, promoting the community's specific rules or cultural credo. The asymmetries amid the masculine and feminine syntax of space was visible, even within infantile groups, the prescriptive behaviours in use of space being transmitted as intergenerational memory, often surpassing the distances amid the city and the village. The absent parents were replaced during transition years by the grandparents' voices, children's education in the '90 being paradoxically more traditional than the one of their parents, full time residents of the post-communist Bucharest.

Furthermore, a powerful testimony unfolds the grounds of feminine isolation: "I was raised by grandparents in the countryside. They always taught me to be submissive, diligent and hardworking. I was not allowed to talk back, just because I was a girl. Once

I wanted to go swimming with the other children, during summer break. They didn't allowed me, because I was almost 14 years old. At that time I didn't understood the meaning of this forbiddance. It was like my body wasn't my property anymore. In Bucharest I felt better, because there were no such blatant rules. Yet, I was told not to chat with strangers and not even go to park or to movie unfollowed. My brother was doing that all the time. I was educated to come straight home. No wandering in the city. I even had a tight time frame to arrive. Less than a half an hour." (Female, 37). Moreover, the symbolic coercion was sometimes exerted by unknown individuals, as the public space was transformed into a sphere of masculine control: „We were playing in front of the communist blocs, in the '90. A stranger approached me and the other girls. He verbally aggressed us, because we were playing alone there, with no adults of brothers. We didn't have the courage to reply or to tell the parents. We felt the shame, the guilt and the fear. We were educated that it was our fault. We knew that, although we were only 7." (Female, 32).

Women learned the prohibited geographies of the city very early, the restrictions being justified by arguments such as the need to protect the family honor and the urge to conserve future social capital of the young girls. The environment was divided in well-structured semiotic landscapes, the autonomy of women being limited to three major social frames: childcare, house-hold and religious space. The narratives confirm the role of the media in cultivation of fear: "At the news we heard about young girls being kidnapped or worse. Always the headlines were about Bucharest. Parents were treating us differently, like they're afraid that we, the girls, would embarrass them with our behaviour. I grew up with this deficit of self-respect and with recurrent catch-phrases as "don't talk unasked", "you have to know your place", "you have to look decent". I wasn't allowed to play with the girl living next door, because her mother was divorced and she had no father. Because of that my parents called her stray." (Female 38). Another testimony recalls very similar facts: "We were playing in a small yard, in front of my parents flat. I wasn't allowed to visit my friends or school mates. Not even to overpass the bloc's corner, despite the fact that in the late '80 Bucharest was seen as a safe place. It was like it's promiscuous to enter someone's house or to go anywhere unattended by a grown-up. I never heard my mother about going out alone or with her friends. It was only about work and groceries. During the holydays we were paying visits to the grandparents and the other relatives and the women were always accompanied by their husbands. I was educated that a single mother or a divorced women represents a disgrace to the family. As well as walking alone to restaurants or coffee shops." (Female, 38).

On a deeper level, the focus group series revealed the existence of a semiotic map dominated by rigorous feminine narratives. Moreover, the transgressing of the personal space towards places of uncontrolled interactions was limited due to punitive measures, the masculine authority following the female body as a hallow effect. If during the early '90, women living in Bucharest were enjoying a more liberal city map, their presence at theatres, movie halls or sports events being labelled as natural, later years disclosed the rise of new exclusion circles.

The triggering vectors for this negative perspective were linked to a plethora of facts: feminization of poverty during transition years and growing dependence of women, reclusion of state support in topics as childcare and maternity benefits (privatization of motherhood can be seen as an asymmetric economic burden, which made women less competitive employees) and not at least, by growing violence in

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public spaces (gradually transformed in prohibited spheres for women, children, minorities and other individuals, defying the traditional masculine hegemony). Concomitantly, the cultural memory of women favoured a prolongation of invented traditions, the emancipation steps gained during communist epoch being cancelled by a succession rite, as following testimony proves: “When I moved to the city I felt safe. I had a job and I didn’t care too much about the family opinions on my behaviour. I could wear whatever I want and go to amusement places. Because I earned some money at the time, I was quite respected. Things changed dramatically during revolution days of 1989. I just remember that the families living in the same bloc were reuniting in the evenings to guard the entrance. It was almost absurd, because the men were not sure who was our enemy. The city was perceived as an alien space. The women couldn’t find their place. Today theoretically you can go anywhere, but you are less free. Young girl or mother or older women, you have to avoid the parks in the evening, the sports matches, the concerts, the pools. Of course, in the expensive areas of the city you may be safe. But that is not the real life. Real life it’s on the streets of poor neighbourhoods, where you are not allowed to walk even in day light, as single women.” (In-depth interview, Female, 65).

The role of semio-spatial devices in promotion of gender discrimination in perceiving, accessing and habiting the city remains critical. For the primitive societies the forbidden places were linked to the sacred spatiality, the constitutive function of those heterotopias (Foucault, 1967: 4) following arguments as hieratic authority and separation of the individuals facing a state of crisis (elders, pregnant women) or change of status and autonomy (adolescents). The forbidden places were meant to assure a semiotic divide between the familiar geography and a new symbolic order, while the individuals were exposed to a ceremony of initiation or absolution. Modern turn upon heterotopias concern the isolation of deviance (Foucault, 1967: 5) and the function of punishment, new tensional maps of the cities being often connected to gender exclusion and marginality.

Women’s interactions with these ambivalent dimensions of asylum and forbidden places it is still difficult to frame. The hospital, the kindergarten and the grocery stores are in the same time heterotopias of crisis and isolation, while they can be interpreted also as heterotopias of deviation, women being treated as potential threats to the established norms of the group. The very presence of women in the city, playing unrestrained social roles, can be considered as a deviation from the norms (reigniting discourses on “nation’s purity”, “natural order”, “gender ideology”), this mutation changing the inner semantics of forbidden places. The original meaning of forbidden places was related to the concepts of retreat and sacred area. The median stage in interpreting the forbidden spatiality concerns the functions of exclusion and isolation of the deviants. A contemporary chapter in discussing the forbidden places symptomatology may bring in discussion a mirrored image. The society as a whole became a forbidden space, a *topos* of masculine hegemony and sacred authority, interpreted in the sense of the primitive communities. The alternative map of deviant and crisis heterotopias remains associated to the feminine.

Women are compelled to carceral geographies due to a reform in meaning and definition of the public landscape, rebuilt as masculine territory, while the crisis heterotopias are reinvented as feminine asylum spaces. Still, young generation perception revolves around fluid landmarks: “We have our places. I enjoy going to the cool coffee shops and music clubs in Bucharest. We are active citizens, we vote, we

protest. I still don't go out wearing a mini-skirt. Or with heavy make-up. That's ok. My mother had her place, I've got mine. I don't truly perceive the rest of the city. There are entire neighbourhoods that doesn't exist for me. I'm not a hypocrite. I know my place. What about equality? Gender values and so on. It doesn't make sense, because you can't change the things. (...) Want to stay safe? Don't go to ill-famed places, don't wear provocative outfits. That simple. Discrimination is such a puzzle word today. If you want to be well treated, my solution is just to fit in. The squares and boulevards are gender blind and with this new trends, a lot of men go to the groceries shops, to the kindergarten, to the kids' playground. The big difference is that they can go anywhere, you as a women, you need to see your limits." (In-depth interview, Female, 22).

The topic of modernization became the staple of nowadays debates on women's rights, social perception and economic autonomy. But rather than simplifying the perspectives towards women's practical emancipation and cultural liberation, the modernization argument created new shifts. For young girls and women living in contemporary Bucharest the founding narratives of femininity revolves around contradictory stimulus and parallel frames: you may go with your girlfriends and work mates to the popular coffee shops, hosted by Bucharest well famed Old City or you may enjoy your status as citizen in matters as vote or civic disobedience, but you're still compelled to accept silent prohibitions as not visiting alone night clubs or even the expensive restaurants. As in Potemkin village, women's autonomy decrease apparently from the centre to the peripheries, despite the fact that semiosis of space disclose sometimes surprisingly synergies between the two realms of modernity. As an interesting example, during major symbolic events, as marriage or funeral, many of the vestigial reminders of taboos reignite, women ceasing their body autonomy towards different hieratic or patriarchal authority figures. No matter what if you are assisting a wedding ceremony in Bucharest city or you meet a funeral procession in a traditional mountain village, women tend to keep their head covered in the sanctuary and to walk behind men. This sort of duality of feminine cultural orders it is rotten into a space-time semiotics.

Following Göran Sonesson argument, due to a building is an artefact, it could be assumed that this complex nature of buildings may be extended also to composite urban landscapes such as: social territories of passage (boulevards, subway stations, grocery stores or simply crowded streets), meeting places (squares, malls, coffee shops) and retreat and semi-private spaces (residential neighbourhoods). By sustaining the idea that urban sceneries as a whole can be treated as cohesive semiotic devices, they also may assume the attributes of the signs. (Sonesson, 2003: 5). Even if early debates on urban semiotics tended initially to favour the deconstruction of the buildings into smaller physical parts, containing a strong symbolism (stairs, meetings rooms, celebration or sacred spaces), further discussion upon meanings of space promoted alternative and fluid interpretations (Sonesson, 2003: 13). The functions and components of the buildings can be connected with multiple representational filters, their perception being dynamic and difficult to reduce to a unique set of connotations.

In this context, it may be considered the hypothesis of gendered semiotics of the space, the urban sceneries syntax being influenced by women's narratives upon their own place and identity. As a fact, Göran Sonesson highlights the role of pre-urban spatial devices as windows, bridges and roads in opening multiple interpretative paths (Sonesson, 2003: 14). The road may speak for change, instability, evasion or escape, as it may represent simultaneously the connection amid the stranger and the native

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community. Leaving behind the previous correlations between the function of the buildings and their semiotic potential, the gender landmark opened new ways in discussing the meaning and memory of space. For women the window usual had stood for contemplation, nostalgia, envision of a better future, but also represented a dividing artefact, separating the nascent private life from the public space. By comparison, for men the window was seen as a secondary spatial device, as their interactions with the outside world was governed by other artefacts as the house gate or even the village square. The ambivalence of space semiotics addressed in gender terms had survived multiple modernization waves, the cultural landscapes of Eastern Europe offering an interesting casuistry for gender declinations of urban symbolism. The post-communist cities became the host of reigniting traditionalism, militating for “privatisation of space” (Hammad, 1989: 102) as a belated response for former communist pressure towards “publication of space” (Sonesson, 2003: 20). The communist cities were established as communities sharing an immersive spatiality, whereto the limits amid the work place, the leisure sceneries and even the family home were dissolved under patronage of an omnipresent political project.

Factories and stadia, schools and crowded apartment blocks were crossed by a common semiotic axis, advocating for a collectivisation of identities and a unification of city’s symbolism and functions. Meantime, the configurations of communist cities were in fact reinforcing pre-modern segregations of feminine and masculine interpretations of space. In Romania’s case, the birth of the city at the beginning of the 5th decade was followed by a cryptic recovery of the spatial determination of the village community. The collectivisation of space promoted by communist dogma was gradually replaced by an atomised urban map, whereby the familial monad regained its power in matters as women’s duties and burdens (child raise, domestic work), feminine narratives of guilt and shame (enhanced by forced natalist policies) and most important, urban legends of asylum and forbidden spaces (double semiotics of social places, which are forbidden for unaccompanied women, but remain accessible for ones placed under patronage of masculine figures).

Conclusions

Exit from communism confused previous semiotic geographies of the post-socialist cities, Bucharest itself confronting with a plethora of invented cultural genealogies, false memories and ambivalent space interpretations. The life of dead semio-spatial bodies, in order to appeal Katherine Verdery famous metaphor, continued to exert a cryptic influence, women’s narrative upon use, meaning and accessibility of public space being still influenced by memory of queuing in front of grocery stores or the anonymity of communist mass celebration rituals. The following table analyses the meanings associated to three classical semio-spatial artefacts: the boulevard, the square and the flea market.

By using a gendered division in interpretation of space, it is intended to emphasize the ambivalence of Bucharest buildings and urban landscapes in relation with geographies of exclusion, as they were described within women’s recollections or public discourse.

Table 1: Feminine perception of space in recent Bucharest

Semio-spatial device	Feminine translations of space
<p>The Boulevard</p> <p>Main cultural connotations: “epitome of urbanity” and modernity (Sonesson, 2003: 3), place of observation and meeting, intermediary space for accessing social life (coffee shops, theatres), potential space for promoting political or ideological values, as a Square related artefact, promenade landscape, where you may circulate and expose your social status.</p>	<p>Space of uncontrolled human interactions, placed under the spectrum of multiple symbolic threats. Women are defined as public bodies, since their own territoriality is transformed into a canvas of family honour, social capital or group identity.</p> <p>Subsidiary denotations in women’s testimonies concern danger of harassment in the street (fear to wear “very elegant clothing” or “expensive like outfits”) and the spectrum of vulnerability and moral control (you may become subject of unapproved interactions, as special as teenage girl or young women, if you dare to look or act provocative - “don’t laugh loud”, „don’t chat with strangers, “don’t walk alone at night”).</p>
<p>The Square</p> <p>General cultural meaning: Focus point of public life, since the Greek Agora, gathering place, potential communion place of individuals sharing same cultural, political or social agendas, a crowd place, where individuals can become part of broader identity or action group.</p>	<p>Dimension of masculine hegemony, mostly due to presence of political connotations (place of protest, of electoral celebration or civic activism). However, women living in Bucharest were often confronted with a “privatisation of public space” (Hammad, 1989: 102), the square being constantly described as a dangerous place.</p> <p>Female activists protesting in University’s Square during tumultuous days of 1990 were labelled as “homeless”, “easy virtue”, “addicts”. The key thesis was that those women do not appertain to a masculine power figure, they escape the definition of “mother”, “daughter” and “wife”, these sort of drifts being sometimes echoed although recent civic movements.</p> <p>Many testimonies support the idea that women “should stay invisible” in order to maintain their safety and social status, because in the square “you need to belong”, to be perceived as member of a group or at least not “to take the floor”. Even if many women were active during Romanian civic revival subsequent to 2013, their discourse and image was distorted by allegations as</p>

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	<p>“lack of moral probity”, “personal failure”, disruptive behaviour (they challenged the traditional values, so they are “morally corrupted”)</p>
<p>The Flea market</p> <p>Semiotics and general meaning: Defined as an exotic relative of the market place, hosting chaotic encounters of bodies in space, under rule of “polyphony of voices” (Pearce, 1994: 304), the flea market symbolism recalls also for metaphorical escape and playful recirculation or even reinvention of identities.</p>	<p>The flea market stands in feminine perception for subversive spatial behaviour, mostly because the small commerce represents sometimes a way to cope with feminine poverty, to avoid the masculine control and to regain autonomy (divorced or single women sell their cloths and goods in order to gain basic earnings). Also, the flea market may open the perspective of feminine evasion, since here the presence of the masculine tutelage is uncertain.</p> <p>There is no such thing as a prescriptive behaviour for women using the flea market as sellers or customers, but sometimes they are perceived as marginal and deviant individuals, mostly because the flea market dissolves many of the locative identities, so influential within the bounds of vernacular culture (where are you from? what is your social status? what is your basic role, as a women: mother, daughter, wife?)</p>

Source: Authors' own compilation.

This preliminary discussion on reinterpretation of space in contemporary Bucharest reveals the existence of an unsettled legacy. Many testimonies of women living on urban grounds are waiting to be told. Yet, an interesting conclusion tends to detach. Communist project did not genuinely changed the semiotic geographies of the nascent urban culture, transformed into a scaled image of the traditional, patriarchal village. The communist urbanity nourished spaces of counterfeit modernity, whereby women and men were sharing the same infantile condition, being placed under tutelage of the parent state. Absence of an authentic public sphere, hosting de-regulated interactions and free rhetoric interventions of the individuals, created the illusion of a more liberal and gender accessible urban geography. Exit from communism, determined however an adjourned maturation process. The engendering of urbanity may open nowadays multiple paths, because space tends to shape the experience of appertaining to modern cultural and political orders, deciding wheatear or not women are still outside(rs) of the citadel.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

Athena Rising? Mentoring in Higher Education

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Abstract

The prerequisite for a mentor in the work environment is evermore present, but the availability of the mentors has also been limited, and the predominant gender was represented by men, patriarchal figures. Mentoring is furthermore “a relationship between an older, more experienced adult and an unrelated, younger protégé – a relationship in which the adult provides ongoing guidance, instruction and encouragement aimed at developing the competence and character of the protégé.” (Rhodes, 2009). Mentoring is seen as moreover “a dynamic reciprocal relationship in a work environment between an advanced career incumbent (mentor) and a beginner (protégé) aimed at promoting the career development of both.” (Johnson, 2015). The mentor, a role model, who has the benevolence and ability to offer academic, professional and personal development paired with caring and nurture was somehow inaccessible, in the post-communist years, for students. In the academe environment the role of mentor is crucial, in order to channel the protégé on the right path to goal achievement. Mentoring is often regarded as being a developmental, circular process, in which the mentor guides, inspires, teaches and nurtures the protégé, who, can, in turn, become a mentor himself for others, sharing the same feelings and attention necessary in this relationship because furthermore “those who received mentoring as protégés were more likely to become mentors themselves one day” (Allen, Eby, 2011).

Keywords: *androcentric theory; mentor; protégé; cross-gender mentoring relationships.*

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Introduction

The role of Athena nowadays is no longer to be disguised under the mask of the mentor, but to openly show herself, in the position of the astute, diplomat, and facilitator women teachers that we call daily Athenas. Although Athena is the goddess of arts, war and wisdom, we recall her best for her the insight she is capable of. For centuries men have put frames moreover "... which make the human female carry the burden of ornament;" (Gilman, 2015), perceiving them likewise, overlooking or simply ignoring them. But women are warm, caring and overall positive and tend to excel at the work place, always needing to do more, despite the opposition that comes from everywhere. Men evaluate women differently, and this is not just the case of colleagues, but also of male students, who have the tendency of being judgemental towards the lady teachers in front of them.

Aspiring mentor teachers who want to undertake this role, that has been reserved to men, for so long, must confront double standards imposed by the society, because it is this habitat in which we coexist that makes the others blind to women potential. Women are primarily seen as caregivers, best fitted in family roles, and working women must do a huge amount of domestic labour which implies childcare and chores overload. Thus women mentors are likely to be unappealing to students in the present-day, patriarchal, post-communist Romania, thus hindering the projects for such aspiring mentors, downgrading it, and affecting promotion. Daily Athenas undergo obstacles such as visual scrutiny, sneering, envy, all these undermining their professional outcomes, contributions and achievement, making women somehow responsible for having lower aspirations than their male counterparts in climbing, similar, academic positions. The plain role of mentor/ teacher is to deliver career purpose for their mentees, and leadership throughout the procedure so that the mentees can have the chance to become better professionals, achieve their goals, and have perceptibility in the area they will develop. There is a psychosocial process that ultimately takes place between the incumbent and the mentor and it refers to nurture and caring, a process built on self-confidence, knowledge, meant to boost the protégé's personal, social and professional growth in his future career and social interaction within the academic environment or imminent job. Furthermore "Social reality is assumed to be similar to the natural world whose properties are believed to remain constant and unchanging. A typical objectivist understanding of reality would be revealed in mentoring and coaching by an emphasis on the rational elements of mentoring and coaching issues, with less consideration of the personal and social world of the learner." (Brockbank, McGil, 2006).

In the academe environment the role of mentor is crucial, in order to channel the protégé on the right path to goal achievement. Mentoring is often regarded as being a developmental, circular process, in which the mentor guides, inspires, teaches and nurtures the protégé, who, can, in turn, become a mentor himself for others, sharing the same feelings and attention necessary in this relationship because furthermore "those who received mentoring as protégés were more likely to become mentors themselves on day." (Allen, Eby, 2011). The prerequisite for a mentor in the work environment is evermore present, but the availability of the mentors has also been limited, and the predominant gender was represented by men, patriarchal figures. Mentoring is moreover "a relationship between an older, more experienced adult and an unrelated, younger protégé – a relationship in which the adult provides ongoing guidance,

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instruction and encouragement aimed at developing the competence and character of the protégé.” (Rhodes, 2009).

Mentoring is seen as furthermore “a dynamic reciprocal relationship in a work environment between an advanced career incumbent (mentor) and a beginner (protégé) aimed at promoting the career development of both” (Johnson, 2015). The duties of a mentor include advising, nurturing and providing of a role model to follow, for the mentee, which is in need for recognition and confirmation. So, we can say that career and psychosocial function represent two distinct aspects of the mentor’s role and the third could be role modelling. The mentor, a role model, who has the benevolence and ability to offer academic, professional and personal development paired with caring and nurture was somehow inaccessible, in the post-communist years, for students. Additionally “Such mentoring or coaching favours imposed objectives, based on perceived objective reality, and may use personality profiles and learning styles inventories because they assume a set of fixed qualities. A typical subjectivist understanding of reality would be revealed in mentoring or coaching where the personal and social world of the client is acknowledged as the basis of the developmental process. Such mentoring or coaching recognizes the socially constructed nature of reality.” (Brockbank, McGil, 2006).

A Romanian up-coming woman teacher who wants to be a future mentor and access leadership positions within the institution finds herself in a stage of unconscious incompetence or wrong intuition, according to Maslow’s pyramid, because she does not comprehend the ways to accomplish the goal of mentoring and does not automatically identify the insufficiency. She might rebut the value of her ability and she has no intuition of the mentorship potential. It lacked her as a student and now she will deprive other of its benefits. She must be familiar with her own lack of ability, and the importance of the new skill, before she wants to move on. The extent of time a teacher spends in this phase depends on the power of the motivation to become proficient in her ability. You are in the conscious incompetence phase when you do not realize the ways to accomplish your goal; you identify the shortage, as a teacher, as well as the importance of a new ability in dealing with that shortage. It is permitted to show mistakes in this phase as a part of the learning development. And that is it, but is it? The limitation is clear; you are on your own, and the path conveyed in front of you is foggy. Likewise “Cross-gender mentoring relationships face numerous challenges—both in reality and in the perceptions of those relationships by others. These challenges include the absence of role-modelling, intimacy concerns; gender stereotyping that limits individual growth, public scrutiny of the relationship, and possible peer resentment.” (Ragins, Kram, 2007).

After research, you find that there is a way to access information through partnerships abroad that allows one to learn to ropes of the mentorship programme and perform it during teaching. Now you find yourself, as a teacher wanting to become a mentor, in the conscious competence phase when you recognize the ways to accomplish your goal. Nevertheless, performing the ability demands attention and alertness. One needs to take baby steps, and display profound aware participation in implementing the new ability. The final and most important phase is the unconscious competence phase when a teacher has been applying the mentoring for so long that becomes instinctive and intrinsic and can be executed effortlessly alongside other assignment and be passed out to others in need.

A Short Timeline of Women Mentors in Education

- ✓ 2,700 BC The first woman ever to be mentioned in history by her profession and by her name was Merit Ptah; she was a physician in Egypt.
- ✓ 1088 Italy: The University of Bologna becomes the first university in West that permits women to study, to get a degree and to lecture.
- ✓ 1237 Italy: Bettisia Gozzadini receives a law degree from the University of Bologna and later she starts teaching Law at the same University of Bologna. She is believed to be the first woman permitted to teach at a university.
- ✓ 1312 Novella d'Andrea follows the steps of Gozzadini and teaches Law at the University of Bologna.
- ✓ 1484-1527 Spain, Luisa de Medrano: is also a teacher at the University of Salamanca.
- ✓ 1657 The earliest high school in Romanian was established in Fagaras, by Lorátfy Zsuzsanna.
- ✓ 1678 Elena Piscopia is the first woman in Romanian to gain a Ph.D.
- ✓ 1694 Constantin Brâncoveanu, Prince of Walachia, founded the Princely Academy in Bucharest and we can say that the history of higher education began at the end of the 17th century.
- ✓ 1865 Romania: The educational reform granted all Romanians access to education, which, at least formally, gave also females the right to attend school from elementary education to the university.
- ✓ 1879 Ana Botta, The first female student in the history of Romanian university education.
- ✓ 1882 Romania: Universities open to women.

The short timeline shows a unkind reality, regarding the evolution of education in our country; if back in 1088, Italy becomes the country that permits women to study, to get a degree and most importantly, to lecture, the situation in the Easter societies, especially in our country, is dramatically different: only just in 1865 that Romania granted females the right to attend school from elementary education to university. This might be the reason limitations still exist, for women, in mentoring. As women started to enter in fields that were before conquered by men, they face exceptional trials. They are deprived of female leadership mentors to support and monitor them on the route to success within an institution and must learn to work in a masculine-oriented setting. As women reach the elevation of success, they shape the road for others to follow, by partaking in mentoring programs, shifting administrative arrangements, and apprising company remunerations to make the work setting advantageous for them. High-potential women progress gradually than their masculine colleagues, in terms of both profession development and remuneration. Organizations that disregard this dangerous issue risk delaying their participants in inviting, increasing, and holding the best aspirants. If the system does not reorganise to permit women to advance, it will be overdue as women fight for the same spots in the workspace. In addition, "Cross-gender relationships can be more difficult to manage than same-gender relationships." (Ragins, Kram, 2007). This is a waste, because, while men mentors obtain better career results with female protégés, the psychosocial relationship is void or null, as gender composition in mentoring is of uttermost importance, again. Besides "The positive links of career support and the negative links of psychosocial support consistently arose for women

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with female mentors, inconsistently for women with male mentors, and overall not for men with male or female mentors.” (Ragins, Kram, 2007).

Although it seems things begin to change, and women are ground-breaking their ways through universities and governments, and they are aiding other women to come on board of the leadership positions there is still a long way to go before women can embrace identical leadership positions. Data show that additional women are taking over governmental offices and managerial roles in institutions and these numbers continue to ascent. Moreover “I portend that women are in large part responsible for mentoring away the glass ceiling. Several authors in this text support this notion and suggest that critical reflection and building one's confidence can construct and maintain empowering definitions of self. In their own unique manner, each author confirmed that mentorship early on can help build the confidence, which is necessary for navigating the challenging spaces of the academy.” (Marina, 2015).

Constrains

Women teachers/mentors are often jugged by appearance, by the hair colour, are downgraded in their work by some male peer teachers and male students; because of this, a woman teacher has to face more difficulties in attaining a leadership position or merely being viewed a prospective mentor in her classroom. We often hear: Clearly “Women in senior level positions who have the status and the power can enable their female protégés to succeed with all the benefits that an “ideal” mentorship relationship can. Unfortunately, in reality, women experience what is referred to as an “accumulative disadvantage” where over the years, opportunities for women to work with a role model decreases as she climbs the career ladder; whereas this outcome affects men to a lesser degree because men network continuously and together with role models as they climb their career ladder.” (Marina, 2015). Noe (1988) found that definitely “mentors in cross-gender relationships reported that their protégés used the relationships more effectively than did mentors with same-gender protégés. In particular, male mentors with male protégés reported less effective use of the mentoring relationship by their protégés than did female mentors with female protégés or mentors in cross-gender relationships. What is clear is that the gender composition of the mentoring dyad is critical to several aspects of the relationship.” (Powell, 1999). An efficient mentoring programme depends both on the mentor / teacher's knowledge and experience, gender issues and also on the availability of the protégé and his/her willingness to be mentored, his needs, on, and above all, on the love and human element, which should climb at the intensity that mothers / fathers and children feel. Mentoring should favour the connotation student-faculty, student-teacher, and teacher-faculty relations, as well as school-community centred clarifications. Since universities are ingenious mediators of socialization, demographic variations and university abandon demand the need to deliberate and endorse didactic fairness. Accordingly, the university as a public organisation may select to classify students as either operative or unsuccessful depending on their skill adequacy, which make students generally displease the pedagogical silencing at every level of education. Consequently, as a joint obligation and all-embracing goal, mentoring and civilian coaching help shape the public by establishing connexions. Nevertheless, “Mentoring is a complex, personal, and interpersonal process that has long been around but not always done and understood in schools. In fact, teachers work alone, for the most part, and find it difficult to locate and follow a mentor. Hence, how can teaching become a more collective, active, and innovative process if teachers don't work together and

mentor one another?" (Cooper, McCray, 2015). It is a fine example of how mentoring and higher education atmosphere authorise didactic impartiality. Higher education nowadays shoulder diversity and this is definitely something that should be valued and esteemed because accepting dissimilarity can affect a protégé's performance, action, thought in relation to teachers, mentors and school environment. Concentrating on existing times and global struggle, mentoring can make presence dynamic provided that the mentee or student, receives sustenance and empathetic handling in a friendly environment that boosts and improves additional prospects.

There are four phases and four Cs of the mentoring relationship: the first is the initiation phase also called furthermore "an informal relationship that evolves over time outside formal mentoring structures of the organisation." (Clarke, 2018); the second is the cultivation phase, where developmental, professional and psychosocial proportions of mentoring take place; separation phase: can be physical or intellectual; and the last one is the redefinition phase – a form of friendship as an outcome of the prior years. When it comes down to the procedure of mentoring the process begins with the so called comfort talks or conversations meant to focus on the mentee's trust and self-confidence which can often reveal more about their status then productivity. Additionally "Natural mentoring occurs through friendship, teaching, collegiality, etc. Planned mentoring occurs through structured programs in which mentors and participants are selected and matched through formal processes. The key is the mentor's ability to understand and accept what the partner is experiencing." (Townes, 2006).

Mentors use this information within the conversation to acquire more about their students' internal representation in relation to their learning and teaching, and the psychological state or anxiousness they might display. A comfort conversation can also unveil how they make efforts to sustain relationships with mentors or colleagues, challenges or inquiries about future career goals, timetable management, the need for empowering such as activity and mentoring period of time. During such encounters, both, face to face and on-line, mentors will often make use of the human element, empathise with the protégé/ student, finding new ways of boosting self-confidence, self-efficacy and nurture them. Mentors become a friend, a bridge in a new and sometimes intimidating situation. Above and beyond "For effective reflective learning, intentional dialogue that occurs in a mentoring or coaching session is necessary. Naturally occurring dialogue may reflect the power differences in a situation and this can inhibit learning. So the mentor whose dialogue with a client takes the form of a monologue about how things should be done, with which the client is obliged to agree, is unlikely to promote reflective learning for improvement or transformation!" (Brockbank, McGil, 2006). Such conversations are likely to happen in the early days of mentoring program when building a relationship is the essential thing and goal, making the work environment a priority. Comfort conversations are centred both on the new mentee and the teacher's emotional benefit within the circumstance of their future career and purpose. In case of mental strain that can happen during the daily or weekly encounters, there is a need for regular physical pause or e- mentoring, when the physical encounter is not possible.

Technical conversations are the easiest talks a mentor can share with his/ her mentees, all they have to do is answer for ordinary, everyday information such as or procedures or ongoing processes. All teachers mentors need specific information, which is often readily available if you take your time and do some research. This type of conversation will include: schedules for assessment, resources and where to locate this resources, report problems, deadlines, professional evaluation, conduct, organization of

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policies, and other university of faculty policies and procedures. Preparation or organisation of conversations are progressive and cooperative enterprise that the parties involved decide upon. Mentors who work with students/ mentees or protégé, guide, inquire, contest, offer alternatives, explore and seek solutions to the demands of practice. Students that want to embark on the road of teaching will observe their mentors during the teaching process and will be asked to design, depending on the speciality, units of work, chapters, new strategies, drawn from media resources and self-assessing their student learning and evaluate the outcome of something they have seen the mentor doing and have tried themselves. In this train of thoughts, the focus of preparation or organization of conversations, is strictly linked to the teacher/ mentor 's work in the classroom, which should always be student-centred, and focused on student new needs of learning. Meditative and logical conversations inspire mentees to consider the versatile characteristics of their practice and outcome of the four Cs in guiding their future career plans and actions.

Mentors can assist future mentors achieve a sense of belonging, of interacting and being aware of the huge responsibility of the mentee position. A mentee is a future mentor himself, because studies have shown that people who received mentoring are likely to become mentors and mentor, in their turn. The mentee has the moral obligation of documenting and recording particular subject matter that can be discussed subsequently. The indicant provides a verifiable element for the up-coming mentors to investigate, inquire and analyse what occurred with what they designate to happen in the session. Together, the mentee - the future mentor, and the mentor can study the entailment for emerging actions and build from a contemplative speech communication towards a designing one. Additionally "Reflective dialogue engages the learner's realities and subjective experience, giving space for the learner to consider and reconsider, without haste. In addition, intentional dialogue supports the perturbation or disturbance that may occur when existing assumptions are challenged and deals with the emotional material flow from such challenges." (Brockbank, McGil, 2006).

An experienced mentor must distinguish between different types of speech communication because it represents an ongoing flow from the most unequivocal and least stimulating, technical conversations, to the more exigent and hard-to-please conversations, which have a contemplative or logical focal point. Mentors discover that it is normal to take steps in building the reflective (and possibly affectional) relationship, doubled with a gentle firmness as the protégé becomes more self-assured and is full of confidence and expectations in the relationship. The degree to which the protégé will be prepared to participate in more demanding, questioning, tête-à-têtes encounters will be influenced by the degree to which their self-reliance and sagacity has settled. Becoming part of such a dialogue at the establishment of a mentoring liaison is possible to be unfertile and may distance the mentee. Being aware of the eminence of specialised tête-à-têtes discussions, and studying and thinking about it, will help to distinguish how thriving each exchange of ideas is. Mentors will discovery that they essentially have to use experienced inquiring methods to make clear and review the data to prolong diverse views that may offer new visions, which will guide what the mentee /student / protégé does next. It is imperative to use a multiplicity of approaches to certificate seminar room proceedings. Scrutinising diverse approaches of indication will highlight and augment unforeseen sides that will supplement the mentee's philosophy.

Mentors might refer to the four Cs of the mentoring program as stratagems they and the mentees will go through:

1. clarifying method, which is of uttermost importance because it displays the teacher / mentor's involvement in the student's needs, paying close attentions to it;
2. consulting method, in which the mentor actually reacts to the necessities of the protégé to bring forth the human element, through unequivocal reinforcement;
3. collaborating method, during this stage, both parties find answers and work out issues about decision making facts. The feeling that arises in this method is one of equality between mentor and mentee, of strengthening the affective and professional bound between an experience colleague and an incumbent one.
4. coaching method, here the teacher needs to clear the way and construct an environment for the up-coming mentor, authorizing him/her through detection, inquiry, professional dialogue, and future career goals. Subsequently "Evolutionary mentoring and coaching, executive coaching or life coaching offers clients a chance to identify the prevailing discourse and challenge it, through reflective dialogue." (Brockbank, McGil, 2006).

The four Cs, help clear up the different expectations for assistance in this conversation, the mentee deciding whether the mentor teacher fits best as an adviser, co-operator or instructor. The mentor, in turn, will make use of her/his own education and expertise to assist their associates in the process of clarifying the learning goals, reckoning successfulness indicators to evidence the strength of mentoring session they have chosen to produce. Above all, "As neural systems become more specialised into adulthood and expertise becomes embedded, there is some reduction in neural plasticity, and a substantial weakening and pruning of unused neurons and connections as the brain ages." (Fehring, Rodrigues, 2016). Preparation or organization of conversations will be a must and will proceed throughout the mentoring program, with focusing exclusively on the mentee/ student/ protégé's occupational and professional, educational needs. Obviously, there are constrains related to several aspects of the mentoring process, time and space representing two crucial cornerstones of the program's efficiency; mentors might not have the possibility of finding the necessary time to provide for the protégé. Noticeably "Teaching, mentoring and coaching techniques that promote the formation of these new neural networks and limit the atrophy of other beneficial networks will provide the basis for a robust professional development learning architecture." (Fehring, Rodrigues, 2016). In mentoring the up-coming mentors, teachers use meditative and logical conversations to have a clear perception and brainstorm into practice session by examining grounds related to a particular domain. Such indicant can uncover conspicuous information about the basic cognitive process that occurred within the mentoring procedure. Undoubtedly "Learning in the adult brain relies on multiple cognitive and neural systems, the experience of which generates continuing changes in brain structure and function. Memory formation is at the core of learning and is dependent upon this range of independent neural networks that form and reform in the brain." (Fehring, Rodrigues, 2016).

We retain an androcentric belief that women accessible as mentors or even as role models are incompetent, dissimilar to what a man can do if he were in the same position. The impediments involve, first of all, the gender, then come labels and origin, doubled by distrust and regrettably this hindrances have made women underrepresented in management places, in educational or corporate background. The privations that teacher mentors and women must commonly overcome, in the present day, are professional isolation, disapproval and decline of their assignments, reduced interacting and collective visions. Noticeably "It is clear that, as a gendered organizational process,

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mentoring affects women in leadership by embodying unequal access to leadership opportunities and power, transmitting gender behaviour and norms, and perpetuating preferences for masculine power.” (O'Connor, 2010). One of the restrictions is represented by the forced, incompatible and unfortunate bond between the mentor-mentee, which can be damaging for the whole progression, disturbing the results, the relation, and the educational setting, with unfortunate prominence. As far as boundaries are apprehensive we debate the circumstance that mentoring is overwhelming, intense, taking time and space for all involved, it can be misleading if the procedure is not calculated. The hopes the involved parties have might not coincide, because of the dissimilar characters, temperaments and genders. Indeed “However, engagement mentoring sustains a state of equilibrium and maintains the status quo, suppressing the possibility of transformative learning for the individual and the organization.” (Brockbank, McGil, 2006).

Conclusions

The mentor's values and idealized norms can have considerable influence on how mentees see themselves and the profession. Mentees have various emotional responses to their mentors, aberration, awe, fear, and idealization. Experiences with mentors can be impactful and remembered for many years. Mentoring interactions are helping interactions naturally fixed on achievement. The principal self-motivated of the mentoring affiliation is the assistance offered to the protégé by the teacher, while the fixed functions presented to protégés by mentors vary, mentoring grips any or all three decisive constituents: sensitive and psychosocial support, traditional support with profession and professional development, and model. In fact, “Conventional wisdom denotes that mentors have seniority over the one being mentored. Yet, many of the most effective mentors do not have seniority. Many leaders are realizing that knowledge is not a one – way street. It is a benefit to all involved to share expertise. There is a current thought that reverse mentoring may bridge the gaps among generations.” (Townes, 2006). The abusive use of the existing mentors and the compact number of women mentors, or even absence of, embody one of the restrictions and trials, as well. Women are lessened in faculties and mentoring plans, and this is a test to consider for all. The victory of any mentoring platform is founded upon the affiliation amongst mentor - mentee and how clever mentors are in polishing the assets of the protégés. Mentoring ability involves the normal and careful use of caring, knowledge, methodological skills, feelings, principles, consideration and communication in daily preparation for the advantage of the mentee and the educational community served. A teacher mentor is beyond an educational advice-giver, she is definitely a leading light who produces power or bravery, a comrade who perceives and emboldens our concealed gifts. Sometimes, this converted teacher is known as a tutor, a mentor. Mentor teachers often give accountability for the company of a cheerful, creative collaboration when working with lively, activating mentees. As teacher mentors contour relations for their protégées, they, in all likelihood, do that for themselves, too, also forging professional prospects and educational prominence for their counsellors. Through keen, gifted mentees, women mentors attain revitalisation otherwise they would become overdue in lethargic scholastic occupations. In addition, “Functionalist mentoring or coaching focuses on efficiency and equilibrium, assuming an objective real world, aiming at improved performance and, in order to maintain the status quo, tends to suppress challenge and questioning. The necessity of maintaining equilibrium leads mentors or coaches to socialize their clients, ensuring that existing

values and norms are preserved, thereby ‘guaranteeing’ career advancement.” (Brockbank, McGill, 2006).

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ORIGINAL PAPER

Fitness Clubs Revolution and Social Interaction

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Abstract

Most, if not all, of us have experienced fitness personally, as athletes, spectators or both. Most likely, we are familiar with the physical and emotional experiences of going at the gym and may know the rules and strategies used in gym sport. You may even follow the lives of high-profile athletes in your school or on the national sport scene. In this article, the aim is to focus on the meaning associated with fitness clubs – the process through which it becomes part of the social and cultural life. The importance of doing sport as a way of preventing illness and maintaining health has often been invoked by medical specialists. In addition to the health benefits of regular exercise, the aesthetic advantages must also be mentioned. Such spaces where individuals can cultivate their appearances and maintain health are fitness clubs. In the century where speed is at its highest, individuals do not have to worry about accessing the use of fitness services. What has the ability to maintain and increase the number of members of a club is the way they communicate through social media and social interaction in the fitness club. As it is this environment precisely that which provides information about the behavior one needs to adopt in order to build and maintain a healthy body. I believe fitness clubs promote the idea of a healthy lifestyle in accordance with internal strategy and concept, health being a means of achieving a desirable physical form. The content of the information provided reflects the insistence on the concern for health control.

Keywords: *fitness clubs; body; communication; social interaction; healthy.*

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The importance of studying fitness clubs and social interaction

Studying fitness as a new social phenomenon leads to research questions such as: Why is fitness popular in one society but not another? Why are fitness events and fitness gyms organised in different ways from one society to the next? How is fitness connected with other parts of society, such as the family, religion, education, government, the economy and the media? Who sponsors fitness industry, and for which reasons? In summary, fitness is an important part of culture, which differs from place to place and generation to generation. How fitness is defined, organised and integrated into social life varies from one society to another. This means that to understand fitness in its entirety we must view it as an aspect of the social world that is created in a particular social context. Sociology provides us with tools that help us to view and understand fitness as an aspect of the social world that is created in a particular social context as we discuss major issues related to sport in society.

Why study fitness in society?

There are several reasons why it is necessary to study the important part that fitness clubs play in a society. The three most important reasons are the following:

- Fitness clubs are connected to major spheres of social life.
- Fitness clubs are a part of people's lives.
- Fitness clubs are connected with important ideas and meanings in life.

Introduction

This article is not only about understanding physical activity through gyms and health; it is also about promoting physical activity and health. Physical activity has been endorsed and promoted in recent years through a number of marketing strategies. Being in an early stage of development, the Romanian fitness market began to emerge in 2000, with the entry of international operators on the market. In Bucharest, most sports, recreational and wellness centers are concentrated, this being explained by being the most populous city in Romania, and because it has a higher income level.

At the same time, the corporate segment is overdeveloped, which means that the potential of the fitness market is very high. Renowned companies enter into partnerships with sports service providers in order to facilitate their employees access to sporting activities, at a cost, but at negotiated rates at the group level.

In a fragmented market where there are competitors at different levels, the sports and wellness centers are expanding with new locations. By promoting training and emphasizing the importance of sport as a lifestyle, fitness is an integral part of sport. This present study tried to understand the way in which interaction is organized in 5 World Class fitness clubs.

Theoretical framework

I will open the article with a general discussion of recent theoretical contributions. The fitness services industry reflects the evolution of marketing strategies in this area by focusing on maintaining customers, providing high quality services and promoting fitness as a product of expertise. More specifically, through the services offered, fitness clubs provide a social framework for consumption exposure, membership of a club marking the individual's position as a symbolic capital. Maguire (Maguire, 2008: 104) suggests that "the choices offered by fitness clubs can be treated

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and evaluated in the same way as other leisure options such as shopping, tourism, filmmaking, etc.”

There are several types of fitness clubs, their classification being determined by the types of services offered. So, in some fitness clubs only fitness can be done, other clubs are exclusively dedicated to women, and there are also clubs offering a full range of services, including ancillary facilities like a spa, a sauna. The basic feature of a fitness club is that in order to gain access to these services, the consumer has to consolidate his membership of that club by signing a membership contract.

Fitness clubs compete in creating a consumer experience through the variety of services offered. These include access to the gym, aerobics, swimming pool, sauna, jacuzzi. To meet the needs of consumers for complex, personalized services, fitness clubs also include personal training services. Most fitness clubs have classrooms dedicated to class or group training. Classes are supported by an instructor sitting in front of the participants. Music is used to accompany the different stages of the training and the instructor's voice is perceptible by using a headset microphone. Although most of the time the instructor participates fully in the classroom, coordinating the movement on the rhythm of the music, it can address the participants recommendations, suggestions on the execution of the movements.

Fitness as an integral part of the sports industry has not been among the core concerns of sports management researchers. Despite this, fitness is an important part of sport and adherence to an active and healthy lifestyle. The prevalence of obesity and other health problems has generated interest in the development of innovative technologies through which health services are communicated. Many local cities have greatly speculated the effectiveness of communicating the benefits of fitness through various environments, with the launch of several campaigns, including BeHealthy Bucharest / Timisoara / Brasov Festival, Move on Fitness, REVIVE Fitness Bootcamp, Free Unica Sports Training Day Child and Pentecost, Sports and Health Festival, The Biggest Hour of Sports.

Within these festivals there are sports activities, especially fitness classes supported by trainers from the country and from abroad. There are also football championships, table tennis and charity tournaments. In addition to these activities, participants are provided with an area dedicated exclusively to health testing using specialized devices. Fitness and wellness providers are constantly evolving in the way of communication to create and deliver branding about fitness services.

The company that requested this market study is 7card, one of the main players in the field (“The Romanian Fitness Market: How many people go to the gym, how much money does it take out of pockets and what activities they like”). According to a study on trends in the fitness industry, the results show the predilection for group training, which attests to the importance of communicating in a fitness setting (Thompson, 2018). Numerous studies have focused on the exploration of the interaction in the fitness room (Sassatelli, 1999), the motivations and meanings attributed by the walkers (Crossley, 2006) and the fitness industry as a space for exposure of the body in the culture of consumption (Featherstone, 2010).

In the study *The standardization process of movement in the fitness industry* (Parviainen, 2011) the author analyzes the standardization process of Les Mills choreographers and their effects on the interaction between instructors and clients. Starting from the recognition of Les Mills International - the largest provider of group training programs in more than 12,000 clubs in over 70 countries with 5 million

participants in a week - Jaana Parviainen is basing its research on observation participating in the fitness classes of eight fitness centers in a European city and on the texts and images presented on the official Les Mills International website.

The researcher speaks of a standardization of the motion process in the fitness industry through an experience-based model. This model refers to the design of products, processes, services, events and atmosphere based on the importance of the emotions, perceptions, sensations and imaginations of an individual or group (Parviainen, 2011). In order to test the experience-based model, Parviainen participated as a customer in Les Mills International classes in order to test these training concepts and compare the experience experienced with those described in the texts on the company's website (Parviainen, 2011). The researcher appreciates that in the global fitness market, Les Mills International has been forced by the ability to provide group training programs consisting of simple moves that people can easily learn after participating in a few classes (Parviainen, 2011: 530-531).

The personality and symbolic capital of fitness clubs

The personality and symbolic capital of fitness clubs are characteristic of the horizontal stratification of the fitness services industry. Maguire (2008, 93) suggests that the personality of the club is cultivated through the décor, clientele and the way staff treat customers and, moreover, is enhanced by promotional materials and consumer reviews. In other words, as we live in a hyper-consumer society dominated by products and services designed to meet the most diverse requirements, "building the personality of the club helps create a structured choice of choices to meet the various budget constraints, training requirements and preferences lifestyle" (Parviainen, 2011: 530-531).

The club's personality is defined by club promotional materials and consumer testimonials bringing together the personalities of the members in a single, predominant, ideal personality (Parviainen, 2011: 98). Thus, consumer testimonials are a tool for promoting self-consciousness over the criteria of personal choices (Parviainen, 2011: 99). Advertising and consumer reviews define the personality of the club by offering potential customers the opportunity to identify themselves with it. Regarding the club's symbolic capital, the author mentions that it includes the physical framework or decor. Basically, design and decoration created communicates the type of consumer sought. For Roberta Sassatelli (Sassatelli, 1999: 229), "with the use of space, light and decoration, each club organizes its own way of marking the transition from everyday reality to the world of exercises." Also, "the different ways of going out into the outside world, both spatial and symbolic, establish the official style or the tone of each club" (Sassatelli,1999: 230).

A particular aspect is that in the fitness club market competition is not only manifested by the types of devices provided but also by the desired clientele reflected by the club's image (Sassatelli, 1999:230). Membership as a member - claims Maguire (Maguire, 2008:102) - not only involves paying the monthly fee but also joining the club's general profile. Membership of a fitness club becomes a symbol of the motivation to take care of oneself and the ability to do so. The personality and symbolic capital of the club are also strengthened by the hired staff. It is not only responsible for providing services but reflects the personality of the club in terms of and interaction with clients (Maguire, 2008:102).

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Fitness, Consumerism, Hyperconsumerism

According to Jean Baudrillard (Baudrillard, 2008: 165), for centuries, the body was denied being perceived as an entity outside the individual. In the consumer society, however, we are witnessing a special effort to “convince our body”. While initially the attention to the soul and the denial of pleasures and bodily desires were values associated with salvation, “today the body has become an object of salvation” (Baudrillard, 2008: 165). In other words, people become the consumers of their own bodies, the body being perceived as a possession, the object of investiture.

Another perspective on the attention given to the body is offered by Gilles Lipovetsky (Lipovetsky, 2007) in the paradoxical Happiness work. Essay on the hyperconsum. In the author's view, hyperconsum, this last phase of modernity, marks “the transition from the era of the election to the age of hyper-election, from monodotation to multidimension, from consumerism to dissent to continuous consumerism, from individualist consumption to hyperindividual consumption” (Lipovetsky, 2007 : 88).

At this stage when time is the enemy of all, “consumption as an art of living” (Lipovetsky, 2007: 88) becomes the main instrument that can satisfy the desire of individuals for a desirable body and can offer the so-called paradoxical happiness. From now on, the only effort we have to make is to identify what, from the huge market of consumption, corresponds to the idea of happiness, as well as the ways we get it. For this purpose, “rediscovery of self” and “improvement of form” are possible through appeal to relaxation techniques (yoga, sauna) that are meant to “amplify and come into contact with sensations” (Lipovetsky, 2007: 248) and “exercises to maintain and improve the physical form” (Lipovetsky, 2007: 252).

In support of this ideal there are the fitness clubs, those “shopping areas that offer consumers the opportunity to enroll in different body practices, being open to anyone who has the financial capacity to act as a consumer” (Sassatelli, 1999: 229). In *Fit for consumption*, Jennifer Smith Maguire (Maguire, 2008: 62) states that since the body is a central element of the consumption culture, functioning as an object of the statute, the spaces in which it can be cultivated, maintained and improved are also, spaces of the status. More specifically, through the services offered, fitness clubs can be regarded as an opportunity for exposing social status. They work in membership status, quality and diversity of programs, staff professionalism determining club status and membership costs.

Maguire (Maguire, 2008: 104) explains the development of the fitness services industry in America through two models that created, on the one hand, vertical stratification of price-based clubs and, on the other hand, a horizontal stratification transposed into symbolic capital and the club's personality. The range of services provided by fitness clubs involves adjusting the price that potential consumers pay to become members. At this level, Maguire (Maguire, 2008: 89) suggests that the fitness services industry is characterized by two business models.

The first one is sales-oriented and relies on the registration of new members, the latter assuming the maintenance of existing customers. Thus, the sales-oriented model aims to achieve profit, not limiting the number of members, maintaining membership levels low. This involves lower salaries for employees, so the quality of services is lower (Maguire, 2008: 90). On the other hand, the customer-oriented model of customer

retention increases profit through this approach by providing consumers with superior quality services by practicing higher membership fees, locating clubs, etc. (Maguire, 2008: 90).

Therefore, the cost of services depends mainly on the quality of the services offered, the training of the staff, the location of the club, etc. It is precisely through the higher prices that provide a higher-ranked clientele, the auxiliary facilities offered and the exposure in the media is supported by the credibility of clubs using the existing customer retention model (Maguire, 2008: 93).

Methodology

The objective of my research is to explore how social interaction is organized in one of the World Class clubs in Bucharest and the role of the coach in the consumption of fitness services. So, in order to achieve this goal, I participated in the above-mentioned club and interviewed the club's coaches. The representative concept is social interaction. Thus, social interaction designates the "reciprocal or resulting action of the coupling (interference) of actions initiated by persons, groups or collectivities, influencing the conditions of manifestation and the obtained performances" (Vlăsceanu, 1993). In this regard, I will write below the indicators of the social interaction concept: the way the customer coaches encounter (eg greeting, facial expression, eyesight, gestures, mimics); what the customers discuss with each other / coach; rules that define the presence in the room; exercises proposed by the coach; instructions, recommendations provided by the coach; customer feedback from the coach; motivational tools used by the coach; client / coach-initiated questions; independent client / coach-trained topics; the way his coach stayed good (eg greeting, facial expression, eyesight, gestures, mimics); reactions generated by the coach at the end of the training (eg applauded).

Observant participation

For the present research we have chosen as a method the participatory observation taking into account the research objectives and the fact that "the observation largely eliminates the artificialisation of the study of social life" (Chelcea, 2007: 401). Septimiu Chelcea (Chelcea, 2007: 401) mentions that "sociological observation is defined as concrete, field, empirical research and, in a narrow sense, as a scientific method of collecting data with the help of senses (seeing, hearing, smelling, etc.) sociological and psychological interferences to verify hypotheses or describe systematically and objectively the environment, people and interpersonal relationships, individual and collective behaviors, actions and activities, verbal behavior, physical objects, products of creative activities of people and human groups". There are several types of observation, the classification of which is not standard but rather determined according to the degree of structuring, the level of the researcher's involvement, the duration of the observation etc. and the terminology assigned by each researcher.

I will not insist on the presentation of the various types of observation, but I will recall from their variety the unstructured observation, the structured observation, the external observation, the participatory observation, the continuous observation, the sampled observation, etc. As far as the participatory observation is concerned, it is encountered in field sociological studies and especially in cultural anthropology research (Chelcea, 2007: 410).

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Edward C. Lindeman is the pioneer of the participatory observation, introducing this term into the sociology vocabulary in 1924, in the work *Social Discovery* (Chelcea, 2007: 412). Herbert J. Gans (1962/1982, 398-399 apud Chelcea, 2007: 413) distinguishes between three types of participatory observation according to the researcher's behavior: "the researcher behaves as an observer, the researcher participates, but as researcher, the researcher participates, becoming "researcher-participant" in this situation. Looking at the whole, this study provides support for my research on interactions taking place in five of the World Class clubs in Bucharest.

Analysis of the results

At international level, the World Class fitness center chain has subsidiaries in over 14 countries across Europe and the Middle East. In Romania, the first fitness center was opened in 2000 in Bucharest. Since then, the Swedish company has inaugurated six clubs in Bucharest and one in Cluj and Timisoara, imposing itself as a market leader in the native fitness industry (source: <http://www.worldclass.ro/company-about-us.php>).

"Recognition and popularity enjoyed by World Class locally is largely due to the fact that there are no competitors of the same level, this being the only chain in the field. The company also has the advantage of being the first to enter the fitness market, clubs being located in hotels, shopping centers, office buildings, etc. " (source:http://www.moneyexpress.ro/articol_22719).

The intention to study this matter came along as i have participated in group fitness training, noting that what is happening in the World Class club where I train could become the subject of my dissertation paper.

Specifically, I started going to the hall from January 2017 to the present. The research itself took place between February and May 2018, during which I attended the club 4-5 times a week, taking my observations hour a day.

Being located in a shopping center in Bucharest, the World Class club where we researched occupies over 2,000 square meters, organizing it as "moving from the everyday world to the world of exercises" (Sassatelli, 1999: 229). More specifically, from the point of view of organization, this passage is symbolized by an illuminated tunnel that basically leads the individual to the space in which the body is subjected to physical exercise.

Personally, the aesthetics of the tunnel announcing training for training, reminded me of the tunnel through which the gunmen pass before entering the ring. Similarly, the World Class tunnel has a circular shape and is diffuse illuminated, suggesting that the individual is at the center of attention, being the "star" expected.

At the end of the tunnel there are two escalators that are not functional, which led me to believe that climbing and lowering the stairs could be regarded, on the one hand, as a potential heating for the exercises that individuals were supposed to do and, on the other hand, as a continuation of the exercises.

Once the escalator steps were taken, some of the way the club is organized can be deciphered. Thus, on the left is the gym area, more commonly known as the gym, on the right is the spa area and in the center the socialization area, relaxation and the club reception. Affiliation as a member of the club is made after paying the fee for the desired subscription type (3, 6 or 12 months), full time or day time and signing a membership contract. Depending on the subscription period purchased, the number of guests that the member can bring and the subscription period may be varied may vary. The customer receives a card that he has to leave at the reception and in return receives a key for the

locker room. This is an ordinary ritual, making “the transition from the everyday world to the world of exercises” (Sassatelli, 1999: 229).

With regard to the personality and symbolic capital of the club, they are cultivated through the decor or the physical environment, the clientele and the way staff treat clients and, moreover, are consolidated through promotional materials and consumer reviews (Maguire, 2008: 93) . Thus, the decor includes the wall pictures, lights, lighting, plants, etc.

An important area of “official style or club tone” (Sassatelli, 1999: 230) is the reception. Here, the individual who comes first in the club comes in contact with the offers, the events promoted and can create a first impression on how the club is positioned. For example, the four pictures in the reception area illustrate the slogan of We create shapes, a slim female body and a muscular male that reflects the female ideal, the male and the company logo.

Thus, the promoted images are in line with the company's slogan and strategy. In other words, through existing images, the club communicates how it wants to position itself in the mind of the consumer (Ries and Trout, 2004). Other images could be seen in the gym area and in the group training studio.

My attention was captured by the motivation you need. The results you want accompanied an image depicting a woman coaching with a man. I later found out that the man was the coach, given that his T-shirt was marked with PT initials, that is, trainer. Practically, the message and image suggests the idea that the personal coach is an important factor in motivating the client, helping him achieve his goals. Interestingly, the “club tone” (Ries and Trout, 2004) transmits energy, vitality through the presence of vibrant colors such as yellow, green, pink, blue that are found in the clothing of individuals in the club images and in the instruments used in the room (disks, dumbbells, balls, core bags, kettlebells).

Another form of expression of the club's personality is the promotional materials and consumer reviews. Specifically, the presence of promotional materials such as flyers, roll-ups, or supports that feature different materials that announce events, offers, etc. have the role of attracting the attention of potential customers and maintaining the interest of existing members.

At the same time, consumer reviews posted on the World Class Romania site contribute to the promotion of the club's services and facilities. The facebook page is another tool commonly used by the company to stay in the attention of existing customers and to attract new customers. The same purpose is fulfilled by monitors placed inside the hall and reception area. They broadcast broadcast shows where various World Class Romania coaches were invited, the club's offers, the events to be held, being an excellent motor for promoting fitness club providers - club coaches.

During my research, I have noticed that at one month's reception, there was a short presentation of one of the club's coaches. Under the slogan He excels in fitness with X (coach's name), the presentation was accompanied by a picture of the coach and was aimed at attracting new customers.

At one point, during a weekend, no group training was held in the World Class club I was attending, so I went to another fitness club club that is located in a hotel in Bucharest. We noticed that there was a panel in the lobby area where all club coaches were presented (studies, certifications, motto). Clubs therefore use different ways to promote coaches.

Fitness Clubs Revolution and Social Interaction

The services provided by the World Class club where we conducted the research include access to gym, cycling, group training (classes), sauna, jacuzzi and spa. The club has a studio for group training and one for cycling (spinning). To meet the needs of consumers for complex, personalized services, the club also includes personal training services.

Most of my observations focused on the various group training programs that I attended during my personal training sessions when I had the opportunity to be close to personal coaches and clients. I also participated in some of the events organized by the club. Personally, for this research, the role I played was both observer and participant.

My comments on the behavior and interaction between the individuals in the fitness club were largely based on my enrollment in the various activities they were doing. By participating in group training and infiltration in areas such as the locker room, the club reception, the spa area, I was able to observe nonverbal behavior, interaction with club employees or other fitness customers.

Much of my remarks were made during the various group training sessions conducted by the seven coaches. The club is licensed for BodyCombat, BodyPump and CXWORK, these being three of the ten group training programs developed by Les Mills International, the world's largest provider of profiles.

The feature of Les Mills programs is that music and choreography change every three months, with four choreographies per year to be taught by the coach. Other group or class exercises are characterized by the coach's freedom to choose music and establish choreography.

As far as coaching is concerned, coaches need not make a mental effort to think about what they are doing, what they need to change, and can better focus on the participants' technique, correct them, and help them improve the movement.

Conclusions

Interaction during group training that stems from the fact that the coach corrects the customer, gives him attention seems to be a good tool in attracting customers. Interestingly, the physical aspect is not regarded by coaches as a criterion on which they are chosen by the clients, indicating rather the experience in the field, the passion, the motivation.

The importance of practicing sport as a way of preventing illness and maintaining health has often been invoked by medical specialists. In addition to the advantages of the individual's health, the aesthetic advantages must also be mentioned. Probably any regularly practiced sport brings health benefits but also the way we look.

Such spaces where individuals can cultivate their appearances and maintain health are fitness clubs. In the century of speed, individuals do not have to worry about accessing the use of fitness services. Some fitness clubs are located right in the office buildings and with one click you can book your favorite training place.

In addition to the facilities offered, the human resources are equally important to confirm the quality and prestige of the club. Probably what has the ability to maintain and increase the number of club members is the way in which the social interaction in the sports club is communicated offline.

Sports centers are the ideal framework for analyzing how healthy lifestyles are built and presented, as they are where information is found about the behaviors people have to take to build and maintain a body healthy. This indicates that the individual must

be permanently connected to information to adopt the strategies necessary for a healthy lifestyle.

Through the strategy offered for the construction and maintenance of health, the idea of a corporeal project, which involves an active engagement of the individual “the appearance, the size, the form and even the content of the body depends on the individual's desire to mold it, his ability to care for the appearance”.

Future research

The research opens new directions of study so that in the future, research can be made to look at the client's perspective: what attitude customers have to the coaches' work, which studies, qualities should have a coach. Additionally, a continuation of the present research could be to conduct participatory observation in various World Class clubs to see patterns of interaction between members and coaches. Also, in order to obtain as many opinions as possible on the use of fitness services, research could take place in several types of clubs (eg clubs exclusively dedicated to women, clubs offering access only to the gym force, etc.). Such an approach could help to identify new aspects of how the coach contributes to the consumption of fitness services. As most clubs have facebook and facebook pages, it would be interesting to look at how clubs promote their services, coaches. Specifically, by using content analysis, the content of the messages could be studied by the club's facebook sites and Facebook pages.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

Political Communication between Tradition and Actuality

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Abstract

The present age may perhaps be the era of space, public space, and public communication in general. We are in the age of simultaneous, juxtaposing, of our neighbor and the distance, of the join, of the dispersed. We are at a time when the world perceives itself less, I think, as a great life that would develop over time, as a network linking points and waving its labyrinth. Today's dismay concerns fundamentally the space, communication and relationships that take place between individuals or organizations far more than time; time probably appears only as one of the possible distribution games between elements that are distributed in space. In spite of all the techniques that invade him, despite the whole knowledge network that allows its determination and formalization, contemporary space is perhaps not entirely desacralized - unlike, of course, time that was desacralized in the nineteenth century. There has, of course, been a certain theoretical desacralization of space, but we have not yet come to a practical desacralization of space. And maybe our lives are still listening to a certain number of oppositions we cannot reach, to which the institution and practice did not dare to touch them; some oppositions that we admit as data: those, for example, between the private space and the public space, between the space of the family and the social space, between the cultural space and the useful space, between the space of entertainment and the workplace; all continue to be animated by a deaf sacralization. The space in which we live, in which we are attracted, in which the erosion of our life, time and history is taking place, this space that grinds and creeps us is itself a heterogeneous space. In other words, we do not live in a kind of vacuum, within which individuals and things can be placed. We do not live within a void that would stain with different shadows and lights, we live inside a set of relationships that define irreducible sites that are absolutely unsurpassable.

Keywords: *developing the advertising principle; the public use of reason; context and space of human interaction.*

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The theory of communication, as a coherent and autonomous scientific discipline, is relatively new, dating back to half a century. We can say, however, that the preoccupations regarding the inter-human communication, the underlying ideas have experienced a certain permanence, go far back in time, some even to the dawn of human civilization. The first elements of a theoretical thinking in this field appear with the invention of writing, its authors seeing the problems of translating the articulated language into a visual code. In this sense, an analysis of verbal expression was necessary to identify possibilities whereby the development of a transformation of thought was reflected in the language and the system of graphic signs that makes it possible to communicate through a completely different sensory channel is achieved. Following the natural evolution that exists in the treatment of inter-human communication over time, different approaches can be observed depending on the historical stage, ranging from moments of maximum interest to others of stagnation or, on the contrary, the renewal of concepts. Overlapping with the great historical stages, we can speak of a classical period (500 BC-40 BC); the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (400-1600); the modern period (1600-1900).

Political communication is understood as the whole of the means by which to attract or maintain the integrity of the voter to a political symbol. The whole mass of citizens with the right to vote is addressed by all political representatives, from which we can also conclude that: political communication has the widest public among similar forms of communication. "What we call political communication today is a field with extremely unclear features, which is why we consider it to be a set of theories or techniques. It is a science characterized by the interdisciplinarity and the diversity of similarities related to the transversality of the issues addressed. Sociology, linguistics, semiotics, anthropology, law, history, psychosocialism, philosophy are as many fields of analysis of political communication. Political science must strive to integrate them into its own interrogations, addressing the various paradigms they face. But political communication also means a process. In this case, it resembles a toolkit for various experiences, from rhetoric based on natural language to direct marketing of high-tech campaigns, the increased appeal to these techniques is accompanied by a transformation of public space and game rules." (Gerstlé, 2002:19)

Even if it addresses the majority of voters, the political man can not afford to always adopt the same message, but needs to adapt his political discourse by operating a few segments within the large target group he / she is targeting. It is all the more necessary to raise awareness of those groups recognized for the lack of political disinterest, which puts the politician in a difficult situation: on the one hand, the ones who have been informed by electoral messages must be satisfied, on the other hand, the reluctance of those who tend to reject them, systematic suspicion, or total disinterest. There is, therefore, a category of citizens who do not attach importance to the political message. In a bipolar classification, passive citizens can reach up to 90% of the total voters by placing the active in a minority that is almost insignificant. Different degrees of political partisans can be distinguished. The simplest dichotomy of the electorate, depending on the degree of adherence to a party's doctrine, could be convinced, hostile and hesitant. Another classification makes the distinction between devotees and distant individuals (both of which defining groups: a favorable one, a hostile one), unsure of potential (presenting a solid predisposition to vote for someone else, but who can be convinced), to which we add the absolutists, who generally abstain from voting because of doubt and voluntary refusal.

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In its generality, the act of communication consists of an exchange of information. It can be said that “there is communication whenever an organism, in particular a living organism, can affect another organism, modifying it or modifying its action, from the transmission of information (rather than through direct action such as the one exercised by a physical force that puts an energy into operation)” (Amado & Guittet, 1991:191). In the present case, we speak of two fundamental groups: those who disseminate information (in different ways) and those who receive it. The purpose of the transmitters is always the same: to convince. For this, they will use at the same time language, rhetoric, advertising or debates.

Language often takes the form of verbal symbols, but there are also many ways of communicating through non-verbal symbols. Verbal images become the most important form in which political reality is resolved. Meanwhile, non-verbal symbols are of particular importance for the integrity of transmitted information.

In general, the ability to control the terms of discussion by political leadership is appreciated as a very important quality. To draw attention to situations, people or events, politicians interpret the political scene in many ways, closely related to their own position. They explain the importance of events, show the causes that have caused them, justify their actions, etc. In this sense, the connections that speakers prefer to make explicitly or implicitly, analogously or conceptually, shape the message and its impact.

Thus, different realities can be created, starting from the same set of facts, emphasizing certain aspects and insinuating different meanings.

Another function of language is the design of the past and of the future, which is the domain of words. Much of the political discourse contains prediction or reconstruction elements of the past and the design of the future. Reconstruction of the past shows how beneficial some experiences were, while the prediction of the future refers to the expectations of those who do it, preparing the audience for the events that follow.

All of these designs are, of course, subjective, made to serve their own purposes, differing from one policy to another, and adapting according to the historical times lived.

The connection between verbal and action design is not just one of the many examples of how language can be used to impulse and incite action. Messages can even order people to act even though message recipients are not always convinced of the discipline of orders. At the same time, messages can also be a substitute for action, but with a chance to act in action. International treaties, such as alliances, are promises by some countries to support each other in wartime. Their mere existence can cause potential aggressors to change their minds.

At the same time, however, the frames of coexistence impose the need to keep discussions at an acceptable, civilized level, forcing partners to reach a moderate language, independent of human animosities or conflicts of interest.

A former leader or a retired politician is used as a source, advertising is more effective than using a current leader or a candidate. Studies focused on the length of the message, the differences in perception of color advertisements in contrast to black and white, rational messages with emotional messages, etc.;

The most commonly used forms today are radio, television, newspapers, postcards, flyers, telephone advertising and various badges. Of these, the top four are the most commonly used. Individuals are caught by the entertainment side of the advertisement rather than the information.

A series of research has revealed three types of receptor effects: cognitive, emotional, and behavioral. On a cognitive basis, the effects have been highlighted by the growing interest in the direct effects of advertising. Research shows a positive correlation between political advertising, attention and the level of political knowledge of individuals.

The emotional components of the ad have often taken the form of an assessment that the individual (the public) explores about the subject of the ad. The use of advertisements must be weighed very well, taking into account both the moment when it is transmitted and its content.

Our century marks a revival of communication studies. The intense concerns have been manifested especially in the last decades. They make substantial contributions to: the structure of the act of communication, the factors directly and the context involved, principles governing such human activities, types of communication, etc. Transactional analysis is an interesting approach to analyzing communication situations in order to select the most appropriate responses.

Mood is the most well-known and most important concept with which transactional analysis operates, being a system of thinking, emotions and behavior related to the different stages of an individual's or even a group's development. By reversing the transaction concept it can be defined as a form of social exchange between two / more people. Exchange of information is itself a transaction that can be done orally, in writing, through gestures, looks, objects, etc. and referred to as a communicative transaction. When two people are in an interpersonal communication, it is possible to enter into play six states of mind, three for each interlocutor. In order to achieve and master communication (communicative transaction) it is important to identify the active mood at that time for each of the participants in the transaction. "If a transaction is the bilateral exchange unit between two states of mind, the relationships between individuals and groups are made up of successive series of transactions." (Popescu, 1995: 12)

The communication made by the parties in writing is advantageous to the advances of printing techniques, to the momentum of public instruction, and to the fact that it mainly addresses the possibilities of analyzing and judging the population. The printed press imparts its own style to party propaganda, focusing on ideas, on programmatic issues, not on people or party figures. The press plays a leading role in political communication, in promoting public discussion, in mediating the relationship between citizens and the political power. Political messages can take the form of statements, speeches, announcements, or even statements about an event, a proposal, a change, or even the policy of another political group. Another medium of broadcasting is the radio, but in this case the transmission of the signals is done by means of the radio waves. and the basis for the appearance of the radio has been numerous inventions and discoveries: the discovery of electric waves, telegraph, wireless telephones, phonograph.

In developed societies, radio is considered a kind of absolute weapon in political life, as it allows for a relatively easy summation of a wide variety of messages coming from parties and their leaders, as well as the confrontation of different political points of view. Radio propaganda has also become, more convenient and cheaper than other modern communication channels. Radio favors the cultivation of political interest among some categories of the population that are less attracted to party preoccupations to disseminate their goals through prints or visual means.

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The radio-receiver establishes direct person-to-person relationships between party and listeners and opens up a new perspective in the relationship between parties with their sympathizers, as they have the feeling that they are watching the voice of their leader or believe they are in a familiar relationship. Voice is one of the first elements underlying the reactions of sympathy or adversity towards an unknown.

Television was born from the conjugation of three series of discoveries: photoelectricity; image analysis and reproduction; transmitting by waves the electrical signals corresponding to each point analyzed. Image analysis becomes possible around 1900 with Thomas Edison's lamp, which assures the current transformation - light and the use of the first light - sensitive photocells to convert it into current. Television was set up as a new broadcasting process between 1925 and 1930. In 1925, the first complete television systems were presented. Of course, giant steps are took place over the course of time and on television: transcending national borders through direct broadcasting satellites, diversifying programs and channels within traditional television - local and specialized channels and programs (cultural, sporting, informative), media diversification, the technologies for transmitting and receiving messages and programs related to these media outlets (cables, videocassettes, video DVDs).

Rosca argues that: "Television has redefined the political action seen today as a theatrical performance. Subject to a commercial logic, the show's activity, political activity has become synonymous with visibility and star-system management. Representative politics, as the basis of political action, is no longer a resource of legitimation and action of the political man. Today the importance of apolitical elements (style, charisma, rhetoric, clothing, notoriety, etc.) increases in the perception of politics and they become forms of political action. Television has changed the condition of a political man who can no longer legitimize political programs and projects. Politics has become a personalized action. The value of public policies has been replaced by the value of political leaders, a value that results from image and notoriety." (Rosca, 2007:44)

Shortly after, television became the main source of information at the expense of media and even radio. Moreover, it is the television that dictates priorities in public space, imposing strategies on political actors. Television is regarded as the most agreeable way of information, the easiest to understand, the place where political figures can best assert themselves. The small screen depends not only on the behaviors, but also on the chances of political parties and politicians. This is the so - called populism phenomenon. Populism as a method and political conduct is manifested through political speeches, televised meetings with the electorate who are promised the immediate satisfaction of the claims.

There are three ways in which a political man can feel his presence on the small screen. First, through regular programs, respected shows, especially apolitical: even the most uninterested viewers will enjoy seeing political affairs taking place. A politician must therefore be able to do everything, be able to talk about anything. Another possibility is the broadcasts offered or sold to parties or candidates, the stands in which they express themselves freely, assuming responsibility for what they say, provided they comply with a setting established by the host station, in which the message policy is inserted into the ads for products and services.

Of course, advertisements, especially when they are political, do not greatly entuse the viewers: they are afraid of the programs that persist in convincing, they are afraid of indoctrination and manipulation. Hence the need for short and concise

messages to be placed between broad audiences. Finally, TV stations schedule specific political broadcasts, making full use of their audio - visual language resources. These programs will be objective, generally contradictory, the political man has no control over them and is intended to be spectacular enough for the public to want to watch them.

In his book "The Discourse of Power" (2009), Constantin Salavastru asserts that: "As far as the freedoms of action are concerned, we must recognize that the political discourse benefits from an unprecedented problem amplitude in the discursive perimeter, which gives it increased possibilities for influencing the audience. When you can talk about any problem to influence an option and action on the receiver, then choosing the issue depends only on its ability to influence a particular audience more strongly, when you can change the thematic register according to the discursive context and the increased possibilities of manipulating to the public, then you really have a handy tool of action on austerity. Freedom of political discourse is also manifested in the fact that this type of discourse is allowed for any other form of discourse thus allowing the possibility of manipulation." (Sălăvăstru, 2009:23)

The ability of television broadcasts to make people watch and follow the party's concerns by supporting them in the elections, the ability to convey exactly the same thoughts, the same pattern for the nation as a whole is paramount. Through this the small screen tends to assume conservative functions, attesting to the legitimacy of powerful parties. A powerful TV presence explains reality to people from a unilateral perspective, limiting themselves to what they say and to what the representatives of the parties in question are avoiding. The goal it creates in political communication, indispensable in party relations with citizens, is covered to a certain extent by the other means of information mentioned above.

Media is a means of expression and, at the same time, a means of influence and possible means of pressure. For some scholars, it acts in the sense of uniformity and conformism, for others, in the way of diversity and complexity. The media explosion has led to the development and commemoration of persuasion techniques through which it can become a tool of manipulation.

The political role of contemporary media is characterized by complex and varied manifestations. As spokespersons for various interest groups, they are a source of information on which to define their choices and make decisions both politicians and various categories of voters. The influence of the media lies in the fact that they are perceived as more appealing and more credible sources, being also more accessible than other sources.

The consequences of political communication are: the media harnessing of the leaders' personality; moving to forms of competition between parties that value media performance against ideology; the proximity and even the convergence of the political objectives of the various parties; increasing the attention paid by politicians to voters' opinions.

In the social space, the interaction between individuals manifests itself through the multiple roles that individuals play. Norms are a role-specific obligation, being the rules governing individual and collective conduct. Social groups tend to spontaneously generate rules whose function is to create a collective framework of action, the basis of consensus. The roles and norms adopted by individuals are determined by the context and space of human interaction.

Any debate in the age of globalization, of globalization, however violent it may be, however ad personam or, on the contrary, to be argued is, certainly contributes to

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something, in that what lies only in individual bearers is placed in the middle, by sharing content, resentment, reactions, ideas, arguments, verbal violence. That's good for public space, it's like a collective therapy session where no one is leading, we're all on the psychoanalyst's couch and we're arguing.

From the consolidation of an ideological line that allowed for a net polarization of social classes in party nuclei, to the age of visual media expansion, exponential expansion of political audience and reaching zenith in the current informational affluence, the evolution of political communication has now become a common body with media entertainment. It is argued that global media and private media flows within the latest generation democracies are internationalizing, given the political, economic and cultural circumstances of globalisation. Thus, multiple competitors have emerged, all of which are converging into competition for access to the public sphere of information. The political actor is now on the electoral stage facing not only the danger of a horizontal antagonism from his opponents but also of a vertical one, generated both by the media's commercial management policies (the abundance of entertainment programs, the news channels 24/7, the formal pressure of the market and the mystery of other institutions of authority), as well as the position of the citizen in relation to the coordinates of his socio-political sphere (access to information, pluralism of opinions, privilege of critical attitude and sanction of absenteeism).

In all modern societies and social groups, there is a certain scheme of collective life, every man knows how to behave in certain situations, knows what other members of the community expect from him and knows what reactions he can expect from his actions. He knows first of all to communicate, to be heard. In order to ensure that the members of the company or groups concerned are maintained within this scheme, a system of social control is formed for the observance of norms, the prevention and suppression of undesirable behavior.

Each group, each community, develops measures, suggests ways of constraint, prohibitions, persuasion and pressure systems, sanctions to physical congregation, systems and ways of expressing gratitude, awarding distinctions and awards, which make the behavior of individuals and subgroups are conducted in accordance with the accepted models of action, respecting the value criteria, in a word, with which the members' conformism is formed. This system forms the system of social control. "The current political communication has a strong control over society through a set of institutions, rules, norms, measures, means of influence that are designed to respect the recognized and permissive patterns of conduct in specific circumstances, according to the status and roles of each individual." (Gheorghe and Luminosu, 1996: 108)

The normal functioning of society would be inconceivable in the absence of such rules and means to influence people's behavior. Social control is a means of self-regulation of the social system's balance. It is achieved through a variety of mechanisms. These include ethical and religious sanctions, economic rewards or penalties, social approval or ostracization, threat of force, or actual use of force.

Ed Ross characterizes "social control as a form of the influence our fellow men exert on our conduct within the groups and societies to which we belong. After that the means of social control consist of public opinion, law, beliefs, social suggestion, education, habits, religion, personal ideal, ceremonies, art, popularization, illusions, social evaluations, morality." (Gheorghe and Luminosu, 1996: 109)

G. Gurvitch, referring to the means of social control, considers them to be "instruments of psychological pressure implemented, consciously or unconsciously, to

influence individuals to adopt the expected behaviors from them. These tools are numerous and diverse: positive and negative sanctions, rewards, encouragement of convictions, etc .; they may also consist of less obvious elements such as symbols, models, prestige effects, acts of propaganda or publicity, influences which are mainly exercised by means of mass communication and which, in general, shape opinion.” (Gheorghe and Luminosu, 1996: 110)

The analysis of the electoral campaign reveals how electoral communication, as a part and essential component of political communication, can open new horizons of understanding the evolution of communication. Butler and Kavanagh claim that: “[...] more than ever, electoral campaigns are directed and orchestrated. Each party tries to influence the public agenda in order to see their views on some of the most important themes reflected in the media. Public opinion is monitored through opinion polls. Electoral campaigns are increasingly seen by those charged with organizing them as marketing exercises, and the willingness to sell their goods and services to their customers is now being applied to the electorate. These developments have broadened the scope of action of experts in public opinion polling.” (Butler and Kavanagh, 1992:77)

A typical electoral campaign begins at least one year before the election, and in the first few months there are at least a dozen candidates. An ordinary voter will love politics in small doses; he will probably react to a long campaign ignoring most of the events. But the media feel compelled to pursue this campaign extensively, even when the number of candidates and campaign activities is far greater than the media's ability and desire to represent. If, for example, six presidential candidates are campaigning on a certain day in January, it will not be possible for the local post to show everyone. Thus, the whole issue of the day should contain only politics. Similarly, in print media, not every candidate will benefit from a front page presentation.

The judgments of the mass media determine the people and the problems to be presented, how much space they will receive and how they will appear. Because the audience is not actively involved in campaign news, especially in the early months, the precursor of the presentation is crucial. Those candidates who will have a broader presentation will be better placed in the attention of the public. Since candidates compete for funds and volunteers, as well as votes, this visibility becomes very important. Who will benefit from the widest presentation? It is a matter of discretion in the press. The evaluation process works throughout the campaign as publishers, producers and reporters decide who deserves and who does not.

The power of the press to shape a candidate's destiny is a source of irritation for politicians. The defeated candidates are increasingly defined by their failures by blaming the press - not because of reporter bias, because of a prejudice of exclusion limiting the voters' perspective on the candidate's efforts.

When the press chooses a favourite at the start of a campaign, this significantly changes the political strategy. A candidate must be proactive at first and catch the attention of the press. Waiting until the end of the first phase of the election to focus your attack on the opponents, could seem a good strategy from the perspective of electoral campaign theories. But the one who expects to make these moves already risks having the press push him out of the political game.

The study of electoral communication has long been an important aspect of research in the field of political analysis and especially of the science of political communication. The interest in studying campaign mechanisms has been strengthened

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by the acoustic evolution of political life, which tends to turn into a permanent campaign in which the character engaged in politics tries to legitimize its actions and efforts to conquer or maintain power. It has also been observed lately that the representation of the electoral campaign has changed.

If the classical analysis was focused on the actors of the political game - people, forces and coalitions - describing their arrangements, maneuvers and positioning, we now see that the analysis of strategies, the content of the media and the role of these elements is limited to interception between candidates and their voters.

The new analyzes redistribute the roles and redefine another electoral scene, inspired not only by juxtaposition but also by the interaction of the protagonists. As a result of these analyzes, the electoral campaign was considered as a game structure, characterized by conflict, cooperation or mixed relations, which in turn produce structural effects that none of the actors act upon. The latter point is all the more sensitive as we evaluate the effects of a campaign not only from the perspective of immediate election results but also through the redefinition of a political situation, and we are referring here to the symbolic plan. Signs circulating during the electoral sequence have different cognitive and symbolic effects, such as the acquisition and recycling of political knowledge, the redistribution of political capital, the reconstitution of political identities and, in a global manner, the recognition of the system. The electoral communication thus presents itself as “a privileged sequence of building the political reality to which all actors contribute, depending on specific resources and interests.” (Gerstle, 2002: 163)

Most conflicts and communication difficulties are generated, often by the great differences between perceived reality and reality itself. Human perception is subjective, selective and also carries the personal footprint of thought processes. From the entire environment, a vast array of stimuli of all kinds abound and try to instantly shake all our senses. By thinking, the mind organizes, structures, adjusts or complements the information obtained to give it meaning.

Whatever the forms, context, and levels of human communication, perception remains the central issue, it remains the key to all the meanings of a message. Perception is the process of awareness of the internal and external stimuli that causes the senses and which also relates to the sensory and mental phenomena that give birth to the primary, unitary image of the objects and phenomena that act on the sense organs.

The received message differs, often significantly, from the one sent. That is why in analyzing any political message or when we want to know something accurately, we must go beyond simple words, beyond their meaning. At the same time, we must take into account the historical status, the political regime, public opinion and the phenomena that occur in any society. For this reason, politicians must ensure that their messages are agreeable, give them substance, make sure that they accurately reflect realities, concrete issues, and propose effective solutions, so that political campaigns lead to an exchange, to a communication that does not flow in a single direction. Ultimately, communication means sharing, therefore, political communication should mean embracing and understanding political and social responsibilities.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

King Carol II's Political View – from the “Governing over the Political Parties” Formula to the Authoritarian Regime

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Abstract

King Carol II's reign was perceived as a controversial period. This paper is aiming to analyse the “governing over the political parties” formula and to observe the way that the political view of the Monarch changed over the years. Without proposing an exhaustive exposition of the governments during the reign of Carol II, I chose some examples which might be the most revealing regarding the approach proposed. By analysing how the King nominated the respective Councils of Ministers, I tried to observe what the reasons behind his decisions were, referring also to the Monarch's relationship with the politicians. The final goal of the paper was on the one hand to outline the political vision of King Carol II and, on the other hand, to identify the way in which the formula of governing over the political parties was implemented.

Keywords: *King Carol II; governing over the political parties; authoritarian regime, political leaders.*

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Introduction

King Carol II's intention to lead the country in an authoritarian manner is not an aspect disputed by researchers; the Monarch's statements and actions were very clear – he wanted and succeeded, especially in the last years of his reign, to lead Romania in an authoritarian way. An increase of the King's prerogatives in the decision-making process was followed by a decrease of the influence exerted by the politicians.

As in the early 1930s a removal of the political forces from the public sphere was impossible, the Sovereign tried to diminish their power; and the best solution was to create Governments that were neither composed nor led by strong politicians. The formula proposed by the King was to govern *over the political parties*. The Monarch's opinion seemed to be a long-term one, as along his reign there were made various attempts to put this formula into practice.

It is important to note that even from the perspective of a government that does not respect traditional rules, there were several options: coalition government, national unity government, concentration government, government *outside* the political party or government over the political parties. It is obvious that the King's favourite formula was the personal government, or as it is called *governing over parties*, in which the political factor was irrelevant; until the achievement of this goal, the Sovereign had to juggle with the other unconventional governing methods mentioned above.

The attempt to create the coalition Government led by General Constantin Prezan

As often mentioned in the memoirs of his close collaborators, a constant wish of King Carol II was to rule over the political parties. The Sovereign had never hidden this desire. Ever since returning to Romania in June 1930, Carol had specified how he wanted to lead the country. In his writings, Nicolae Iorga reproduced the conversation that he had with Carol before his ascension to the Throne, a conversation in which the future King expressed his desire to form a concentration Government that he would have wanted not to be led by a head of a political party (Iorga, 1932: 5; Iorga, 1939: 3).

This Monarch's view seems to have been unshakable, since throughout his reign, one can notice different attempts to accomplish it. In this regard, a first example is found in June 1930. Thus, after the Government of G.G. Mironescu, June 7th-8th, whose single purpose was to abolish the laws of January 1926 (Nedelea, 1991: 83; Scurtu, 1983: 167-168; Scurtu, 1996: 234-234) and to accept Carol's appointment as King of Romania, the new Sovereign tried the highly desired formula at that moment – the Government of concentration. The attempt was made with General Constantin Prezan (Iorga, 1932: 7). Although Prezan had all the support from the King and truly tried to accomplish his mission of creating a coalition government he failed (Argetoianu, 1997a: 40; Iorga, 1932: 10-11). Despite realizing the difficulty of collaborating with a leader of a large political party as President of the Council of Ministers, Carol had no choice but to ask Iuliu Maniu to lead the new Government (Scurtu, 1983: 169-170).

Grigore Gafencu was the one who eloquently summarised the situation from the summer of 1930 in his journal: "From youthful enthusiasm and passion for work, he [Carol] will try personal governments. Afterwards, he will come back to parties from political caution and because it is safer and more comfortable" (Gafencu, 1991: 19). In June 1930 Carol had to accept that his position on the Throne was not yet consolidated,

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and thus he temporarily had to give up his desire to create a Government that would not involve powerful political leaders.

It is important to note that even regarding a Government that did not respect the traditional Romanian norms, the views of the politicians were divided. Thus, there have been discussions among politicians about two main options that could arise if the Sovereign would have managed to impose the chief of the Government, other than an influential party leader. The first of these options was a concentration Government involving politicians from various parties; the second was the creation of a personal Government in which the political factor would be irrelevant (Gafencu, 1991: 126). If the first option could have been accepted by a significant number of politicians, the latter could be rejected even by those politicians who had shown their obedience to the new Monarch.

The Government of *national union* led by Nicolae Iorga

A new attempt of Carol II to break the barriers of traditional Governments took place in April 1931. Thus, amid the aggravation of the domestic economic crisis and the increasing tensions at European level, the Sovereign proposed to Nicolae Titulescu – the Romanian delegate in London – to be President of the Council of Ministers (Constantinescu, 1973: 275-276). According to Nicolae Iorga, Titulescu was also on the list of possible Prime Ministers in June 1930 (Iorga, 1932: 10). Between March and April 1931, Nicolae Titulescu negotiated with most of the political leaders to form a *national union* Government (Gafencu, 1991: 126-133, Iorga, 1932: 34-37, Iorga, 1939: 74); but as the general Prezan failed less than a year before in his attempt to fulfil the Sovereign's wish, so did Nicolae Titulescu.

The difference was that Titulescu seemed to have been “helped” by the King in order not to succeed. Being probably more secure of his position in April 1931 than he was in June 1930 and wanting to remove a complicated collaboration with Titulescu, Carol II easily renounced to his nomination to the Government (Iorga, 1932: 40). Without delay and without further consultations, the mandate was handed to the historian Nicolae Iorga. Iorga, as he explained later, received both the proposal to lead the Government and the list with the Ministers (Iorga, 1932: 43). Thus, Iorga became the President of the Council of Ministers that was in fact led by the King (Nedelea, 1991: 105). Constantin Argetoianu, the Minister of Interior, had also a big influence within the new Government.

The details of nominating the Government led by Nicolae Iorga can be found in the memoirs of Constantin Argetoianu; although he probably added a note of subjectivity, Argetoianu presented the political convulsions from March – April 1931 (Argetoianu, 1997b: 187-212). From the original plan of the King, which had Constantin Prezan (Argetoianu, 1997b: passim 142-179) as a protagonist, continuing with the unsuccessful attempt of nominating Nicolae Titulescu and until the formation of the Government led by Nicolae Iorga, Argetoianu described the events regarding the Romanian political life from the beginning of the year 1931.

Those events underline the King's attempt to undermine the authority of political parties. Planned thoroughly, both the removal of the Government led by G.G. Mironescu (Argetoianu, 1997b: 187-190) as well as the preparation of the new Government reveal the Sovereign's intentions to increase its inflexibility in the state decision-making process, which automatically implied a diminishing of the influence of the political parties.

Thus, the Sovereign entrusted Titulescu to form a *national union* Government that would include all major political parties (Argetoianu, 1997b: 191; Scurtu & Buzatu, 1999: 233). If one takes into consideration the intransigent positions of the Romanian political leaders, it was obvious that such an approach was impossible. But the impossibility of a consensus among all relevant political forces served the cause of the Monarch, who could come up with a government *over the parties* (Argetoianu, 1997b: 207-212; Iorga, 1939).

Although labelled as *national union* Government, in fact, the new Council of Ministers was closer to the formula that the Sovereign wanted – a personal Government. There are several arguments in support of this hypothesis: first, the fact that the Prime Minister received along with the mandate also the list of the future Ministers; another argument could be Constantin Argetoianu's presence in the Government as one of the supporters for diminishing the influence of the political parties and for establishing the authoritarian regime; last but not least, as the King himself stated during the ceremony of taking the oath, the political factor was not so important in appointing the Government members, as they were unleashed from the political parties.

M.I. Costian labelled the Iorga Council of Ministers as a Government *apart from the parties* and considered it, on the one hand, the reply given by the King to the political parties which did not respond to the calls they had received and, on the other hand, a lesson given to the same political parties according to which the country could be led without the significant political parties (Costian, 1933: 83).

Unfortunately for the Sovereign's plans, the negative effects of the economic crisis were stronger than his determination to demonstrate the futility of political forces and in May 1932 the Government of Nicolae Iorga felled (Iorga, 1939: 408-410). Instead, a new Council of Ministers was established, based on traditional formula of involving the political parties (Gafencu, 1991: 244).

The monarchic-liberal Government

Although the idea of a non-party Government turned out to be unrealistic, the King did not give up on his desire to lead the country according to his own interests, unimpressed by the views of the leaders of the important political parties. Having the Iorga "experiment", which confirmed that, at least for the moment, the formula of governing over the political parties rule was not viable, Carol came to implement an ingenious idea. This idea seems to have been the perfect compromise between how he wanted to lead the country and how much the political reality allowed him to put it into practice.

Thus, the acceptable formula for the Monarch seems to have been the creation of a Government bearing the logo of a large political party but being led and composed of second-rate politicians (Chistol, 2007). This idea was implemented in early 1934, when, after the election, the Prime Minister and President of the PNL, I.G. Duca, was assassinated, leaving two very important political positions vacant (Chistol, 2007: 114-131). After the transitional version with Constantin Angelescu (Scurtu & Buzatu, 1999: 283-284), just like in a puzzle game, the assassination of the liberal national leader was precisely the missing piece that facilitated the appointment of the Government headed by Gheorghe Tătărescu. It is important to underline that Tătărescu did not held an important position in PNL at the moment of his nomination (Constantinescu, 1973: 350-351; Chistol, 2007: 143-144). Although the position in the party did not recommend him to be the President of the Council of Ministers, Tătărescu seemed to have been the perfect

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candidate for the King. Thus, after his unilateral appointment as Prime Minister (Chistol, 2004: 138; Călinescu, 1990: 200), the Sovereign could benefit from all the gratitude and later loyalty of the young politician.

The „Guță *redivivus*” Government

At the end of 1937, the Romanian political life entered a period of agitation. The creation of the next Government removed any doubt regarding the Monarch's determination for diminishing the influence of the political leaders who questioned his decisions. After the four-year Government of Liberal Gheorghe Tătărescu, the main political concern was the creation of the new Council of Ministers (Scurtu & Buzatu, 1999: 329). The inter-war practice proved that the elections were not the most important political stake, but the creation of the Government; throughout that period, the political parties that organized the elections as Government leader won them every time (Radu, 2004: 132-133). Thus, every political group tried to maximize its chances in the context of creating the new Council of Ministers.

In order to create the impression of working with the Romanian political groups for the appointing Government, on November 9th-12th, 1937, the King organized consultations with the political parties (Chistol, 2007: 588-593, Ilie, 2018: 79-81). It was expected that, after a liberal government, a national peasant one to follow, or, at least, the political colour of the new Council of Ministers to be different from the previous one. But the King had another plan. It seemed that the Sovereign had neither the patience nor the necessary energy to accept a Government composed by politicians who would not follow his orders. Thus, he did not want Iuliu Maniu as a Prime Minister – this political leader was one of his critics – and he did not want either to collaborate with the far more flexible Ion Mihalache (Scurtu, 1983: 365).

In order not to appear that he was discretionary imposing a new Government without respecting the tradition, the King initially handed over the mandate of creating the new Council of Ministers to the president of the National Peasant Party, Ion Mihalache; but, as he was aiming for Mihalache's refusal, the Monarch also attached the condition of collaborating, within the Government, with the anti-Semitic group of Alexandru Vaida Voevod (Carol, 2001: 133). Ion Mihalache's foreseeable behaviour (Călinescu, 1990: 358-359; Carol II, 2001: 133) allowed Carol to act discretionally; it must be underlined that the refusal of the National Peasant leader gave the King the explanation he needed to justify his future actions.

Thus, when he designated Gheorghe Tătărescu (Scurtu, 1983: 372) to create the new Government, the Sovereign wanted to create a social perception that Tătărescu's appointment was the best, if not the only solution in that context. The King's decision, however, surprised both the politicians and the common citizens. Regarding the nomination of the new leader of the Government, Constantin Argetoianu wrote in his daily notes: “It was a general stupefaction. The world was prepared for everything, but not for a Guță *redivivus*!” (Argetoianu, 2001: 227).

The Octavian Goga Government and “the war of the three roses”

The Government led by Octavian Goga was yet another example of a Cabinet that did not respect the political tradition nor the opinion of important Romanian political leaders. The result of the December 1937 elections, when none of the political parties participating in the elections reached the 40% threshold (*Electoral law* from March 26th, 1926, article 90 in the *Official Gazette* no.71 of March 27th, 1926) and

consequently could not use the major prime (*Official Gazette*, no. 301, December, 30th, 1937, Preda, 2011: 168, Radu, 2004: 45-47). Using the result as a pretext, the Sovereign imposed once more its own will regarding the appointment of the Government (Carol II, 2001: 132).

During King Carol II's reign and before that, there were various methods by which, with the Monarch's silent approval, the political party that organised the election managed to exceed that 40% threshold (Radu, 2004: 132-134). Although there is no clear evidence in this respect, however, certain information from that period suggests that Carol II preferred that no party would reach that threshold in the mentioned elections. If one objectively analyses the situation at the end of 1937 in Romania, the result of the election was indeed a very important piece regarding the establishment of the authoritarian regime.

The King, relying on that result, appointed Octavian Goga as Prime Minister, the leader of the fourth-ranked party, who had received just over 9% of the votes in the election (Scurtu & Otu, 2003: 378). An explanation of the King's decision can be found in his daily notes, where he presented the choice he had made as the only solution. Moreover, from the same journal one may find out what was the true perception of the Sovereign regarding the new Council of Ministers: "[...] it cannot be a long-lasting one, and, after that, I will be free to take more forceful measures, measures that will unleash both the country and me from the unpatriotic tyranny of the sneaky party interests" (Carol II, 2001: 134).

Moreover, the small percentage received by the Goga Government did not automatically represent a unified Cabinet; on the contrary, within the Council of Ministers there were created three groups with different political views. The controversies between those groups were described by Constantin Argetoianu as "the war of the three roses" (Argetoianu, 2002: 10).

By analysing Octavian Goga Government, as well as the previous Cabinets, one may conclude that the King sought for Government leaders that could not prevent him from imposing his own will. Whether he appointed obedient Prime Ministers, or that he chose Premieres whose political support did not give them the necessary authority to act independently of the Sovereign's will, King Carol II succeeded in limiting the involvement of strong politicians – who could have a different political view than his own – in the governmental decision-making process between 1930-1938.

The context of establishing the monarchical authority regime

The establishment of the monarchical authoritarian regime was possible by considering both external and internal reasons. In Europe, the dictatorial and expansionist tendencies of the two major extremist powers had already been put into practice. Furthermore, until 1938, most of the European states had dictatorial or authoritarian regimes (Ghițulescu, 2015: 85). Regarding Romania, I must underline a few key aspects that played an important role in creating the favourable context for the establishment of the monarchical authoritarian regime. First, in terms of social support, the legitimacy of the governing political party was rather low (reflected in the outcome of the elections from December 1937). Moreover, the King himself saw this Government as a transitional one, expressing the desire to replace it very quickly (Carol, 2001: 134).

Another favourable aspect was represented by the dissensions within the Goga Government, reflected in the forming of three groups with different point of view and with divergent directions of action (Argetoianu, 2002: 10). Moreover, the anti-Semitic

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measures, that some representatives of the Christian National Government had undertaken, worried the Western democracies – especially the United Kingdom and France (Călinescu, 1990: 365).

In January 1938 another event that disturbed the democratic process was the dissolution of the Parliament resulted from the elections from December 1937. The dissolution of the Parliament before it could be properly created and before its first meeting was a premiere in Romanian politics (Preda, 2011: 170). Moreover, at the beginning of 1938, a new electoral campaign had started, less than a month after the end of the previous electoral campaign (Argetoianu, 2002: 63, 92)

In an overview regarding the interwar Romanian political life, one can observe that the inherent struggles within the political class have been accentuated by the emergence, since the 1930s, of a new “player” – King Carol II; he found himself in a very favourable position in comparison with the other political actors, but still disadvantaged for his public position – as King of Romania.

Towards the end of the 1930s, this situation has led to a state of agitation among traditional politicians. Somehow similar to the atmosphere described by the Romanian novelist Marin Preda in one of his famous quotations, at the end of 1937 and the beginning of 1938, *the time seemed to have no patience* with Romanian politicians. Thus, most of the political leaders were ready for major changes. Unfortunately for the fate of the country, almost every political leader had his own version regarding those changes.

Thus, the political scene appeared as a multidimensional chessboard, in which the power struggle was going on in different directions. In order to highlight the complexity of this struggle, I will mention some of them: the struggle to reach the government, the struggle for the establishment of the authoritarian regime and, implicitly, the struggle to limit the influence of the political parties, the fight against the Legionary Movement, the struggle against the Royal Camarilla.

Almost every time the sides that were confronting had a different composition; this fact led, on the one hand, to the creation of many new collaborations at the end of 1937 and the beginning of 1938 and, on the other hand, a lot of the former alliances were broken. Thus, the political partnerships and collaboration attempts were diverse and bizarre. One example can be relevant – the non-aggression pact signed between Iuliu Maniu and Corneliu Zelea Codreanu (Scurtu & Otu, 2003: 374). This whole framework demonstrates the disorientation and the fragmentation of the political forces and, at the same time, the uncertainty that relied in the Romania during that short period.

The establishment of the Government led by the Patriarch Miron Cristea

Without speculating, this drifting political scene seems to have been exactly what the Sovereign wanted; under these circumstances, he was thus able to play the role of the saviour in its own script.

Working on a plan depicted by Armand Călinescu (Călinescu, 1990: 371-373), the King finalized the scenario of the coup d'état, helped not only by the Interior Minister, Armand Călinescu, but also by Gheorghe Tătărescu and Ernest Urdăreanu (Călinescu, 1990: 377). As every time he had made an important decision, the King wanted at least to leave the impression that the solution he proposed was the result of consultations with relevant policy makers. Thus, after the meetings with the Romanian political leaders (Argetoianu, 2002: 119-121), the Sovereign decided to change the

regime on February 10th, 1938; the first action was the creation of a new Council of Ministers.

Before passing to the appointment of the Government, one must take into consideration some aspects regarding the governmental structure proposed by the Sovereign. In order to do this, we need to consider the initial political premises and the main forces involved. On the one hand, one can see the authoritarian leadership trends of King Carol. Regarding the politicians, it must be noted that although many politicians were ready to join the Monarch's ideas, there were also voices that challenged his plans, the most important opponent at that moment being Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, the leader of the Legionary Movement (Călinescu, 1990: 372). In terms of social perspective, the electoral campaigns were too long and the political battles were increasing; under these circumstances, the common people preferred a change in the political background as well as the order restoration. As previously mentioned, the confusion in the political scene and the anti-Semitic measures worried the Western countries.

By analysing these elements, one can conclude that the governmental structure adopted by the King was a good solution, a compromise between what the Sovereign wanted, what he could achieve from the disputes brought by a part of the political leaders and what Romanian population and the Western countries could accept, without a strong opposition. Thus, on the evening of February 10th and on the night of February 10th-11th, Carol met at the Royal Palace all the politicians who were supposed to join his ideas of establishing the new regime (Argetoianu, 2002: 120). The proposed Government formula had a well-structured composition: the Prime Minister, the group of ministers without portfolios and the portfolio ministers.

As the President of the Council of Ministers it was appointed the Patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church – Miron Cristea, whose popularity among the Romanians was undeniable. In the positions of Ministers portfolio, Carol II named former Prime Ministers of Romania, except for Octavian Goga, Iuliu Maniu and Barbu Știrbei. Thus, as Ministers without portfolio, there were appointed Gheorghe Tătărescu, Alexandru Vaida Voevod, Alexandru Averescu, Nicolae Iorga, Constantin Angelescu, Arthur Văitoianu and G.G. Mironescu (Scurtu & Otu, 2003: 782; Scurtu & Buzatu, 1999: 343). This group within the Government formed the Patronage Committee and its unofficial leader was Gheorghe Tătărescu, as Armand Călinescu's wrote in his journal (Călinescu, 1990: 377).

As for the ministers with portfolio or "the Labor Government" (Argetoianu, 2002: 118), a concentrated formula can be described. On the one hand, in *ad interim* positions, one can find former Prime Ministers, who also held the position of State Secretary. This was a very small group formed by only two persons – Gheorghe Tătărescu, who was appointed as Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Constantin Angelescu, who was to lead the Ministry of Public Works and Communications (Scurtu & Otu, 2003: 782).

On the other hand, there were Ministers in Miron Cristea's Government, who simultaneously led two Ministries. A first example was Mircea Căncicov, who headed the Ministry of Finance and Justice. Another example was Victor Iamandi, who took over the Ministry of National Education, as well as that of Cults and Arts. In turn, General Ion Antonescu led both the Ministry of National Defence and the Ministry of Air and Marine (Scurtu & Otu, 2003: 782).

In terms of political variety, most of the members of the first Government during the authoritarian regime were politicians, mostly members or former members of

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National Liberal Party and National Peasant Party; among them – two young leaders of the traditional Romanian parties: the former NPP member Armand Călinescu and the liberal Gheorghe Tătărescu. Four of the presidents of smaller political parties have also joined the Government: Alexandru Averescu – President of the People's Party; Aleaxandru Vaida Voevod – President of the Romanian Front, Nicolae Iorga – President of the National Democratic Party and Constantin Argetoianu – President of the Agrarian Party.

Referring to the composition of the Government, I must underline that the King did not have a problem with the political parties or the politicians, but he wanted to limit or moreover eliminate the collaboration with those politicians who challenged his decisions.

After the new Council of Ministers had been named and the oath-taking ceremony had ended, a first Government meeting chaired by the King himself took place. There were several important moments in this session. Firstly, the Monarch read the statement he was about to address to the country (Argetoianu, 2002: 123-124) and attempted to justify the actions taken. An important document was adopted – the decree-law that introduced the state of siege. In the short term, the document had the task of regulating the maintenance of order in Romania and, in the long run, it had to provide the appropriate framework or, more precisely, the freedom to implement the new regime. According to this document, the maintenance of public order and the state safety become an attribution of the military authorities, which were entrusted to organize searches “anytime and anywhere”. At the same time, it was instituted the censorship of the press and any other publication and any kind of public assemblies were banned (*Official Gazette*, No. 34 from February 11th, 1938).

During the night between February 10th and 11th, 1938, the county prefects (local administrative staff) were replaced with high rank officers. It was also revoked the convocation of the electoral body. Other immediate actions aimed at strengthening the authoritarian regime were the adoption of a new Constitution on February 27th and the outlawing of traditional political parties by a law decree on March 30th, 1938 (*Official Gazette* no. March 31st, 1938). Thus, the King was able to establish the authoritarian regime with no strong reactions coming from the political forces, from public opinion or from the Western democracies.

Conclusions

From the point of view of the approach I proposed, the culmination of the formula of governing over the political parties was achieved by the appointment of the Government headed by Patriarch Miron Cristea. By governing over the political parties, Carol II managed to annihilate the influence of political opponents. More broadly, the formula of governing over the political parties can be described as *governing over the parties that did not subordinate to the Sovereign's plans*, because the King was supported by most of the Romanian political leaders.

In my opinion, when analysing how King Carol II chose to lead the country, one of his major mistakes was that he ceased to be a *mediator* between the Romanian political forces and choose to be a *player* on the political scene. The Sovereign was indeed the most important and influential actor of the Romania in the 1930s and managed to subordinate many political leaders, succeeding also to neutralize the politicians who did not accept his ideas. Unfortunately for him, in the extremely difficult context of the summer of 1940, the descent from the Romanian Throne to the political

arena made him responsible for the political problems of the country and also for the major territorial losses.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

Digital Natives Romanians Can Hardly Imagine Life without Internet

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Abstract

In the current digitalized world Romania is the land of contrasts: we are the last in Europe at digital competences but we have almost the highest connectivity speed in Europe – 2nd place (DESI, 2018). Through smart phones, Internet data consumption is growing exponentially especially among children and teenagers, but is lacking the education for a healthy and responsible usage. The EUKIDS research from spring 2018 in Romania show that 84% of children 9 – 17 years old are accessing Internet from a mobile device, 4 times more than five years ago. (Velicu, Balea, Barbovschi, 2019). Similar, the INSSE (National Institute of Statistics) research from the same period found that 9 in 10 students (97,3%) are accessing internet several times per day (Cuturela, Gheorghe, et al. 2018). The effects on children are not always positive, 33% of them reported encountering negative experiences on-line, and 50% were exposed to images with extreme violence, show the same report. In the absence of joint actions at the level of social policies and sustained educational interventions, every child, family and school are facing in a personal manner the excess technology within our society. This paper will address Romanian children's internet consumption habits reviewing the newest results of researches on teenagers and correlating them with data gathered in autumn 2018 from empirical researches within two gymnasium schools in Bucharest, children 11 – 15 years old, using quantitative and qualitative methods: a questionnaire for 250 children and individual essays on describing how they imagine future life without internet and multimedia technologies. The results are surprising, especially boys telling that they cannot imagine life without Internet. That's why this paper aims to rise an alarm signal about the importance of educating youngsters to efficient use the technology, but also to leave happily in a “free-of-technology” manner.

Keywords: *adolescence, gender, multimedia usage, internet consumption habits, internet risks & advantages.*

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Introduction

Starting from the data gathered through research at national level and beyond, and considering the rapid evolution and changes in the Internet consumption patterns of society, due to the generalized use of smart phones and mobile devices with instant internet access from anywhere, it is a known fact that younger population, aged between 11 and 18 years old, are the most active in using the new technology: 95% of American teens (13-17 years old) had a smartphone in 2018, and 45% of them were constantly online (Anderson M., Jiang J., 2018); 88% of Germans 12-13 years old already have a mobile phone in 2017 (Order, Durner, 2019); 89% of Czech children 11 – 17 years old access internet through mobile phone daily (Bedrošová, M., Hlavová, R., 2018); 89% Romanian 11 – 17 years old teens are using internet daily through a mobile phone (Velicu, Balea, Barbovski, 2019).

As anytime when major social changes have taken place, there is now a whole range of fears and new discovered risks of using on a such large scale, and from the very early age, the digital technology, especially since no one can now know exactly what influences it will have on today's native digital children, how they will evolve and how society will be transformed under the conditions of the emergence of virtual reality and artificial intelligence.

The big issue with the children and teens accessing technology and internet is its magical attraction for them, all of them being so excited and eager to stay connected as long as possible. Within the last twenty years lots of researches were made in order to identify mainly the risks of prolonged time spent in front of the screens, but the emergence of mobile smartphones, always connected to internet, a device that they own now from primary school changed even more the spectrum of risks they may be confronted with, especially because they transformed their way of spending time, the concept of playing, communication, learning and finally their entire primary socialization process. It cannot be ignored the negative effects of Internet and digital technology which are real and are already affecting children development. This became obvious in every school, where more and more the main negative effects observed are: decreased interest in school activities for those who use internet mainly for entertainment purposes, gaming and social networking (Kim, et al, 2017, Rodriguez-de-Dios, Oosten, Igartua, 2018; Lau WWF, 2016), lots of bored children without technology and increased dependence of the online time, affecting family and friendship relationships in qualitative and temporal terms (Akin, 2012, Anderson 2001, Young and Rogers, 1998, in Anderson, Steen, and Stavropoulos, 2016). As longer as the time spent online, as higher the exposure to bullying and cyber-bullying, premature sexualization, generation compression - because age differences are blurred by the acquisition or lack of digital skills that do not respect any age pattern (Levin D., Kilbourne J., 2008). More often serious problems such as anxiety, depression, isolation, social phobia or internet addiction (of games for boys and social networks for girls) appears (Kaess M, Parzer P, et al, 2016) together with a decrease in the empathic capacities of young people and an increase in impulsivity and verbal and physical violence supported in particular by the lack of direct contacts and instant messaging communication (Alter A., 2017). Parents and teachers are unequivocally prepared to cope with all these challenges, at the level of Romanian education system there is no integrated strategy for adapting the curriculum and integrate technology at large scale within the teaching process, there are no initiatives for building the literacy digital competences and children resilience, proved to

be the real key for overwhelming all these negatives sides (Livingstone, Davidson, Bryce J. et al., 2017).

In order to build a comprehensive and useful strategy to develop the digital literacy skills and competences needed for success in the future technologized society it is helpful to know exactly the actual situation, what and when are doing children and teenagers with technology, what are their believes, attitudes and opinions, their aptitudes and competences related with technology and internet usage. Through secondary analyses of national studies correlated with local data gathered through empirical studies, this paper aims to reveal the actual consumption habits, risk and advantages of Romanian teenagers online, which can guide the forward needed actions to be implemented.

In order to avoid misunderstandings, the following terms will be used as explained below:

- Internet – the online, virtual environment and everything can be made on World Wide Web, from playing to access and produce information and social network communication, through all the devices can access it, smart mobile phones, tablets, laptops or desktops. (DiMaggio, Hargittai, Neuman, Robinson, 2001).
- Multimedia – the mix of media communication – text, images, sounds, graphics, animations – that can be send, received or accessed through internet, using mobile devices, meaning any hand-held device that is permanently connected to the internet, as smartphones, tablets or laptops, allowing its user to “communicate with others, access information of choice, connect to others and information, collaborate with peers online, construct information and deliverables” (Robinson, Reinhart, 2014: 15). New concepts, as “transmedia” were created and used in order to better describe the complex activities of producing, reproducing and changing, sending and receiving content using platforms like Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat (Scolari, 2018), also being used in the discussions about “transmedia competences” (Pratten, 2011) that should be developed to these “digital natives” children, in order to minimize their exposure to online risks.
- Digital natives – one of the names given to the generations born after 1997 because they grow up surrounded by the internet and digital technologies that emerged in society, and they are „all native speakers” of the digital language of computers, video games and the Internet” (Prensky, 2001). They are also called “generation Z” (Dimock, 2019: 1) within large researches realized on US generations by Pew Research Center, showing the distinctive characteristics of these generation versus the “Millennials” – the generations born between 1981 – 1996 – who lived also before the expansion of technology. “Social media, constant connectivity and on-demand entertainment and communication are innovations Millennials adapted to as they came of age, but for those born after 1996, these are largely assumed.”(Dimock, 2019: 5) The researches show a tremendous change in their behavior, attitudes and competences bringing positive and negatives aspects, but no one can predict how these changes will evolve and how will shape their adulthood and finally, the entire social life.
- Digital competences – as defined within the EU digital development strategy, “digital competences 2.0.” refers to the set of attitudes, aptitudes and knowledges operationalized in 5 dimensions, measurable and achievable: capacity “to use data and information”, “to communicate and cooperate”, “to

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create digital content”, “online safety” and “problem-solving capacities” (Digicomp 2.0., 2016). As researches have shown it is of tremendous importance to build these types of competences to everyone, but especially to children and teens, in order to offer them the tools to be safe online (Velicu, Balea, Barbovschi, 2019).

Romanian children and teenagers online – national researches results

During the year 2018 in Romania were conducted different national representatives’ researches, some of them longitudinal studies, that offer a complex view over the Romanians internet consumption habits, revealing new trends, attitudes, risks and advantages that can lead to better actions in order to find solutions for advancing our country from the last position between EU countries regarding internet and digitalization. It will be compared data from: The Digital Economy and Society Index (DESI 2018) – annual European research that calculate a “composite index that summarizes relevant indicators on Europe’s digital performance and tracks the evolution of EU member states in digital competitiveness”; EUKIDS 2018 report about Romanian children – from EUKIDS Online, a „multinational research network that seeks to enhance knowledge of European children's online opportunities, risks and safety” (Velicu, Balea, Barbovschi, 2019: 1).

The same research methodology is used within all the Europeans countries, in Romania it was applied in 2013-2014 and again in 2018, revealing new representative data about Romanian digital natives (Velicu, Balea, Barbovschi, 2019); Romanian National Institute of Statistics (INSSE) research conducted in 2018 - “Population access to information and communication technology 2018” offering representative and valuable data regarding general population internet and technology consumption habits (Cuturela, Gheorghe, et al., 2018).

These recent national representatives’ studies about internet connectivity in Romania show an outstanding performance regarding fast and ultra-fast broadband: 53% of homes were connected in 2018, compared with EU average of 33% homes, and there were three times more subscriptions to ultra-fast broadband, than in EU – 43,8% in Romania, compared with 15,4% average in Europe (DESI 2018). These dates are confirmed and improved by the INSSE study on “Population access to information and communication technology” in 2018, showing that 72,4% Romanian households have an internet subscription, the majority being those with children - 93,5%, of those, all of them having internet access from home (Cuturela, Gheorghe, et al., 2018). So, there is no surprise that 84% of children and teens 9 – 17 years old are accessing internet daily from a mobile phone, 39% also from a computer or laptop, and 19% from a tablet. (Velicu, Balea, Barbovschi, 2019).

Some local particularities shouldn’t be ignored: in Romania there are big differences between rural and urban connectivity, the large share of fiber deployment is especially urbanized (DESI 2018); children usage of internet through multiple devices increase by age and different digital divides occur, limiting the acquiring of equal digital competences, due to: high costs of devices, those with no access to a computer at home are disadvantaged, high cost of the internet access or poor internet signal quality in some areas limit for some of them the online experiences (Velicu, Balea, Barbovschi, 2019).

The same EUKIDS 2018 research show that the main reasons for online activities of the children 9 – 17 years old are entertainment and communication: daily, 79% of them watching video-clips, 78% listen to the music and communicate with

friends and families through social media, 61% play on-line games, and 50% visit a social media network. There are differences according with age, around 50% of teens over 13 years old are using also internet daily for homework, products searching, talking with friends from other countries. It is interesting that the younger ones are using two times more the internet for producing and creating video/audio content (12% - 9-12 years old., versus 7,5% - 13-17 years old) (Velicu, Balea, Barbovski, 2019).

These results are compatible and consistent with those from INSSE 2018, showing for students 16-24 years old that the main activity on internet is accessing a social network - 95,4%, followed by music listening - 76,7%, using email - 75,7%, online gaming - 61,5% and searching products - 55,8% (Cuturela A., Gheorghe A.M., et al. 2018). The same preoccupation for accessing social networks can be observed in DESI 2018 data, Romanians being on 4th place in Europe on “using internet for social network activities”, but on the last place regarding online shopping, banking, music, videos, games or news searching. (DESI 2018).

Regarding digital competences, Romania is on the last place in Europe, with the lowest percentage of population using internet and having at least basic digital skills, but the children and teens situation is not as bad. The EUKIDS 2018 report show that children 9-17 y.o. rank 8.5 out of 10, regarding instrumental literacy (knowing to save photos, change privacy settings, etc.); 7.7 points for information management competences (verifying source and validity of information, searching over key words); 9,1 points for social competences (knowing what to share or not, how to block someone); 8.3 points for mobile smartphones usage (searching and installing applications and controlling costs or buying apps); the less developed competence is creativity, 7.6 being the score, for creating and sharing images or movies and knowing how to modify some images or movies created by others. As a conclusion, EUKIDS 2018 report show general high developed literacy digital competences for children and teenagers 9 – 17 years old, a total score of 8.1 out of 10, especially due to their high access and increased usage of internet and smartphones (Velicu, Balea, Barbovski, 2019).

Taking into consideration all these, it is obvious that Romanian children and teenagers are high users of internet technology and smartphones, meaning they are benefiting from all the advantages offered by world wide web, but also are highly exposed to the inherent online risks. The main negatives consequences of high connectivity for Romanian children, as exposed in EUKIDS 2018 research are: 34% of them, boys and girls alike, said they have experienced negative situations online, a percentage that grow with age, but they did not know how to react, because only 40% of them talked with a friend, or with their parents and 18% didn't talk with everyone. Bullying and cyberbullying are very common, 32% of them being victims, with the highest percentage for those of 13-14 years old – 37%, and 40% of them declaring that were affected and very affected by this situation. A total of 21% admitted that have been the aggressor, the bully, many more boys as girls – 26% versus 16%, and 34% of them were witnesses, with high percentage for those of 15-17 years old, 45% of them witnessing a bullying or cyberbullying situation. Others major risks confronting Romanian children and teens are: exposure to violent and negative content – around 40%, cyberhate – 32%, but 52% for those of 15-17 years old, sexting 24%, but exposure to images with sexual content 39%, with 67% for those of 15-17 years old. Also, it should be remarked high prevalence for meetings with strangers known on internet,

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60%, but for 81% of them this was a positive experience, being happy about it (Velicu, Balea, Barbovschi, 2019).

As a conclusion, the Romanian children are confronted with risks and unwanted situations online, as the children worldwide, more interesting and notable being the adult's responses to these, parents and teachers being not always prepared to mediate online risks. As EUKIDS 2018 reveal, only 26% children asked for their parents help for problematic online situations, but 47% said that they helped their parents with different internet issues – inverse mediation. Regarding the parental mediation, it is a process that decreases with children's age, the main forms used being the usage of parental apps – 24%, geolocation apps – 22%, or other filters and apps to block children access to inappropriate content-21% (Velicu, Balea, Barbovschi, 2019). From school part, only 30% children say they've been advised or helped by a teacher when they didn't know how to solve an online situation, generally schools being involved in a restrictive mediation of mobile technology usage, just trying to impose rules for not use them and disturb the classes. It can be summarized that is a low implication of representatives' adults in Romanian's children digital life, fact that contributes to increasing online risks encountered and to an uneven distribution of digital competences among them. Unfortunately, at this moment there is no strategy at the level of educational system to implement courses for development children digital competences, even Romania is engaged in implementing until 2020 “Digital Education Action Plan” as established for European Union countries.

As a result, in Romania the use of mobile devices produces only learning on “informal level”, depending only of each person desire, capacity and chance to meet a specialized teacher or to self-online-media-literacy, resulting a “second level digital divide” (Reinhart, Thomas, Toriskie, 2011).

Methodology

Taking into consideration the above-mentioned research results, a local research was conducted, an exploratory study that aims to go further, to question children opinions about the influence of internet and technology in their life, using quantitative and qualitative methods. Because of the lack of governmental policies and strategies regarding the development of children digital competences in schools, and because of the informal characteristic of children online activities this study aims to find the children opinions and believes regarding the good and worst that internet brings in their lives, if they are aware that there are also disadvantages on the magical online virtual world.

The research was conducted in September – December 2018 in two gymnasium schools, with 250 pupils 5th to 8th grades, ages 11 – 15 years, from middle Bucharest in two phases: first it was used an auto-applied questionnaire, regarding their online habits, parenting mediation tactics and also some prospective questions for 250 children, 11 – 15 years old from both schools. Then, in order to better understand their opinions and to give them the chance to express their feelings and thoughts, the pupils were asked to write an essay regarding their life with or without internet. Participants characteristics are described in Table 1.

Table 1: Respondents by age & gender

Percentage of children (N = 250)	Total		5 th - 6 th grade (11 - 13 y.o.)		7 th grade (13 - 14 y.o.)		8 th grade (14 - 15 y.o.)	
	Girls	Boys	Total		Total		Total	
	53%	47%	30%		33%		37%	
			Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
		57%	43%	50%	50%	55%	45%	

Source: Author's own compilation

Results of empirical local study

The quantitative research did not offer many surprises regarding internet and smartphones usage habits, the questioned children have generally the same habits as the national researches show: children from both schools, boys and girls alike are using especially mobile phones for accessing internet, especially for entertainment purposes (social networking, music and movies watching and sharing, gaming) and also for doing homework. The answers that were out of ordinary and will be further discussed are those related to prospective questions and parental mediation of technology usage.

Prospective questions like “can you imagine life without internet & digital technologies?” and “how much time can you stay without internet connection?” were included in order to measure how deep is the digital magical attraction and the addiction of using internet. The results show that almost half of them (48%) cannot imagine life without internet, the percentage decreasing only for girls in 7th - 8th grades to 37% - 38%. There aren't big gender differences, but is interesting to observe that according with age, slightly decrease the number of girls who cannot imagine life without internet, opposite with the boy's answers, where the percentages are increasing with age, finally, more boys than girls could not imagine life without internet (52% boys versus 44% girls) (Table 2).

**Table 2: “Can you imagine life without internet?
(yes / no, N = 250 pupils, girls = 135; boys = 115)**

	5 th - 6 th grade (11 - 13 y.o.)		7 th grade (13 - 14 y.o.)		8 th grade (14 - 15 y.o.)		TOTAL	
	yes	No	yes	No	yes	no	yes	No
Girls	46%	54%	63%	37%	62%	38%	56%	44%
Boys	55%	45%	46%	54%	43%	57%	48%	52%
TOTAL	50%	50%	53%	47%	52%	48%	52%	48%

Source: Author's own compilation

In order to complete the picture, another question asked them “how long they can resist without being connected: not at all, one day, one week or a month and more”. The answers are consistent with the previous question, only 35% of all pupils answering that can live one month or more without connectivity, and 25% of them answered one day and 8% of them answering that they cannot live without being online. It is notable the decrease with age of those who answer that cannot resist without internet at all, from 15% of 5th-6th grades, to 0% of 8th grades, probably due to experiences and the process

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of children maturing. Also, because it's a common penalty used by parents to prohibit for few days to one week use of technology for children, this may be the reason for this answer to be the highest frequent for all categorize, especially for girls. (Table 3).

Table 3: “How long can you resist without being connected to internet? a) Not at all; b) one day; c) one week; d) one month or more” (N = 250)

	5 th - 6 th grade (11 - 13 y.o.)				7 th grade (13 - 14 y.o.)				8 th grade (14 - 15 y.o.)				TOTAL			
	%				%				%				%			
	A	B	C	d	a	B	c	D	A	b	C	d	a	b	c	d
girls	15	31	29	25	9	22	25	44	0	23	40	37	8	25	31	35
boys	15	25	30	30	8	17	35	40	0	29	36	35	8	24	34	35
TOTAL	15	28	30	28	9	20	30	42	0	26	38	36	8	25	33	35

Source: Author's own compilation

Because these opinions are strong related with the life experiences and time spent by children online, these being affected by the family's internet and technologies using habits and parental mediation of children using internet and devices, the above-mentioned results were corelated with those on the question: “Does your parents control or have ever controlled your access to internet or to some specific web sites?” Almost 75% of children 5th and 6th grades and 87% of those from 8th grades answered that their parents did not control them and did not intervein in their online activities. They consider that main reasons for this “freedom” is either because their parents trust them, either their parents do not have the knowledge to do it. Few of them – 17% of 5th – 6th grades and 9% of 8th grades – answered that their parents control them, but still do not know what they are really doing online, and, the smallest part of children have parenting control application installed on their devices, especially girls, the percentages decreasing when age raise (Table 4). These results are in line with the national representatives' study's conclusions, showing that parental mediation regarding digital technologies and internet usage is low and decrease when children grow: the girls are more “controlled” by the parents, but for boys, the parental control decrease to 0 in 8th grade, showing that the social bias regarding boys being more skilled with devices and more saved for risks preserved, even the statistics show there are no differences between girls and boys regarding digital competences and exposure to risks (Velicu, Balea, Barbovschi, 2019).

Table 4: “Does your parents control access to some web pages or apps? a. never; b. my parents are not good at devices, so no; c. they are not interested, they trust me; d. sometimes yes, but they do not know what I am doing online; e. yes, I have parental control app active on my devices” (N = 250).

	5 th - 6 th grade (11-13 y.o.)			7 th grade (13-14 y.o.)			8 th grade (14-15 y.o.)			TOTAL (11-15 y.o.)		
	%			%			%			%		
	a,b,c,	d	e	a,b,c,	d	E	a,b,c,	d	e	a,b,c,	d	e
girls	73	19	8	72	15	13	88	4	8	78	12	10
boys	75	15	10	88	9	3	86	14	0	83	13	4
TOTAL	74	17	9	80	12	8	87	9	4	80	13	7

Source: Author's own compilation

To better understand children's opinions regarding their digitalized childhood, a qualitative method was used: half of the children wrote an essay about how would be their life without internet and technologies and the other half wrote about how is their digitized connected life, in both cases the essay should refer to: time spent online, entertainment activities, peers' relationships, family life and school climate. The content analyses of their answers show for those who had to imagine life without internet that: only 4% of them refused to make an imaginative exercise, writing that "they cannot imagine life without internet", while more than 80% of them mentioned that without technology they would have more time to go out in the nature, to make sports, to meet and play face-to-face with their friends, 28% of them mentioning that they will not feel alone anymore; 46% of them said they will have time to read, to draw or discover different hobbies; 23% of them believe that they would have better results in school, because "will have more time for exercising and doing homework, but sometimes, it will be harder because they do not have easy access to necessary information, as through internet"; regarding the relationships with their families, almost 40% of them said that will be improved, and will talk more with each other, but regarding educational process all agreed there will be no changes, because technology is not so used in school for teaching purposes.

"I know that internet is not good for my health, but it is part of my life. I resisted without it 2 days, but it wasn't ok, I missed the contact with my friends. If there were no internet, I would play outside, I would invented things." – Girl, 12 years old

"My life without internet would be boring, this is how I am used. Without it, I would learn by reading books." – Girl, 13 years old

"Internet get me addicted. I am hypnotized by it. The worst experience with it is that I argued hard with my mom." – Girl, 14 years old

"Without internet, I think I will learn better for school, I will talk more with my parents, because they cannot stay without smartphones. I would draw and read a lot." – Boy, 13 years old

For the others, who should write about their life with internet, it is important to mention that almost half of them believe that internet consume their time, but more than 70% believe that internet help them to learn lots of new things and to be connected with their friends; 37% of them said that their parents impose them rules for time spent on internet, but 28% said they have no such rules; 56% of them mentioned that their parents are not so good as them in using technology, frequently asking children's help; more than 75% mentioned that technology is just occasionally used for teaching, and it will be better to be used more often, because they will learn easier. It is important to mention that children were delighted and excited to write about this subject and there are no remarkable differences regarding age or gender, all of them proving an increased level of understanding advantages and disadvantages of technologies and internet in their lives.

"Internet is my friend, because I learn new things, make new friends and we share our best moments." – Boy, 11 years old

"Internet helps me with the things I do not know, and when I have to do a project for school. My teachers do not use technology for teaching purposes, but sometimes they use it". – Girl, 12 years old

"My parents know and agree with me being online, they do not impose me rules, but they use it even more than I do it, but they do not handle better than me the technic issues on internet" – Boy, 15 years old

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Conclusions

As the national representatives' studies show and the local research conclude, in Romania children are using digital technology a lot, but the parents and teachers are not mediated enough and efficient their consumption behavior. The autonomous children are learning informal, by trying, researching and more from one-another, without adults' supervision in virtual world, so they interiorize a personalized conception about life in a technologized world, believing that it cannot be other way as it is now: all they are doing is related and helped by the internet technology, from relationships with family and friends, to school and homework, to play and spending free time. Even some of them are aware that not everything is good online and excessive use can be harmful, the digital natives Romanians are influenced by their peer and parental model and cannot oppose to the magical attraction of virtual world.

Even this local study is limited to 250 respondents from two schools, since between children is a high homogeneity regarding their activities and beliefs, the percentage of 50% children who cannot imagine life without technology and internet corelated with 66% children believing that cannot resist without internet more than one week are high and at least dangerous, taking into consideration that none of this technologized reality existed 30 years ago. So, near the duty to better prepare adults, parents and teachers to mediate children internet usage habits and to find ways to formally educate children digital competences to keep them safe from risks, it is equally important to prepare our children to live in a world without technology, so they be really prepared for the future. As important to build children and teens transmedia competences is also to build their competences to spent time without technologies, to fully experience life also un-connected, to understand that technology is just a tool for raising our quality of life only when we choose to use it. The lack of general policy and educational strategy regarding development digital natives' transmedia competences could lead to dangerous digital divides between who is and who is not online connected, but also between who can and who cannot easily adapt to a non-technologized life, with unpredictable consequences to the social order.

Taking into consideration all these studies results, even limited, new issue that should be furthermore studied are raising regarding digital native generations lifestyle and believes. If half of them, boys more than girls, cannot imagine life without internet it should be raising concerns for parents and teachers, meaning their influence is low and the socialization process become more mediated by technologies, than by adults, human beings caring and loving. The rapidly technological advances created specially to magically stimulate the senses are immediately adopted by children within their digital habits, modelling their lifestyle. Further in-depth researches are needed to carefully study and understand all these in order to take the right measures to equilibrate children development and to prevent the raise of high digital divides between generations and those who are high-digital connected and those who aren't.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

The Regulatory Framework of International Arbitration

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Abstract

In the field of international arbitration, several international conventions have been adopted, establishing uniform rules of law in order to promote international arbitration and to facilitate the implementation of arbitral awards. International arbitration is also governed by various bilateral treaties, which contain provisions on international arbitration (eg bilateral investment treaties, investment protection agreements, trade and navigation treaties, etc.). Finally, useful international arbitration rules are contained in the International Commercial Arbitration Rules of the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law adopted by the UN General Assembly. In Romanian law, procedural aspects of international arbitration are regulated by the Code of Civil Procedure in Book VII (“The international arbitration process”), Title IV (“International arbitration and the effects of foreign arbitral awards”), Chapter I, which is dedicated exclusively to the international arbitration process and Chapter II, dealing with the regulation of the effects of foreign arbitral awards. All these regulations constitute a major advantage for the participants in international trade, which, together with other such advantages, makes them insert clauses for assigning the jurisdiction of the arbitration courts in the contracts that they conclude.

Keywords: *international arbitration; international conventions; bilateral treaties; uniform law; arbitral award; assigning jurisdiction; arbitration court.*

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1. National arbitration and international arbitration

The legal doctrine distinguishes between national (internal) arbitration and international (foreign) arbitration, with more opinions.

a) Thus, in one opinion (Căpășină, Ștefănescu, 1985: 216), a distinction must be made between national arbitration and foreign arbitration. In the case of a distinction between national arbitration and foreign arbitration, the criterion to be used is that of the place where the jurisdictional body is based (the international character of the litigation is presumed). If the headquarters is located in the country, arbitration is national (internal) in nature; otherwise, arbitration is foreign. This territorial criterion is adopted by some international conventions. Thus, the Convention on the Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Arbitral Awards, New York, 1958, mainly uses the criterion of the place where the arbitration is conducted, and secondly, the criterion of the law governing arbitration.

The 1958 New York Convention defines as foreign the arbitral award given on the territory of a state other than the one where recognition and enforcement is required (art. 1). At the same time, it also establishes a subsidiary criterion for the qualification of an arbitral award as foreign, considering as foreign the arbitral award which is not considered a national award in the state where its recognition and enforcement is required. This qualification of the arbitral award took into account that not all states accept the objective criterion of the place of arbitration in order to determine the nationality of an arbitral award, but some legislations identify the nationality of the decision given according to the applicable legal system (for example, a national law considers that the arbitral awards pronounced outside the territory of that state are foreign, as well as the awards given on the territory of that state, but on the basis of a foreign procedural law).

b) in a different opinion, a distinction must be made between national and international arbitration. In the case of this distinction, the criterion of the place of arbitration should also be used, with regard to arbitration as a jurisdictional body (Deleanu, Deleanu, 2005: 311). In this opinion, arbitration has an international character if it meets a series of requirements meant to give it an autonomous character toward the national structures, ie its headquarters (such as: plurinational composition of the panel of arbitrators, thus accepting arbitrators with foreign citizenship and the possibility of subjecting the arbitral procedure to a foreign law agreed by the litigants, the vocation to hold debates in any place in the world, etc.). At present, these requirements are mainly met by the arbitration of the International Commercial Arbitration Court of the Paris International Chamber of Commerce (The International Chamber of Commerce located in Paris – ICC, is an association of economic institutions from different countries, established in 1920, as a result of the decision adopted at the International Trade Conference in Atlantic City in 1919 to promote trade between the respective countries. Its members are legal persons such as institutions, corporations, commercial, industrial, financial companies and natural persons with economic concerns. In addition to the ICC there are two independent organizations: a) the International Commercial Arbitration Court; b) the International Jury of Advertising Practices and 3 associated international organizations: the Inter-American Council for Trade and Production, the Bureau International des Containers and the International Employers' Organization. The Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Romania is affiliated to the International Chamber of Commerce, based in Paris, known under the acronym of ICC).

c) Lastly, in a different opinion (Costin, Deleanu, 1994: 151), this distinction must be based on the character of the relations which make the object of the dispute: (i) national arbitration has jurisdiction to settle disputes on the legal relations established between the parties which are part of the legal order of a single state; (ii) international arbitration aims at the settlement of disputes arising out of international trade law relations, relations containing foreign elements (such as the domicile or headquarters of the parties, the place of the conclusion of the contract, the place of performance of the contract) giving them international character. Under the Romanian law, an arbitral litigation in Romania is considered international if it was determined by a private law relation with a foreign element (art. 1111 par. 1 of the Civil Procedure Code). Similarly, the 1961 Geneva Convention stipulates that its provisions apply to arbitration agreements concluded for the settlement of disputes which arose or will arise out of international commercial transactions between natural or legal persons who, at the time of the conclusion of the arbitration agreement, had their regular residence or headquarters in different contracting states (art. I, par. 1, letter a).

2. The regulatory framework of international arbitration in Romanian law.

International arbitration was regulated by the Romanian legislature in the Civil Procedure Code, Book VII (“The International Arbitration Process”), Title IV (“International Arbitration and the Effects of Foreign Arbitral Awards”) Chapter I, being exclusively devoted to international arbitration proceedings, and Chapter II being dedicated to the regulation of the effects of foreign arbitral awards. This option of the Romanian legislature, from the point of view of the legislative systematization, had as a premise the idea that “the international arbitral litigation is a variant of the international civil lawsuit” (Bobei, 2013: 235). As noted in the doctrine, the alternative to this option was to regulate international arbitration in Book IV (“On Arbitration”) or in a normative act distinct from the Civil Procedure Code. The regulation of international arbitration in the Romanian Civil Procedure Code is structured as follows: Chapter I (“The International Arbitration Process”) contains 13 articles with the following titles: Qualification and scope. The arbitrability of the dispute. The arbitration agreement. The arbitral tribunal. Arbitral proceedings. Language of the procedure. Provisional and protective measures. Administration of evidence. Jurisdiction of the arbitral tribunal. Applicable law. Arbitral award. Arbitral costs. Subsidiary application rules. Chapter II (“Effects of Foreign Arbitral Awards”) contains 10 articles with the following titles: Qualification. Effectiveness. Competent court. Application. Documents attached to the application. Grounds for refusal of recognition or enforcement. Suspension of the trial. Trial. Probative force. Examination of the merits of the case.

3. Regulation of international arbitration by international conventions

In the field of international arbitration, several international conventions have been adopted, establishing uniform rules of law with a view to promoting international arbitration and facilitating the enforcement of arbitral awards. The following international conventions have received or receive incidence in the international arbitration activity in Romania (Dicționar diplomatic, 1979: 280 et seq.; Ștefănescu, Rucăreanu, 1983: 130-132; Dicționar de relații economice internaționale, 1993: 201 et seq.):

- The 1923 Geneva Protocol on Arbitration Clauses;
- The 1927 Geneva Convention on the Execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards;

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- The 1958 New York Convention on the Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Arbitral Awards;
- The European Convention on International Commercial Arbitration, concluded in Geneva on 21 April 1961;
- The Convention on the Settlement of Investment Disputes between States and Nationals of Other States, adopted in Washington on 18 March 1965.

International arbitration is also governed by various bilateral or multilateral treaties, which also contain provisions on international arbitration (eg bilateral investment treaties, investment protection agreements, trade and navigation treaties, etc.).

Finally, the International Commercial Arbitration Rules of the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law (commonly referred to as the UNCITRAL Arbitration Rules) adopted by the UN General Assembly, which started from the premise that there must be an administrative authority competent to designate the arbitrator instead of the party who refuses to do so, to decide on claims for challenging, etc, so that ad hoc arbitration would have genuine independence from the courts. [The United Nations Commission on International Trade Law - UNCITRAL, the UN General Assembly body, based in Vienna, created by Resolution 2205 of 1966, has an essential role in the process of unifying international trade law. The purpose of this committee is: a) to coordinate the activities of organizations dealing with the harmonization and unification of private law rules, therefore the rules of international trade law, such as the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law - UNIDROIT; b) to facilitate the widest possible participation of states in existing international conventions and the acceptance of standard laws and uniform laws; c) to develop new international conventions, new standard laws and uniform laws and to encourage the codification and acceptance as widely as possible of terms, rules, customs and practices of international trade; d) to seek ways to ensure uniform interpretation and application of international conventions and uniform laws in the field of international trade law; e) to collect and disseminate information on national laws and modern legal developments, including those of case law, in the field of international trade law; f) to establish and maintain close cooperation with the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development - UNCTAD, the UN General Assembly specialized permanent body, based in Geneva, established on 30 December 1964, and to ensure the relation with other international organizations dealing with the progressive harmonization and unification of international trade law (Dictionar diplomatic, 1979: 220).

In order to standardize and unify international trade customs, UNCITRAL has adopted conventions in various fields, such as: the Convention on the Limitation Period in the International Sale of Goods, New York, 1974; the Convention on the Carriage of Goods by Sea, Hamburg, 1978; the Convention on Contracts for the International Sale of Goods, Vienna, 1980; the International Commercial Arbitration Rules, as recommended by the UN General Assembly, were also adopted. EEC- UNO developed projects for major international trade conventions such as: the Customs Convention on the International Transport of Goods under Cover of TIR Carnets, Geneva, 1959, the European Convention on International Commercial Arbitration, Geneva, 1961, the Convention concerning International Carriage by Rail – COTIF, signed in Bern in 1980, the Convention on the Contract for the International Carriage of Goods by Road - CMR, concluded in Geneva in 1956.

Considering the importance of international commercial arbitration, UNCITRAL approved the revised text of the UNCITRAL Arbitration Rules, published on 12 July 2010, which entered into force on 15 August 2010; the UN General Assembly also adopted the UNCITRAL Arbitration Resolution on 15 December 1976 and amended on 6 December 2010].

A. The 1923 Geneva Protocol on Arbitration Clauses. It was adopted within the League of Nations. Romania became part of the Protocol in 1925 (Official Gazette no. 69 of 21 March 1925). The states parties to this Protocol undertake to recognize the validity of the arbitration agreement by which the parties to a contract (concluded in any matter subject to arbitration) agree that any disputes arising from the contract concluded by them shall be subject to arbitration, even if it took place on the territory of a state other than that whose jurisdiction applies to one of the parties to the contract. The arbitration procedure and the establishment of the arbitral panel are subject to the will of the parties and the law of the state where the arbitration is held. The states parties to the Protocol also undertake to ensure, through legislative provisions, the enforcement of awards given on their territory.

B. The 1927 Geneva Convention on the Execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards. It was also adopted within the League of Nations, being open to ratification or accession only to the states parties to the 1923 Protocol. Romania ratified this Convention in 1931 (Official Gazette no. 71 of 26 March 1931). Under this Convention, the states parties undertake to recognize and enforce on their territory foreign arbitral awards pronounced on the territory of a state party to the Convention provided that such an award is not contrary to public order or to the principles of public law in the country where it was invoked.

C. The 1958 New York Convention on the Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Arbitral Awards. It was adopted within UNO (after a project developed by the Economic and Social Council of UNO (ECOSOC), ECOSOC deals with international economic and social cooperation).

Romania signed this Convention in 1961, subject only to contractual or non-contractual legal relations that are considered commercial in its legislation. By a further reservation it stated that it would also apply this Convention in the relations with non-contracting states to the Convention, but on the basis of reciprocity established by agreement between the parties (Decree no. 186/1961, published in the Official Bull. no.19 of 24 July 1961).

The 1958 New York Convention on the Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Arbitral Awards was signed and ratified by most states in the world.

This Convention refers to the recognition and enforcement of foreign arbitral awards, ie pronounced on the territory of a state other than that in which recognition or enforcement is required (objective criterion), or which are not considered to be national in the latter state (subjective criterion), whether the state on whose territory the award was pronounced is or is not a party to the Convention; this provision meant progress as compared with the 1927 Geneva Convention, which provided for the foreign award that was to be enforced, to have been pronounced on the territory of a state party to the Convention.

The Convention allows states to make reserves at the time of accession, to the effect that the Convention applies only to awards given on the territory of another contracting state (art. I, par. 3).

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By arbitral awards, the New York Convention means both the awards given by ad hoc arbitrations and the awards given by institutionalized arbitrations; therefore, the Convention marks the equality of awards rendered by ad hoc arbitrations and those given by institutionalized arbitrations, implicitly recognizing permanent arbitrations as a way of settling international trade disputes (art. I, par. 1 and 2).

As to the form of the arbitration agreement, the contracting states recognize only that arbitration agreement which is concluded in written form. "Written agreement" means not only the compromissory clause inserted in a contract or a compromise signed by the parties, but also the arbitration agreement contained in an exchange of letters or telegrams (art. II, par. 2).

Note that the provisions of Romanian law are in line with those of the New York Convention; thus, pursuant to art. 1113 of the Civil Procedure Code, in international arbitration, the arbitration agreement is validly concluded only in written form; the requirement of the written form is met if it can be proved by means of a document, telegram, telex, telecopier, e-mail or any other means of communication enabling it to be established by means of a text.

Under the Convention, if the parties have entered into an arbitration agreement, the court of a contracting state to which the dispute has been brought has the obligation to direct the parties to arbitration, at the request of either of them. This obligation ceases to exist when the arbitration agreement is obsolete, inoperative or unenforceable (art. II, par. 3).

In order to recognize the authority of a foreign arbitral award and to enforce it, the party concerned must submit with the application the following documents: a) the duly authenticated original award or a copy of the original award meeting the conditions required for its authenticity; and b) the original arbitration agreement or a copy of the original one meeting the conditions required for its authenticity. If these documents are not written in an original language of the country where the award is invoked, the party requesting the recognition and enforcement of the award is obliged to ensure their translation by an official translator, sworn translator or diplomatic or consular agent (art. IV).

In accordance with the Convention, the contracting states recognize the authority of an award given under an arbitration agreement and undertake to ensure the enforcement of the award in compliance with the procedural rules of the state where the award is invoked, as provided by the Convention.

For the recognition or enforcement of foreign arbitral awards to which the provisions of the Convention apply, there should be no imposition of more rigorous conditions or higher court fees than those required for the recognition or enforcement of national arbitral awards (art. III).

The New York Convention established the presumption of regularity of the foreign arbitral award. Therefore, the recognition or enforcement of a foreign arbitral award may be refused only if the party against whom it is invoked can prove one of the grounds provided in art. V par. 1 of the Convention, namely:

- a) the lack of capacity of the parties to the arbitration agreement;
- b) the invalidity of the Convention under the law to which the parties have subordinated or, failing that, by virtue of the law of the country where the award was given (subsidiary criterion);
- c) the breach of the right of defense of the party against whom the award is invoked as a result of the fact that the party against whom the award is invoked was not properly

informed of the appointment of the arbitrators or the arbitration procedure or it was impossible, for another reason, to use his defense means;

d) the settlement by an award of claims not foreseen in the arbitration agreement; that is, the arbitral award relates to a dispute not mentioned in the compromise or which does not fall under the provisions of the compromissory clause or contains solutions that go beyond the provisions of the compromise or the compromissory clause; however, if the provisions of the award relating to the matters subject to arbitration may be disjoined from those relating to matters not subject to arbitration, the former may be recognized and enforced;

e) the establishment of an arbitral tribunal or arbitration procedure that do not comply with those agreed by the parties or, in the absence of an agreement, it was not in compliance with the law of the country in which the arbitration took place; it should be noted that the New York Convention enshrined the *lex voluntatis* principle in determining the law governing the validity of the arbitration agreement in the sense that this agreement must be valid under the law chosen by the parties and, in the absence of the parties' choice, under the law of the country on the territory of which the award was pronounced (art. V, point 1, letter d). The litigant parties may provide both the way of establishing the arbitral court and the arbitral procedure, and the law where the arbitration takes place applies in the silence of the parties;

f) the award has not yet become binding on the parties or has been annulled or suspended by a competent authority of the country in which the award was given or by the law under which the award was given.

For these reasons, which can be raised by the party against whom the arbitral award is invoked, the Convention adds two more reasons, which can be invoked *ex officio* by the court in charge of the application for recognition and enforcement (art. V, par. 2):

a) in accordance with the law of the country on the territory of which the award is to be enforced, the object of the dispute is not likely to be settled by arbitration;

b) the recognition or enforcement of the arbitral award would be contrary to public order in the requested state.

In Romanian law, too, the recognition or enforcement of a foreign arbitral award may be refused by the competent court for identical reasons. Thus, pursuant to art. 1129 of the Civil Procedure Code, the recognition or enforcement of a foreign arbitral award shall be dismissed by the court only if the party against whom the award is invoked proves that one of the following circumstances exists:

a) the parties did not have the capacity to conclude the arbitration agreement under the law applicable to them, established under the law of the state where the award was given;

b) the arbitration agreement was not valid under the law to which the parties subjected it or, failing that, under the law of the state in which the arbitral award was given;

c) the party against whom the award is invoked has not been properly informed of the appointment of the arbitrators or of the arbitral procedure or has been unable to use his own defense in the arbitral process;

d) the establishment of the arbitral court or the arbitral procedure was not in accordance with the parties' agreement or, in the absence of such an agreement, with the law of the place where the arbitration took place;

e) the award concerns a dispute that was unforeseen in the arbitration agreement or beyond the limits set by it, or contains provisions that exceed the terms of the arbitration

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agreement. However, if the provisions of the award which regard matters subject to arbitration may be separated from those on issues not subject to arbitration, the former may be recognized and declared enforceable;

f) the arbitral award has not yet become binding on the parties or has been annulled or suspended by a competent authority in the state in which or under the law of which it was given.

The provisions of the New York Convention are without prejudice to bilateral or multilateral agreements entered into by the contracting states in matters of the recognition and enforcement of foreign arbitral awards.

Under the New York Convention, the two previous regulations (the 1923 Geneva Protocol on Arbitration Clauses and the 1927 Geneva Convention on the Execution of Foreign Arbitral Awards) cease to produce effects between states ratifying the New York Convention.

D. The European Convention on International Commercial Arbitration. It was concluded in Geneva on 21 April 1961 under the auspices of the Economic Commission of UNO for Europe and entered into force in 1964.

As the name implies, the Convention was mainly developed for international arbitration between parties in the European states, being the most important regional instrument establishing uniform rules on arbitration.

Most states in Europe have signed and ratified this Convention.

Romania ratified the Geneva Convention in 1963 (Decree no. 281/1963, published in the Official Bull. no. 12 of 25 June 1963).

This Convention envisages only international commercial arbitration, either ad hoc or institutionalized (art. I, par. 1), aiming at facilitating access to arbitration of participants in international trade.

The international character of arbitration is determined by economic and legal criteria, making it clear that the provisions of the Convention apply to arbitration agreements concluded for the settlement of disputes arising out of international trade operations between natural or legal persons who, at the time of the conclusion of the Convention, were based in different contracting states (art. I par. 1).

The essence of these provisions of the Geneva Convention is found in the Romanian law, which, after defining the international arbitration litigation as arising out of a private law relationship with a foreign element, specifies that the provisions of the Romanian law on the international arbitration process apply when at least one of the parties did not have his domicile or regular residence, or headquarters in Romania at the date of the conclusion of the arbitration agreement (art. 1111 of the Civil Procedure Code).

The Geneva Convention contains provisions on the organization of arbitration, the jurisdiction of the arbitral tribunal, the rules of procedure to be followed in the settlement of the dispute, the motivation of the arbitral award, its annulment, the recognition and enforcement of the foreign arbitral award.

The arbitration agreement is defined as either a compromissory clause in a contract or a compromise, signed by the parties or contained in an exchange of letters, telegrams or telex communications (the New York Convention did not refer to telex communications); in relations between countries whose laws do not impose a written form for arbitration agreements, any agreement concluded in the forms allowed by these laws is valid (art. I, par. 2, letter a).

In accordance with these provisions of the Geneva Convention, the Romanian law (art. 1113 of the Civil Procedure Code) provides that, in international arbitration, the arbitration agreement is valid only in written form; the requirement of the written form is met if it can be proved by means of a document, telegram, telex, telecopier, e-mail or any other means of communication enabling proof by means of a text.

Legal persons under public law have the possibility of validly entering into arbitration agreements for the settlement of disputes arising out of international trade operations (art. II).

In arbitrations subject to the Geneva Convention, foreign citizens may be arbitrators (art. III).

The Geneva Convention also includes regulations aimed at resolving the issue of arbitration organization; this responsibility lies with the parties, the arbitrators, the chairmen of the competent Chambers of Commerce and a Special Committee; courts have no attributions related to this issue.

Thus, pursuant to art. IV par. (1), the parties to the arbitration agreement are free to choose either institutionalized arbitration, in which case arbitration shall be conducted in accordance with the regulations of the appointed permanent arbitration institution, or occasional arbitration, in which case the parties shall have the following tasks: a) to appoint arbitrators or to determine the modalities according to which the arbitrators will be appointed in case of litigation; b) to determine the place of arbitration; c) to establish the rules of procedure to be followed by the arbitrators.

Where the parties have agreed to subject their dispute to ad hoc arbitration and one of the parties refuses to appoint the arbitrator, or if there is disagreement between the parties or between the arbitrators in this respect, the solution of the Convention was to broaden the powers of the arbitrators to ensure the functioning of ad hoc arbitration independently and without any intervention of the courts. Thus, pursuant to art. IV of the Convention, if the parties have decided to subject their dispute settlement to ad hoc arbitration without the arbitration agreement providing guidance on the necessary measures for the organization of arbitration (such as the place of arbitration or the arbitration procedure), the necessary measures for the organization of arbitration shall be taken, if the parties do not agree in this respect, by the already appointed arbitrator or arbitrators and in the absence of an agreement of the parties on the appointment of arbitrators or in the absence of their agreement on the measures to be taken, the applicant may address, if the parties have not chosen the place of arbitration, either the president of the Chamber of Commerce of the country where the defendant has his regular residence or headquarters, or the Special Committee established under the Geneva Convention (both the Chambers of Commerce and the Special Committee having the quality of prearbitral mechanism); this unprecedented regulation subsequently influenced the Regulations of some permanent arbitration institutions.

Considering these regulations of the Geneva Convention in the legal literature it was said that “the objection to the Geneva Convention of 1961 is the great complexity of the regulations and some difficulties in the functioning of the bodies it provides to fill the omissions of the arbitral clauses or the recalcitrance of the litigants” (Căpățînă, 1978: 35).

As for raising the objection of the arbitrator’s lack of jurisdiction, for the purpose of declining arbitral jurisdiction, art. V(1) makes a distinction between (i) the case of objections based on the non-existence, nullity or invalidity of the arbitration agreement (in which case the party raising the objection must do so during the

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arbitration procedure, at the latest when presenting his defense in the first instance) and (ii) the situation in which there are objections based on the fact that the litigation would exceed the arbitrator's powers (in which case the party raising the objection must do so as soon as the issue that would go beyond these powers is raised in arbitral proceedings).

The arbitrator may declare the objection admissible, even if it was raised with delay, when he considers that the objection is due to a well-founded cause.

These objections of lack of jurisdiction, if they have not been raised within the time limits set by the Convention, shall not be raised (i) during the arbitration proceedings, if there are objections which the parties themselves have the faculty to raise under the law applicable by the arbitrator and (ii) nor in the course of subsequent legal proceedings on the merits or the enforcement of the award, in the case of objections which the parties themselves have the faculty to raise under the law determined by the conflicting rule of the court deciding on the merits of the case or the enforcement of the award. The court may censor the decision by which the arbitrator found the delay in the objection of lack of jurisdiction (art. V par. 2).

The arbitrator whose jurisdiction is challenged must not reject the case, but has the power to decide on his own jurisdiction and on the existence or validity of the arbitration agreement or the contract to which this agreement belongs; however, his decision will be subject to the subsequent judicial control provided by the law of the forum (art. V, par. 3).

Similarly to the provisions of the Geneva Convention, the Romanian law provides that, in the international arbitration process, the arbitral tribunal decides on its own jurisdiction, without taking into consideration an application having the same object, already pending between the same parties before a state or arbitral tribunal. The objection of lack of jurisdiction must be raised before any defense on the merits (art. 1119 of the Civil Procedure Code).

Most rules of the Geneva Convention are rules of substantive law; there are also conflicting law rules, such as those contained in art. VI, VII and IX.

Art. VI governs the situation in which the defendant in a litigation brought before the court, raises the objection of its lack of jurisdiction based on the existence of an arbitration agreement; under the Convention, such an objection must be raised by the defendant under the penalty of the loss of procedural rights, either before or at the time of the defense of the merits (depending on whether the law of the court considers the objection of the lack of jurisdiction to be a procedural issue or a substantial issue).

The court which has to rule on the existence or validity of an arbitration agreement will decide as follows: a) on the capacity of the parties, in compliance with the law applicable to them; b) concerning the other issues, they will consider: (i) first, the law to which the parties have submitted the arbitration agreement; (ii) in the absence of an option of the parties in this respect, the law of the country where the award must be given; (iii) if there is no option of the parties to apply the law applicable to the arbitration agreement and if, when the matter is brought before a court, it is not possible to foresee the country in which the award is to be given, it will have regard to the competent law by virtue of the conflicting rules of the court deciding on the case.

The court may not recognize the arbitration agreement when, under the law of the forum, the dispute is not subject to arbitration (art. VI, par. 2).

Where an arbitration procedure was initiated, before a court decided on a dispute, and subsequently the same dispute between the same parties, or an application for a declaration of non-existence, the nullity or lapse of the arbitration agreement, was

brought to a court of law, the court will suspend the judgment on the jurisdiction of the arbitrator until the arbitral award has been rendered; by way of exception, if there are serious grounds, the court will rule on the jurisdiction of the arbitrator without waiting for the arbitral award.

Pursuant to art. VI par. 2, the application for provisional or protective measures which the parties address to a judicial authority must not be deemed incompatible with the arbitration agreement; nor is it to be regarded as a submission of the dispute, in matters of substance, to the court.

There are specific provisions in the Geneva Convention on the law applicable to the substance of the litigation (regulation not covered in previous conventions). In this regard, it is specified that the parties have the right to choose the law applicable to the substance of the litigation, and in the silence of the parties, the arbitrators will apply the competent law, indicated by the conflicting rule, which they will deem appropriate to the case, but in both cases the arbitrators must take into account the contractual terms and commercial usage (art. VII, par. 1).

In accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention, the Romanian law provides that the arbitral tribunal shall apply the law established by the parties to the merits of the dispute and, if the parties have not expressed their choice regarding the applicable law, the arbitral tribunal shall apply the law it deems appropriate; in all cases the arbitral tribunal must take into account professional rules and usage.

Under the Geneva Convention, the arbitrators may judge as amicable mediators if the parties have agreed to this and if the law governing arbitration permits it (art. VII, par. 2).

The arbitral award must be motivated, unless the parties have decided otherwise, or the law governing arbitration does not require motivation and the parties did not request it before the closure of the debates or, if not debated, before the award was drafted (art. VIII).

The award may be set aside for the following reasons, specifically provided in the Convention: a) if the parties to the arbitration agreement were, under the law applicable to them, affected by incapacity; b) the arbitration agreement is not valid under the law to which the parties submitted it or, in the absence of a choice by the parties in that respect, under the law of the country where the award was rendered; c) if the party requesting the annulment was not properly informed of the appointment of the arbitrator or the arbitral proceedings, or it was impossible for another reason to support his case (ie if the right to defense was infringed; d) if the award relates to a dispute not mentioned in the compromise or which does not fall within the provisions of the compromissory clause; or contains rulings that go beyond the terms of the compromise or the compromissory clause; however, when the provisions of the award referring to matters subject to arbitration may be separated from those relating to matters not subject to arbitration, the former may not be annulled; e) if the establishment of the arbitral tribunal or the arbitration procedure was not in accordance with the agreement of the parties or, in the absence of an agreement, with the provisions of art. IV of the Convention (art. IX, par. 1).

In Romanian law, too, reasons identical to those provided by the Geneva Convention for the annulment of an arbitral award are provided as grounds justifying the refusal of the competent state court to recognize or approve the enforcement of a foreign arbitral award. Thus, pursuant to art. 1129 of the Civil Procedure Code, the recognition or enforcement of a foreign arbitral award is rejected by the competent state court only if

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the party against whom the judgment is invoked proves that one of the following circumstances exists:

- a) the parties did not have the capacity to conclude the arbitration agreement under the law applicable to them, as established under the law of the state where the award was given;
- b) the arbitration agreement was not valid under the law to which the parties submitted it or, failing that, under the law of the state in which the arbitral award was given;
- c) the party against whom the award is invoked was not properly informed of the appointment of the arbitrators or of the arbitral procedure or was unable to use his own defense in the arbitral proceedings;
- d) the establishment of the arbitral tribunal or the arbitral procedure was not in compliance with the parties' agreement or, in the absence of an agreement, the law of the place where the arbitration took place;
- e) the award concerns an unforeseen dispute in the arbitration agreement or beyond the limits set by it, or contains provisions that go beyond the terms of the arbitration agreement. However, if the provisions of the award which concern matters subject to arbitration may be separated from those on issues not subject to arbitration, the former may be recognized and declared enforceable;
- f) the arbitral award has not yet become binding on the parties or has been annulled or suspended by a competent authority in the state in which or under the law of which it was rendered.

Under the Geneva Convention, the annulment in one of the Contracting States of an arbitral award falling under the Convention shall constitute a ground for refusal of recognition or enforcement in another Contracting State only where such annulment has been rendered in the State in which the award was given, or under the law of which the award was given.

In the relations between the Contracting States which are Parties to both the 1961 Geneva Convention and the 1958 New York Convention on the Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Arbitral Awards, the grounds for annulment of the arbitral awards, listed in art. IX of the Geneva Convention will lead to the circumstantial application of the provisions of art. V, par. 1 letter e of the New York Convention, for the purpose of limiting only to the causes of annulment which the Geneva Convention enumerates.

The provisions of the Convention are without prejudice to bilateral or multilateral arbitration agreements concluded by the Contracting States either before or after its entry into force.

E. On the American continent there is the **Inter-American Convention on International Commercial Arbitration** (known as the "Panama Convention"); The Panama Convention is a multilateral agreement addressed to members of the Organization of American States. The Convention regulates the conduct of international commercial arbitration and the enforcement of arbitral awards.

Its entry into force on 16 June 1976 created problems concerning its application and relation to the 1958 New York Convention on the Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Arbitral Awards, since both conventions deal with the same issues and both were signed and ratified by a number of states on the American continent.

F. The Convention on the Settlement of Investment Disputes between States and Persons of Other States, adopted in Washington on 18 March 1965. This Convention was concluded under the aegis of the World Bank and aimed at the establishment of international conciliation and arbitration mechanisms, the auspices of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, to which the contracting states and persons of other contracting states may, if they so wish, submit their disputes.

The convention is enforced in most countries of the world. Romania ratified this Convention in 1975 (Official Bull. no. 56/07.07.1975).

Under this Convention, an International Center for the Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID) was established. The concept of “investments” was not defined in the Convention, but the doctrine and practice consider that it refers not only to capital investments, but also to those in the field of services and technologies (Deleanu, Deleanu, 2005: 326).

The competence of the Center covers the legal disputes between a contracting state (or a public body) and the persons of another contracting state which are in direct relationship with an investment, disputes which the parties have agreed in writing to submit to the Center. When the parties have given their consent, none of them will be able to withdraw it unilaterally (art. 25, par. 1).

In compliance with the Washington Convention, a person of another contracting state means: a) any natural person who has the nationality of a contracting state other than the state party to the dispute at the time when the parties consented to submit the dispute to conciliation or arbitration, and at the time when the application was registered under the Convention; the person who, on one or other of these dates, equally had the nationality of the contracting state party to the dispute is excluded from the application of the provisions of the Convention; b) any legal person who had the nationality of a contracting state other than the state party to the dispute at the time when the parties agreed to submit the dispute to conciliation or arbitration and any legal person having the nationality of the contracting state party to the dispute on the same date and which the parties agreed, in order to achieve the Convention's objectives, to treat as belonging to another contracting state because of the control exercised over it by foreign interests (art. 25, par. 2).

After the registration of the request for conciliation or arbitration, which is addressed to the Secretary General of the Center, a Conciliation or Arbitration Commission is called. The Conciliation Commission has the duty to clarify the litigious points between the parties and must strive to lead them to a mutually acceptable solution (art. 34, par. 1).

Powers of the arbitral tribunal. In the case of a request for arbitration, the arbitral tribunal decides on the dispute in accordance with the rules adopted by the parties; in the absence of such an agreement, the arbitral tribunal applies the law of the contracting state party to the dispute, including the conflict-of-law rules and the principles of international law in that area (art. 42, par. 1).

Pursuant to art. 46, as a rule, the tribunal must, at the request of either party, rule on all incidental, additional claims or counterclaims directly related to the subject matter of the dispute, provided that such requests are covered by the consent of the parties and are within the competence of the Center.

Rendering the arbitral award. Under the Washington Convention, the arbitral tribunal decides on any issue with the majority of all its members' votes. The award is

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given in writing; it is signed by the members of the tribunal who have spoken in its favor. The award must answer all the points in the conclusions submitted to the tribunal and must be motivated. The Center does not publish any award without the consent of the parties (art. 48).

At the request of either party, the tribunal may, after notifying the other party, rule on any matter over which it omitted to pronounce or correct any material mistake contained in the award. This decision is an integral part of the award and is notified to the parties in the same form as the latter (art. 49, par. 2).

Interpretation of the arbitral award. Under the Washington Convention, if there is a misunderstanding between the parties as to the meaning or effect of the award, either party may make a written request for interpretation to the Secretary General. The application is submitted to the tribunal that rendered the award. If this is not possible, a new tribunal is constituted in accordance with the provisions of the arbitration Convention. Where it considers it necessary, the tribunal may order the suspension of the enforcement of the award until pronouncement on the interpretation request has been made (art. 50).

Revision of the arbitral award. Under the Washington Convention, the arbitral award may be subject to revision when one of the parties discovers any fact likely to exert decisive influence over the award; in order for that fact to be raised, a condition must be met, ie before the award was given this fact must have been unknown to both the court and the requesting party or the latter must not have ignored it. The request for revision is addressed in writing to the Secretary General within 90 days of the discovery of the new fact, but no more than three years after the pronouncement of the award. The request is submitted to the tribunal that has rendered the award. If this is not possible, a new tribunal is constituted in accordance with the provisions of the arbitration Convention. If it considers that the circumstances so require, the tribunal may decide to suspend the enforcement of the award until it has taken a decision on the request for revision. If the party requesting the revision requests the postponement of the enforcement of the award, the tribunal must suspend the enforcement until the revision request is decided on (art. 51).

Annulment of the arbitral award. Pursuant to art. 52, either party may request in writing the Secretary General to annul the arbitral award for one of the following reasons: a) defect in the constitution of the tribunal; b) obvious abuse of power on the part of the tribunal; c) corruption of a member of the tribunal; d) serious violation of a fundamental procedural rule; e) lack of reasons.

Some of the grounds provided by the Washington Convention for the annulment of an arbitral award are provided in Romanian law as grounds justifying the refusal of the competent state court to recognize or authorize the enforcement of a foreign arbitral award. Thus, art. 1129 of the Civil Procedure Code provides that the recognition or enforcement of a foreign arbitral award is rejected by the competent state court only if the party against whom the award is raised proves that one of the following circumstances exists: c) the party against whom the award is raised was not properly informed of the appointment of the arbitrators or the arbitration procedure or was unable to use his own defense in the arbitral proceedings; this reason in the Romanian law is equivalent to that existing in the Washington Convention under letter d): the serious violation of a fundamental procedural rule; d) the constitution of the arbitral tribunal or the arbitral procedure was not in compliance with the parties' agreement or, in the absence of their agreement, with the law of the place where the arbitration took place;

this reason in the Romanian law is equivalent to that existing in the Washington Convention under letter a): defect in the constitution of the tribunal; e) the award concerns an unforeseen dispute in the arbitration agreement or beyond the limits set by the arbitration agreement or contains provisions that exceed the terms of the arbitration agreement; this reason in the Romanian law is equivalent to that existing in the Washington Convention under letter a): defect in the constitution of the tribunal.

Under the Washington Convention, an application for annulment must be made within 120 days of the date of delivery of the award, but no more than three years after the award has been given. If the annulment is requested for corruption, the 120-day term begins to run from the discovery of the corruption offense, but no more than 3 years after the award has been given. In order to decide on the request for annulment of the arbitral award, the chairman immediately appoints an ad hoc committee of three members from among the persons whose names appear on the list of arbitrators. The ad hoc committee may not include any of the members of the tribunal that gave the award. Along the same line, the members of the ad hoc committee must not have the same nationality as any of the members of the tribunal which gave the award or the nationality of the state party to the dispute or of the state of which the person is a party to the dispute or who have been designated to appear on the list of arbitrators by any of the aforementioned states or have served as conciliators in the same case.

The ad hoc committee is empowered to annul the award in whole or in part for one of the reasons listed in the Convention. The provisions of the Convention relating to the arbitral tribunal's "Powers and Functions", those referring to the pronouncement of the arbitral award, to the interpretation, revision or annulment of the award in the place of the proceedings and those relating to "Disputes between Contracting States" shall apply "mutatis mutandis" to proceedings before the ad hoc Committee appointed to decide on the request for the annulment of the arbitral award.

The Committee may decide, if it considers that the circumstances so require, to suspend the enforcement of the award until a decision on the request for the annulment of the award is rendered.

Similarly, if the party requesting the annulment of the award also requested the postponement of the enforcement of the award, its enforcement is suspended provisionally until the ad hoc committee has ruled on the request for annulment. In the event that the arbitral award is declared null and void, the dispute will, at the request of the more diligent party, be submitted to a new tribunal constituted under the provisions of the Convention on the establishment of the arbitral tribunal.

Art. 53 specifies that the term of the award includes not only the arbitral tribunal's awards to settle the dispute it had to decide on, but also the awards given for the interpretation, revision or annulment of the award itself. It also states that an arbitral award is final and therefore binding on the parties and cannot be subject to any appeal other than those provided for by the Convention.

Regarding the recognition and enforcement of awards, art. 54(1) lays down the obligation of the signatory states of the Convention to recognize any award given in the Convention as mandatory and to ensure the enforcement on their territory of the pecuniary obligations imposed by the award as if it were a final judgment of a court operating on the territory of those states.

In order to obtain the recognition and enforcement of an award on the territory of a contracting state, the party concerned must present a certified copy, for compliance, by the Secretary General to the competent national court or any other authority that the

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contracting state will designate for that purpose. Each contracting state will make known to the Secretary-General the competent court or authorities designated for that purpose by informing him of any change.

In accordance with the Washington Convention, the enforcement of arbitral awards under the Convention is subject to the rules on the enforcement of judgments in force in the state on the territory of which such proceedings are applied (art. 54).

Conclusion: The Romanian Civil Procedure Code adopted, in the regulation of the essential aspects of international arbitration and the effects of foreign arbitral awards, the same solutions that are enshrined in the international conventions on arbitration, conventions to which Romania is a signatory.

For example, the following provisions may be listed: a) as regards the requirement of the written form of the arbitration agreement, the provisions of Romanian law are in line with those of the New York Convention and those of the Geneva Convention; the requirement of the written form of the arbitration agreement is met if the convention can be proved by means of a document, telegram, telex, telecopier, electronic mail or any other means of communication allowing proof by means of a text; b) in Romanian law, the recognition or enforcement of a foreign arbitral award may be refused by the competent court for reasons identical to those provided in the New York Convention; c) the provisions of the Romanian law on the concept of international arbitration dispute are in line with those of the Geneva Convention; d) in the same way as the provisions of the Geneva Convention, the Romanian law provides that, in the international arbitration process, the arbitral tribunal decides on its own jurisdiction, without taking into consideration an application having the same object already pending between the same parties before a state or arbitral tribunal; e) in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention, the Romanian law provides that the arbitral tribunal shall apply the law established by the parties to the merits of the dispute, and if the parties have not expressed their choice of applicable law, the arbitral tribunal shall apply the law it deems appropriate; in all cases the arbitral tribunal must take into account professional usage and rules; f) in Romanian law, reasons identical to those provided for in the Geneva Convention for the annulment of an arbitral award are provided as grounds justifying the refusal of the competent state court to recognize or approve the enforcement of a foreign arbitral award; g) some of the reasons provided by the Washington Convention for the annulment of an arbitral award are provided in Romanian law as grounds justifying the refusal of the competent state court to recognize or approve the enforcement of a foreign arbitral award.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

Consequences of Lacking Loyalty towards Constitution in the Rule of Law

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Abstract

The lack of loyalty in terms of fundamental law of state - the constitution - not only makes it almost impossible to implement it under certain aspects, but even suppresses the exercise of fundamental rights and freedoms, thus depriving the democratic and liberal societies of the right to respect those values assigned to them. Consecutively, unfair behavior towards constitutional law is, in the foreground, reflected in legal dysfunction meant to compromise not only the principle of the separation of powers in the state, but also collaboration between institutions, generating a blockage in the sphere of power and civil society.

Keywords: *Constitution; fundamental rights; Rule of law; civil society.*

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Introduction

This article deals with the way in which the lack of loyal behavior towards the norms provided in the fundamental law starts from ignorance, misinterpretation of constitutional provisions or disregard of the powers of a certain authority, or the rush of power into another power by overcoming its own limits of competence and having as a first consequence the impossibility of applying the constitution to the rule of law. A second consequence also arises in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the unconstitutional practices of public authorities in certain states highlighting numerous interferences in constitutional rights that they are, in fact, required to protect. In this context, a legal malfunctioning has emerged, malfunctioning that interferes with political power and civil society in an unacceptably dangerous manner for democratic and liberal states.

The consequences of the lack of loyal behavior towards the constitution undoubtedly cause more dysfunctionalities incompatible with the democratic principles of the rule of law. Starting with the aggravation of the applicability of Montesquieu's theory on the principle of separation of powers in the state and the dilution of the capacity to protect the values of democratic and liberal society guaranteed by the fundamental laws of states, constitutional disloyalty creates major imbalances among democratic political regimes, clearly disturbing the balance of the state powers and creating deficiencies in the cooperation between them, which leads to the production of several juridical conflicts of a constitutional nature difficult to solve. In most cases, in the context of the manifestation of the lack of loyalty to the fundamental law, the conduct of the representatives of the powers falls only formally under the constitutional provisions, not considering the interpretation of the provisions in their spirit. But this is meant to affect the stability of a regime in which the separation of powers should not create institutional blockages. The lack of a loyal attitude to the spirit of the Constitution also means a lack of loyalty to established institutions, civil society and its evolution due to ignoring the in extenso interpretation of constitutional texts. Technically, the failure to interpret these provisions in their spirit will make the procedure applicable in the framework of democratic cooperation difficult between the representatives of the institutions because of their conduct. Therefore, practicing this form of conduct can be characterized by the concept of constitutional disloyalty. The way constitutional provisions of some states are formulated and interpreted make it possible, as will be discussed below, for the exercise by an authority of an abuse of power, creating a disadvantage in both spheres of manifestation of power. This abuse can only be avoided by an interpretation of the fundamental law in its spirit that prevents state authorities from behaving disloyal. Of course, this interpretation cannot be possible if the representatives of power limit to formal constitutional, even explicit, practices that empty the content of the principle of separation of powers in the state and generate the paroxysm of the applicability of the Constitution in its spirit. In such a legal context, an incompatibility would arise between the conduct of state authority and the ideas on which the rule of law is based. The present study highlights, with examples from the practice of some countries, how the abuse of power may implicitly affect the human rights of the people and also create a legal dysfunctionality meant to generate large blockages within civil societies and in the sphere of power.

Consequences of Lacking Loyalty towards Constitution in the Rule of Law

The paroxysm of the applicability of the fundamental law as a result of unfair behavior towards the Constitution

If the principle of constitutionalism, in its essence, signifies loyalty to the fundamental law of a state, the manifestation of unfair behavior towards the Constitution results in the de-constitutionalization of some defining values and precepts for the fundamental democratic law, thus preventing its proper application.

In other words, constitutional disloyalty is an understatement of constitutional values, either by overcoming by the public authorities of limits of competence established by the constituent, or by the faulty collaboration between state institutions, or lack of collaboration, adding to them the absence of any attachment to the values protected by those fundamental norms which regulate those relations regarding the social-economic and state organization. In this way, there is a malfunction in the implementation of the Constitution.

The unfair behavior towards the Constitution does not mean, however, only the bad collaboration between the state institutions, but, paradoxically, even the close collaboration to create an interference in the exercise of fundamental rights. For example, the German Federal Court was notified in 2006 through a constitutional complaint (Schwabe, Geissler:2013:105), the object of which was to challenge court decisions ordering a preventive search with data filters in all German states, collecting the personal data of all Muslim men or presumed to be Muslim, aged between 18 and 40, in an attempt by the authorities to identify potential terrorists. In this regard, the Judicial Police Federal Office and the Land Police Inspectorates requested the transmission of personal data from numerous public and private entities and created the “*Rasterfahndung*” program that allowed them to do a data comparison process and to examine the predefined features set by the program. The claimants have invoked the violation of the right to informational self-determination, noting that the authorization of these activities by the authorities is an interference with this fundamental right, while claiming the lack of a legally constitutional basis respecting the principle of proportionality. With regard to proportionality, the German Federal Court has pointed out that, according to this criterion, the use of such a means is unreasonable since the limitations to a fundamental right guaranteed by the German Constitution go beyond that protection afforded to the legal good. Indeed, the protection of the land safety, life, liberty of the person, the population, state security are legal assets with a high constitutional significance, but the power exercising the constitutional order did not consider the fact that the program for the collection of personal data affected a large number of holders of the fundamental right to informational self-determination, and established a justified panic among Muslim men aged between 18 and 40, many of whom were university students in Germany. The interference is evidently unconstitutional also from the point of view of the lack of legal basis for taking the measure, as the authorities could not prove that there had been any suspicions of committing a concrete illicit deed so that the state intervention arrogated its right to affect the constitutional freedom of men Muslim faith. Practically, through the measures taken, the authorities have shown unfair behavior towards the Constitution, because, in an abusive manner, in the absence of a specific threat (such as the preparation or conduct of terrorist acts), have conducted a search with a data filter invoking the protection of legal values that are constitutionally of superior rank. The terrorist threat that the legislators invoked in justifying the interference was unlikely because their assumptions

and conclusions were not based on the existence of a concrete danger. Practically, contrary to the constitutionality requirements, the contested court decisions authorized the collection of personal data and, as a consequence, converted the authorization into a “prior mandate”, the judges themselves violating the fundamental right to informational self-determination.

1. The consequences of the lack of loyal behavior towards the Constitution in the sphere of fundamental rights and freedoms

The disloyalty towards the Constitution also makes a mark on fundamental rights and freedoms, making it, in most cases, impossible for them to exercise their constitutional norms.

Paradoxically, in justifying the limitation or violation of a certain fundamental right, the state itself uses the phrase “constitutional loyalty”, even conditioning the employment on a certain position by this loyalty.

An enlightening example is the *Bond v. Floyd* case of the Supreme Court of the United States of America. (Ganea a.o.: 2008:29). The Supreme Court was notified by Bond. The applicant was a member of Georgia’s House of Representatives and was expelled before taking the oath due to some criticisms he made about law enforcement in the military service, saying in a media interview that he denies government policy on Vietnam, positioning itself against the war. Considering that they were discredited, members of the House of Representatives disputed the applicant’s right to occupy that position as a member of the House, arguing that his allegations were made to the advantage of the enemies of the country and violated not only the laws on military service but also the oath to uphold the Constitution, which the legislators are taking. After hearing him only once, the Secretary of the House of Representatives refused the applicant to take up the position of a member, for which reason the latter decided to initiate legal proceedings in order to obtain a declaratory judgment against that Decision. The District Court has unequivocally concluded that, by its remarks, the applicant has exaggerated with the criticism of national policy and cannot meet the attributes required to occupy the position of member of the House of Representatives because, the Court claimed, it could not have taken with good- faith the oath to uphold the Federal Constitution and the Constitution of the State.

Thus, this is how the State itself actually used this “loyalty towards the Constitution” to prohibit the occupation of a position in the state legislature, although, in reality, this measure was unlawful because, leaving the sphere of competence, members of the House of Representatives wrongly attributed the right to limit the applicant’s freedom of expression, considering that his disapproval of the policy of most colleagues or of the state policy would be equivalent to a lack of loyalty to the Constitution.

In contradiction with the District Court Judges, the Supreme Court concluded that, by the allegations made, the appellant did not violate the provisions of the law on military service and that they were made within the limits and by virtue of the right to free expression, which is guaranteed even by the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America.

Therefore, in fact, the one who manifested a lack of loyal behavior towards the Constitution was the state itself that abusively disqualified the applicant from the position of member of the House of Representatives of the state of Georgia, not considering that the expression of views on the controversial political issues is not just a right but, above all, an obligation of legislators, because their voters have the right to be

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informed. However, allowing such a measure within the House has meant that the level of protection of legislators is diminishing compared to that of citizens. Moreover, the legitimate interest of the latter in knowing all the details of a matter of public interest was defenseless. The reasons given by the House of Representatives and the District Court were inadequate and insufficient to justify such an interference in the applicant's exercise of his role as legislator and the exercise of his freedom of expression.

This case illustrates not only the violation of a fundamental right but also a legal malfunctioning in the implementation of constitutional norms, since those who have sworn allegiance to the above-mentioned constitutions have despised the right of the applicant to take the oath, considering discretionary that his opinions contravenes the principle of constitutional loyalty. In a democratic society, such a manifestation is unthinkable, for freedom of expression is undoubtedly beyond a fundamental right, a primordial element of public order.

The consequences of constitutional disloyalty in the sphere of fundamental rights and freedoms cause an imbalance in the domestic law of the state, because any violation of fundamental rights violates the principle of the rule of law. However, disobedience towards the law and regulations is equivalent to violation of the guarantees contained in the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms as well as in the violation of the judgments of the European Court of Human Rights, which would lead to a purely schematic interpretation and application of the law. For instance, in the case of *Castells v. Spain* (European Court of Human Right: 23.04.1992: 11798/85), in the complaint to the ECHR, the complainant, a member of the parliamentary opposition, showed that his parliamentary immunity had been withdrawn and was convicted of a suspended sentence after he published an article criticizing the passivity of the Government in connection with several attacks and homicides that had taken place in the Basque Country. Of course, the right to free expression is not absolute, however, the European Court of Human Rights considers, the restrictions or punishments imposed by the state must be compatible with the freedom of public debate, by its nature. So, for a member of the Parliament, freedom of speech cannot be thus limited simply because his claims are considered offensive by members of the Government, who must prove more tolerant to the criticism of political opponents. On the other hand, although the state authorities, as guarantors of public order, may adopt criminal measures against defamatory charges, in the present case they are groundless because the Government had other means of responding to the applicant's accusations and criticisms, the conviction not being necessary in a democratic society.

2. Legal dysfunction - effect of disloyalty to the fundamental law

The jurisprudence of the constitutional states highlights the fact that constitutional practices and behavior towards the fundamental law compromise the proper application of the legal provisions, thereby hindering the formal compliance of the constitutional bodies. These practices and behaviors affect not only the separation of powers in state, but also the good collaboration between the state institutions, resulting in a blockage in the sphere of power and civil society. In the following, will highlight situations in the judicial practice of constitutional states which, either by violation of democratic and constitutional principles or by violation of fundamental constitutional rights, show a lack of loyal behavior towards the Constitution and generate legal dysfunctionality meant to affect or block the legal order.

2.1. Undermining the Principle of the Separation of Powers in the State

The lack of loyal behavior towards the Constitution affects the principle of the separation of powers in the state, giving rise to legal conflicts of constitutional nature based on the lack of cooperation between the state powers or the failure to observe the constitutional obligations incumbent on an authority in the conduct of its work. An example of constitutional disloyalty that affects the principle of the separation of powers in the state is the situation where the Romanian legislature would adopt norms that would run counter to the fundamental law or the decisions of the Constitutional Court. Another disloyal behavior towards the Constitution was manifested by the representative body of the Romanian people, the Parliament, which, using the interpretation of its own statutory provisions, censured a final and irrevocable court decision, ignoring the judged principle of the work authority. (Constitutional Court of Romania, Decision No. 972/21.11.2012). In this respect, the Constitutional Court was notified by the president of the Superior Council of Magistracy regarding the existence of a legal conflict of a constitutional nature between the judicial authority and the legislative authority of the country, the first being represented by the High Court of Cassation and Justice, and the second the Senate of Romania. The referral states that, in the plenum of the Senate, a final and irrevocable court decision regarding a senator's incompatibility was discussed, deciding by (negative) vote the refusal to enforce the judgment. In an illegitimate manner, the Senate has been arguing for legislative authority in a conciliatory judicial power with the courts, censoring a definitive and irrevocable court order in all its aspects, invoking certain provisions regarding the regulatory autonomy of the Parliament. By the ruling handed down, judges of the Constitutional Court have found that such an act can only be illegitimate, since its legitimacy would lay the basis for a situation in which judicial decisions would not be opposable to authorities, institutions or individuals, which would be contrary to the constitutional principle of the rule of law. Therefore, the Parliament has demonstrated a lack of constitutional loyalty in its relations with the judicial authority, disregarding the latter's competences.

2.2. Defective collaboration between state institutions

As for the collaboration between the state institutions, it derives precisely from their obligation not to manifest an unfair behavior in relation to the constitutional norms, because an unfair behavior would affect the regime of the fundamental institutions of the state, i.e. "all the components that define their legal regime - organizational structure, functioning, competences, material and financial resources, number and status of personnel, salary, category of legal acts that they adopt". (Constitutional Court of Romania, Decision No. 1257/07/10/2009: III). An edifying example is represented by the law for the approval of Government Emergency Ordinance no. 23/2009 regarding certain improvements of the public administration, the content of which affected the legal and constitutional regime of the civil service by the politicization of the governmental structures within the administrative-territorial units. This manifestation of constitutional misconduct by public authorities took place only one year after the Constitutional Court made it clear that emergency ordinances cannot be adopted if, through the regulations they contain, they produce negative consequences in the areas in which they occur. (Constitutional Court of Romania, Decision No. 1189/06.11.2008). Therefore, because the Ordinance itself presented the vices of unconstitutionality, the law of its approval was itself unconstitutional, because, according to the case law of the

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RCC, the vice of unconstitutionality of an ordinance, whether simple or urgent, issued by the Government, cannot be covered by its approval by the Parliament.

2.3. Generating a blockage in the sphere of power and civil society

The manifestation of an unfair behavior towards the Constitution does not mean merely a violation of constitutional values, because, by adopting some normative acts, there may be blockages in the sphere of power which, in turn, generate other blockages in the civil society. There are situations in which some constitutional states question the quality of persons subjects of law, omitting, by adopting normative measures related to state security, to protect even their fundamental right to life. For example, the Federal Court of Germany concluded that empowering the armed forces, through the law of airspace safety, to directly dismantle a flight apparatus following to be used against people's lives is unconstitutional from the perspective of incompatibility with the right to life and the guarantee of human dignity, especially if on board of the aircraft would be people who are not involved in committing the deed. (Schwabe, Geissler, 2013:153).

The criticized norm raises constitutional law objections if the military action is directed against an aircraft with human presence on board, including those to whom the attack can be attributed to, because life, the right to life as the basis of human dignity enjoys a high constitutional value and, as a consequence, no man should be deprived of it. However, by empowering the armed forces, the Court stresses that the state, which is obliged to defend every human life, intervenes in the fundamental right to life, regardless of its own constraint to protect the life of each individual and to protect him against possible attacks and unlawful interference by third parties.

By the legislative measures adopted by the German state, people have been transformed into objects of the state, for through violation of compliance with the intrinsic value of man's - that of being - the public authority removes the status of the subject of law of the individual. Practically, if an aircraft were turned into an offensive weapon that would be used to commit a criminal offense, the passengers on board could no longer influence their own life circumstances independently, becoming the objects of the perpetrators first of all, and of the state, secondly, because by implementing the provisions of the law of airspace safety, the passengers of the aircraft become objects of the rescue operation of the state which understands to protect its society and territory. In fact, the aircraft's passengers become victims twice, once they take control of the aircraft and once victims of the German state who deliberately act to break down the aircraft, being deprived of any form of defense of their inalienable right to life, and of the human dignity that derives from this right. It can be said that no state rationality justifies the right of the state to unilaterally dispose of people's lives, or empowering the German armed forces to act in the way described above would mean premeditatedly killing some persons, which would violate not only the state's obligation to protect human dignity, but even conducting non-belligerent military missions. This manner of acting of the state in order to protect people's lives by killing other people does not remove the state's ban on killing. Therefore, the state itself cannot invoke the obligation to protect human life as the grounds of the intervention of the armed forces in this way, because by acting it actually intervenes against human life. In this way, a legal malfunctioning occurred, because for the state itself, on the one hand, is impossible to combat a possible terrorist attack on the members of society and, as a consequence, the possibility of fulfilling its obligation to protect life is considerably restricted. On the other hand, the means by which the state itself understands to fulfill this obligation

violates the very obligation of the state, creating an almost unreal scenario in which the direct constitutional deployment of the armed forces is incompatible with constitutional norms. Thus, a blockage is created in the sphere of the exercise of state power due to a legal malfunction.

The blockages in the sphere of power generate, in turn, a blockage in the sphere of civil society, which is manifested by tensions, imbalances and conflicts between members of society or between power and the people. Such a situation is the adoption by the Government of Romania of the famous Emergency Ordinance no. 13/2017 through which was amended the Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code when, without justifying the emergency, the executive power not only made amendments to the two codes, but introduced several provisions, including the decriminalization of abuse of office in case of damages of maximum 200 thousand lei, which would have led to the impossibility of the bodies to prosecute the persons who were guilty of committing such a criminal offense. The provisions adopted resulted in more protests being organized in several cities across the country, for several days, at the largest of them taking part over 600,000 people. Due to the pressure that civil society exerted on the government, the Romanian Government had to repeal the normative act that encouraged, among other things, committing the deed of abuse of office. Thus, it was possible in a state of law that the executive power not only should be entrusted with legislative power, but also adopt a series of measures in favor of a certain category of persons, largely exceeding its sphere of competence, but this is incompatible with the principle of the lawfulness of the administration deriving from the principle of the separation of powers in the state. By adopting the Emergency Ordinance No. 13/2017 the behavior of the state bodies in the discharge of its duties was one that was meant to influence the opinion of the people regarding the implementation of a common and indispensable good, prioritizing the good of a professional category (that of public officials) at the expense of right.

Another example of action of the public authorities which is directly reflected in the sphere of civil society is highlighted in the case law of the German Federal Court, which was referred to a complaint concerning the federal government's intervention in the 1976 election campaign, for the German Parliament, adopting many measures it framed in the type of public relations activities. (Schwabe, Geissler, 2013: 534) The Court found that the fundamental law forbids such an action of the executive power, for if it would allow it, representatives of state bodies would identify themselves with political parties or even with those who run for election and would thus influence the voter's decision by advertising, which is contrary to fundamental law. Moreover, the Federal Court judges point out that the federal government's act of presenting itself for reelection as a constitutional body during the election campaign is contrary to the constitutional principle stating the limitation of the mandate over time for the federal government and for the federal parliament.

Conclusions

Of the arguments put forward in this article it follows that, in the absence of a loyal behavior towards the constitution, the constitutional norms cannot be properly applied and make impossible the implementation of the fundamental law in the democratic and liberal state which must operate under a constitutionalized system. The political system must be constitutionalized and, therefore, the acts exercised by the public authorities must comply with the legal regulations which, necessarily must contain restrictive provisions to act. The Constitution must enjoy supremacy in relation

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to other legal norms and, therefore, the drafting by authorities of norms that do not meet constitutional requirements equals to the lack of loyal behavior towards the Constitution.

As can be deduced, the consequences of the lack of loyal behavior towards the Constitution determine an imbalance in the domestic law of the state, because any overrun of powers by the authorities and any violation of fundamental rights violate the principle of the rule of law. However, disobedience to the law and is equivalent to violation of the safeguards contained in the fundamental laws of the states.

Taking into account the characteristic features of the lack of loyal behavior towards the Constitution in the rule of law, finally, it is necessary to make a draft of constitutional disloyalty and, consequently, to make a definition that establishes the significance of the manifestation of practices contrary to the constitutional spirit.

Constitutional disloyalty is the manifestation, in an anti-constitutional spirit, of formal and accurate practices of state powers that facilitate exercising an abuse of power against another power through the overcoming of the limits of constitutional competence conferred, affecting the implementation of the democratic principles of the rule of law.

The manifestation of practices in an anti-constitutional spirit is the conduct of the representatives of the state powers, who, through lack of collaboration, faulty collaboration or close collaboration, prove lack of attachment to the values guaranteed by the Constitution and cause legal dysfunctions that considerably compromise any form of democratic government.

By pointing out all these aspects, we can conclude that the lack of loyal behavior towards constitution (constitutional disloyalty) overturns the hierarchy of values in the rule of law, causes a legal disorder in the exercise of powers by the representatives of the power within the limits of competence so that observance of the principle of separation of powers remains almost a constitutional mood that no longer concerns the consultation, collaboration or cooperation between the authorities regarding the execution of competing competencies, but the summary fulfillment of some obligations through the abusive exercise of rights guaranteed by the Constitution. These aspects, because they are not compatible with the rule of law, affect the state itself, because the right of the state to apply constitutional norms is limited by the lack of loyal behavior towards these rules, the state itself being impossible to protect fundamental rights and freedoms. Practically, this limitation is also circumscribed by the occurrence of a legal dysfunctionality that results in blockages between civil society and the sphere of power. All these consequences, caused by the manifestation of loyal behavior to the provisions of the fundamental law, not only compromise the principles of the rule of law but diminish or relativize those values assigned to the democratic and liberal society.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

Education, Social and Media Communication

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Abstract

Education should represent for every civilized society a priority and the pillar on which development is based. The development of all domains of activity should be supported by education. In addition, each country should support and help the educational system to stay updated in order to satisfy and fulfill the demands of a world which is dominated by technology. The educational system is also facing challenges from the present labour market that has been transformed into a strong competition for the youths who seek a job. The evolution of technology, worldwide access to the internet (the largest and fastest way of communication) and the appearance of social media are important changes that have been adopted by the majority of educational institutions. Social media has a brief history and it is represented by different web platforms that offer the possibility of online communication between users. Social media can be easily accessed throughout the world due to the revolutionary technologies that have been developed in the recent years. Social media has become a very popular way of receiving and searching for information among the younger generations.

Keywords: *education; social media; communication; technology; development.*

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Social media has transformed real, face-to-face communication into virtual – online communication which is enabled by all type of *smart* devices.

This paper aims to detail the importance of social and media communication within the educational system. It will also mention some of the potential risks that this type of communication may bring to education. These risks can be eliminated if the sources through which the information is transmitted are verified. The veracity of the information should also be verified.

The paper is divided in seven sections and each one illustrates the links and connections between education and social media communication.

Education: definition and characteristics

Education is one of the most important factors that define a society. It represents the starting engine for all the activities that run within each society. The term education is all around us and we hear about it everywhere: on TV, on the radio and, recently, in social media – on social networks that have become so popular. In fact, we enroll ourselves in educational institutions because we want to be educated and prepared for our adult life. Today, the term *education* is strongly connected to the term *schooling*. We go to school in order to acquire the necessary knowledge that will help us in our professional career.

Throughout the years, the term *education* has been defined in many ways and it is perceived differently in many countries. For most Western societies education is “largely a methodical approach to a body of language agreed by relevant experts and then delivered to willing and unwilling learners alike” (Wood, 2011:1). This definition is closely linked to the idea of school from UK. Here “both state and private schools employ a curriculum, taught in stages to pupils of similar ages and with similar abilities.” (Wood, 2011:1). Unlike the UK education system, the Scandinavian have a different view on the same system. In countries like Denmark, Sweden, Finland or Norway, schools and curricula are organized in different ways and they have “different ways of teaching and put less stress on tests and examinations” (Wood, 2011:1).

Therefore education is made in different ways depending on each country’s perception of how knowledge should be transmitted to the learner. Even if education is made using different teaching methods in public or private schools through traditional paper based books or through online materials, the results of education should be similar – they should provide *new minds* for the existing activities from each society.

“Traditionally, education around the world has pursued three goals: a mastery of the basic literacies; learning the fundamentals of major disciplines (mathematics, logic, and music in an earlier era; history, biology and psychology today); and inculcating the fundamentals of citizenship and morality, often from a religious perspective. These goals remain today, despite the secularization of education in many parts of the world, but the task of educators becomes ever more demanding and complex” (Craft, Gardner, Claxton, 2008:5).

Coming back to the topic of my paper, I can say that the main characteristics of education have not changed throughout the decades but the role of the teacher/ educator has evolved and requires intensive hours of preparation and research. Social media is one of the factors that push the teacher to go online and communicate with his pupils/ students, to transmit information and to gather updated materials for his classes. This new revolutionary change in communication that is made through technology has

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reshaped every field of activity including the education system. In the present changing environment, education is striving through its institutions “to maintain goals of quality, efficiency, and effectiveness, information technology is now playing – and will continue to play – a critical role in this process... With the advent of easier- to-use and more cost-effective technology solutions, there is no longer the need to go through complex systems, intermediaries and analysts. For the first time, education leaders and administrators have direct access to the information processes and systems that they require” (Petrides, 2000: Preface).

The role of social media and of the internet has proven to be essential in the professional development of each teacher/ educator. Through the online world information is easily accessed within seconds, teachers connect with each other instantaneously and pupils/ students reach out to their teachers/ educators through online services like: e-mail and messenger. In fact, in an article entitled: *How is Social Media used in Schools? Statistics, Facts and Figures* (dated July 22, 2013) from the website *Adweek* it is estimated that “96 percent of students with internet access report using social networking technologies, and three in five (59 percent) use these tools to talk about educational topics online”(Bennet, 2013).

Taking into consideration that the data presented in the previous online article reflect statistics from 2013, we can only imagine that the impact of social media in education has increased, especially in countries in which the internet has boosted in recent years. Moreover, online social networks have broadened their audience with young people (perhaps the youngest are between 4-5 years old and for them the main attractions are funny videos and images that can be found on social networks) to adult users (here the age has no limits).

In conclusion, education has maintained its main objectives but it has changed its ways of transmitting the knowledge to learners. Education is versatile and the elements that are included in this term are permanently updating. The role of education is to develop competences for learning how and what to learn so that the pupil/ student is prepared for social integration through his profession.

Social media: definition and history

Social media represents the interface between the online users, the information and the online community that exists on the Internet. The online users can search for any type of information by a simple click. All they need is a computer/ smartphone/ tablet and an internet connection. The latest statistics (2019) regarding the use of the World Wide Web (www) and social media show that almost 4.4 billion people browse the internet in search of different things and 3.5 billion are active social media users. These figures highlight the massive expansion of the online/ digital world and a growing attraction for the social media.

While conducting my research for the present paper I came over the following, expanded definition of the social media: “Social media is the democratization of information transforming people from content readers into content publishers. It is the shift from a broadcast mechanism to a many-to-many model, rooted in conversations between authors, people and peers. Social media uses the “wisdom of crowds” to connect information in a collaborative manner. Social can take many different forms, including Internet forums, message boards, weblogs, wikis, podcasts, pictures and video. Technologies such as blogs, picture-sharing, vlogs, wall-postings, email, instant messaging, music-sharing, group creation and voice over IP, to name a few. Examples of

social media applications are Google (reference, social networking), Wikipedia (reference), MySpace (social networking), Facebook (social networking).” (Evans, 2008, Chapter 3:1)

Today, we hear about social media everywhere, in fact, we are surrounded by it. Everyone refers to social media when they mention the latest news or want to share their opinion related to a certain topic. Social media represents the interface that the majority of us use in order to reach, communicate and share our thoughts, important moments or feelings. This huge popularity of social media helped online platforms like: Facebook, Twitter, Instagram or LinkedIn gather users even from the most remote areas of the world. Today there is an important online community that communicates through social media. But, the things were not always this way- social media did not exist until: “The invention of the World Wide Web in 1991, when Tim Berners- Lee managed to connect hypertext technology to the Internet, formed the basis of a new type of networked communication. With the advent of Web 2.0, shortly after the turn of millennium, online services shifted from offering channels for networked communication to becoming interactive two-way vehicles for networked sociality” (Dijck,2013:5)

So, the history of social media is rather brief and it is connected to the developments from technology. Improving internet connection – going from wired to wireless access, replacing the desktop computer with a portable version – the laptop, the disappearance of mobile phones with buttons and the appearance of smartphones – with the touchscreen technology, - all these shifts had an impact on the way people communicate.

Social media has been gradually transformed in a major online platform that serves as a tool of communication and of information. Social media has revolutionized everything in such an amazing way that we (the 90’s generation) cannot remember for sure how it was before this online community entered into our lives. It is needless to say that social media has forever reshaped every society. Social media is part of our daily lives and it comprises everything from advertising, news, articles, statements, personal opinions, photos, songs, quotes and even the professional activity of institutions or public figures.

As mentioned above, social media could not exist without the Internet. This revolutionary online network that connects millions of people “has made accessing information as easy as lifting a finger. No longer do we have to make costly efforts to find the things we want. We can “Google” the old classmate, find articles online.” (Martin, 2012:24).

The Internet has become the most important and accessed source of information that shares everything to its community. Social media is just an extension of the Internet and it has pushed things further: meaning that every user can create his own public profile and he can send and receive online invitations from everyone who is active on social networks. Social media succeeded in getting closer to the Internet user, helping him to create his own profile and set his own interests on his personal page. Practically, everyone who uses social media has his/her own private online space.

Probably the most important social network which is an online platform that offers a personal profile for each one of its users is Facebook. Facebook accounts for more than 2.5 billion users worldwide; among its users we find: common people, public figures, public institutions (of any kind), businesses, magazines, journals; profile pages of: artists, writers, inventors, researchers, politicians, songwriters and so on. In other words, everything and everyone is on Facebook.

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The founder of Facebook is Mark Zuckerberg. In an online article entitled: *What is Facebook? Just ask Mark Zuckerberg*, I have found several statements related to the role of Facebook. One of Mark Zuckerberg's statements has drawn my attention because he linked Facebook with the idea of global community. In 2017, Mark Zuckerberg said that:

“Facebook stands for bringing us closer together and building a global community. When we began, this idea was not controversial. Every year, the world got more connected and this was seen as a positive trend. Yet now, across the world there are people left behind by globalization, and movements for withdrawing from global connection. There are questions about whether we can make a global community that works for everyone, and whether the path ahead is to connect more or reverse course. The most important thing we at Facebook can do is to develop the social infrastructure to give people the power to build a global community that works for all of us” (Gartenberg, 2019).

Two years after this statement, in 2019, we have to agree that Facebook's global community is still out there and it has produced a lot of important changes and it has influenced almost all sectors of activity including education.

Education and Social Media

Due to the massive widespread of social media which has conquered its popularity among teenagers, the educational institutions have to bring this new, digital world to courses and courses should somehow reflect our present digitalized lives. Technology is driving education; therefore we have to find innovative methods of integrating technology in the process of education. Education should focus on creating global citizens who can work with and develop technology. The learning subjects have to present their topics in an interesting way, they should make learning enjoyable and relevant and they should also prepare learners with 21st century skills. In fact: “Digital technologies and media are also recognized as implicit elements of the “informal” modes of learning that are stimulated by general interests, pursuits and hobbies outside the formal curriculum”(Selwyn, 2013:5)

Social media had an impact on ELT (English Language Training)

The teaching methods are changing and we are witnessing dramatically shifts in teaching.

In the domain in which I activate – ELT (English Language Training), the teaching methods are getting closer to the student's needs. English course books have a selection of texts that present fascinating topics about our planet and compelling ideas from around the world. Traditional English grammar books have been gradually replaced by English course books that mix reading, writing, grammar, listening and speaking skills. Moreover, English teachers have extended their listening practice – with audio or video materials that are able to provide an intelligent balance to that more frivolous side of the internet.

Furthermore, communication is also encouraged in English courses and students get the chance to communicate freely on topics that will interest them. Even the English grammar section has dramatically changed – in nowadays the grammar box is presented in a fun, information-rich and contemporary way of providing a springboard for the topic of each English class/ course. The range of English materials has been enriched by social media platforms that can be used for teaching English effectively. Writing

activities that are linked to social media can help students express their opinions and improve their vocabulary in English.

Students/ pupils are more attracted to writing activities that reflect their daily interests: for example – if you ask a student to write a review or a comment on a given topic he responds better to your proposal rather than asking him to write an essay. In nowadays, students are interested in the length of the activities suggested by the English teacher: they tend to lose their interest if the English activity is too long. This is why, modern English course books have shorten their reading activities and they focus more on the speaking and listening activities. This shift of attitude may be linked to the fact that social media is a fast changing online place. News, articles, photos, comments appear every second, therefore the user of social media is constantly updated – he does not have time to reflect on the information that he has just read because another one has just appeared on his digital screen. This permanent change has somehow reshaped the way an English learner perceives his English classes which should be in compliance to the active social media that surrounds him. Today, English classes should be: interactive, based on visual elements, enjoyable, fun, surprising and activities should be mixed and as concise as possible. In addition, social media and the world of the Internet can be used by teachers because all these online information offer students' a guided access “to a variety of local and global perspectives”(Parrouy, 2016:.52)

Moreover, today, communication is driving education and there is a transition of *ownership* from traditional education which was paper – based to the e-learning system; modern education is based more on the visual, practical and communicative part. If we take for example the English language we have to admit that, right now, communication is driving the language acquisition and not the grammar part. English has become the language of business, technology, medicine and other sciences and there is an imperative need to learn how to speak and write in English because people “are talking to each other more and more and English is the ‘operating system’ of that global communication” (online report, British Council:.2)

Encourage critical thinking in the social media era

Teaching students how to speak and write in a foreign language can be enabled by the development of their critical thinking. Critical thinking in education is a vast term that leads to many philosophical debates. A pertinent, concise description of critical thinking would be: “Critical thinking involves character as well as cognition. Students must be inclined to pursue “truth” over their own biases, persist through challenges, assess their own thinking fairly, and abandon mistaken reasoning for new and more valid ways of thinking”(Parrouy, 2016:23)

This means that students need to question things especially the information that they receive from the social media and from the Internet in general. Some of the information that can be found on social networks is sometimes inaccurate, full of mistakes and therefore misleading. Information has to be double-checked and the teacher is the person who can be asked if the student has doubts related to something that he reads online. This fast flow of information has to be verified because we have to take into consideration that on social media information does not necessarily go the traditional way – from the producer/ writer/ researcher to the reader. In social media, there is the risk that misleading information is taken over by thousands of users and shared as an authentic one.

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In fact, some students are not questioning the information that they receive from their smart devices and this where the teacher can intervene and clarify the veracity of online resources.

Nevertheless: “If used correctly, social media can have many benefits in the educational setting, depending on the task and the type of media employed. For example, they provide excellent tools for socializing students into the online world and for teaching them about appropriate online communication practices” (Poore, 2015, Chapter 1:3)

Encouraging the development of students’ critical thinking is a strategy that is meant to help the student acquire the necessary knowledge that he will use when he gets in contact with the ‘real life’. Moreover, current trends in education show that we are moving towards learner-centered approaches. Teachers are focusing their attention on students’ needs and interests and they are rethinking and readapting their teaching methods. Teachers are inserting in their classes, activities that are meant to encourage the student’s creativity, critical thinking and communication skills. Today’s teachers are trying to create a suitable learning environment in a digital world; they have included online resources as tools that support their class activity. The feedback is positive and students feel comfortable and support the idea of using social media and online resources during classes.

Bringing social media in classes and encouraging students’ critical thinking help the teacher establish a good connection with his students. The classes in which teachers chose to share materials from social media and debate them with their students; the atmosphere improves and students perceive the learning process in a different way: they see it as a fun and interactive lesson that is made to teach them.

Therefore, “In order to create environments that engage students in critical/ analytical processes, instructors might ask questions, encourage diverse opinions, and involve students in a variety of hands-on activities that force them to be involved in their learning... Social media facilitates easy discussions and peer review activities, hence, assisting students to get engage in higher level of learning” (Rezaei, Ritter, 2018:17-18).

Social media promotes Education

Social media promotes education or the other way around – education is promoted through social media. The most obvious example is represented by the public profiles that exist on different social platforms for our university – University of Craiova. These profiles are very active and the administrator updates them daily. The official page of UCV from social media has almost 30.000 followers. This public online profile of the University of Craiova presents the activity of the institution, of its teachers and students. Another example of education / research promoted through social media is the public profile of this conference: CEPOS. This profile presents details about pervious and future conferences and it is also very active on social networks. These two examples can be followed by a long series of national and international universities, schools, publications, conferences, workshops that chose social media as a way of promoting their activity. The most important reason in choosing social media as an advertising method is represented by the fact that social networks can reach out to all generations worldwide. Everyone, no matter his/her geographical position can read about, join or comment on a public profile. Using social media is the best way of showing that you (no matter if we are speaking about an institution or a professional) exist, you have opinions, you organize events and, more importantly, if you are part of

an educational institution, and you are either a teacher or an educator or a conference organizer, you encourage education.

Social media is a tool of communication as well as a tool of advertising. Online platforms have the power of gathering people in a large community. This large community has changed its options: it went from face-to-face interaction (which was a general habit before social media) to online interaction, communication. Education – with all that this term means – is present in social media and is opened to this new digital way of living.

This new way of advertising, of creating a name for your business, institution or conference is one of the most successful ones because it connects more people than it would be possible otherwise. In addition, for the education system it is very important to be close to younger generations – and this connection can be enabled by social media. Important educational institutions and members from the educational domain have realized the importance of being present on social networks – which means a direct contact with the targeted community.

Do we still need a teacher if we have online resources?

The teacher is and will remain a mentor and a guide for his students no matter the subject that he/she teaches. Today's teachers represent the contemporary school that has to offer balance – a balance between its curriculum and all the other alternative methods of learning. Among these alternative methods of learning, digital technology and the use of online resources are included.

Nevertheless," one of the dangers of the digital world is over-commitment and burnout of 24/7 availability of the technology. The culture of the school must ensure that students develop skills in balancing their responsibilities, managing their time and working in an efficient and economical way." (Lee & Gaffney, 2008:116)

Since the appearance of the Internet, social media and online platforms that share and debate all type of information, younger generations may feel like they no longer need a teacher because they can get their information from online resources. Although technology has been one of the most revolutionary things that happened to humanity after the industrial era, we should not fall in the trap of believing that social media or any other online website can ever replace a real teacher.

Even if "Children become aware of the promise of technology from very early on, but this promise only really begins to deliver during the teenage years" (Davies & Eynon, 2013:123), their online experience has to be guided at home as well as at school. The family and the teacher represent the elements that offer support and appropriate online materials that are meant to help the pupil/ student improve his knowledge.

The question *why do I need a teacher if I have Google?* can be the subject of many debates. This question was also the title of a book written by Ian Gilbert who "is an educational innovator, award-winning writer, entrepreneur and inspirational speaker, delivering training to schools and colleges in the UK and Europe" (Gilbert, 2011: preface).

Throughout his book, the author explains that the role of the teacher means "that the children you are (1) teaching science and (2) preparing to make their way in the world are going into direct competition with amazing, wonderful, highly motivated, highly skilled, technologically savvy people from anywhere in the world, and if you don't equip them to be world class people who else will?" (Gilbert, 2011: 14)

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Gilbert's approach on the role of the teacher/ educator reflects perfectly the reality that we are presently facing. Today, information is no longer a rare thing that can be found only in books, libraries or at school. Today, information is available, instantly, just by typing on your computer's keyboard the key words for the research and click on your mouse. After that, an entire world of information opens in front of you with several pages of websites that contain parts of or different views on the information that you looked for. In this case, in which the teacher or the book are no longer the main holders of information, the student/ pupil can start looking for information via social media. The element that defines the teacher is that he is able to inspire the pupil/ student in his research by sharing his own professional experience. The collaboration between the learner and his teacher has to be very productive and the teacher should choose his online resources according to his students' needs and sometimes even interests.

Moreover, education should embrace technology because: "The technology-filled environment in which today's students are immersed is both a challenge and an opportunity for educators." (Martin, 2012:15)

The new, digital generations that are coming in the education system "have spent their entire lives surrounded by and using computers, video games, digital music players, video cameras, cell phones, and all the other toys and tools of the digital age" (Martin, 2012:15). Today's teenagers spend less time reading a book and more time browsing the Internet and social networks. This is why education should bring through its teachers the digital media in classes in a supervised version. Still, there are challenges for teachers as they have "to leverage technology to create learning environments and experiences that mirror our students' daily lives as well as what the future holds for them." (Martin, 2012:16)

In addition, the new, digital generations of students/ learners have to be aware that the learning process does not have to stop immediately after they leave the classroom. It has to be a continuous, lifelong process because information is rapidly and constantly changing and updating.

One other challenge is that, in search for information, students are tempted to "click on the first link, use only the information they find there.... Educators need to show students how to go much further in their search of information. Without high quality instruction, many students will continue to think that Google is a source, not a search engine" (Martin, 2012:24).

Conclusions

The evolution of technology, worldwide access to the internet (the largest and fastest way of communication) and the appearance of social media, all these, have revolutionized every field of activity. We can say that everyone is online and is interconnected with the world. Information travels fast and it can be easily accessed through smart devices. Right now, the majority of us choose the online research method as a primary way of finding out what interests us. Afterwards, if we are not satisfied or if in doubt we go to other sources like: books, specialists, doctors, engineers, teachers and so on. And, sometimes even if we receive an authorized response to our answer, some of us will probably *Google* the problem once again or start a debate on social media websites.

The fact that we use social media on a daily basis influences, even if in a subconscious way, our learning and teaching style. Education has reached social media and in this way it has opened the doors for digital technology to enter inside schools and

universities. "Schooling needs to become more student-centered, interest based, results oriented and personalized through digital technology."(West, 2013: 9).

Education is closely linked to technology because we have to admit that through education (this means schools, universities, teachers, professors, books, researches or projects), technology has evolved to this extent that it has conquered our daily lives.

Therefore, digital technology is a result of education and right now, education is using online resources and social media to reach out to present and future generations of learners and to us- the ones that are interested in the field of education.

In conclusion: "Society not only continues by transmission, by communication, but it may fairly be said to exist in transmission, in communication" (Dewey, 2004: 4).

Communication is a key element in the development of every society and Alan Charlesworth explains perfectly what happened with communication before and after digital technology:"Before Internet technology made it possible, however, social contact between communities of like-minded people who shared views on everything from politics to the best way to grow tomatoes was restricted by the logistics of geography and limitations in communication media... Such restrictions do not apply to the digital generation, however. Be it on a PC, laptop or hand-held device, user generated content can be spread around the world at the touch of a keyboard or mouse." (Charlesworth, 2015, Introduction: 2).

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ORIGINAL PAPER

Representing Public Health in Romanian Communist Media (1945-1989)

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Abstract

In present days, as the existing literature shows (McCombs, 2004), the news production is influenced by organizational and professional variables (professional norms, individual and professional values). The media content no longer appears as an “isolated”, but as a product deeply rooted into the social world, being organizationally determined. The media is a body of work relevant for understanding the nature and the importance of content effects on people and society (knowing the media, content, its effects on the audience can be predicted). The aim of the present paper was to present media coverage of public health in Romanian printed press during the communist period (1945-1989). A quantitative content analysis was made on a sample of Romanian printed press titles published in that period of time. The articles were published in “Sănătatea” (“The Health”) - 1967-1981; “Femeia” (“The Women”) - 1987-1989; “Almanahul Revistei Sănătatea” (“The Yearbook of the Health Review”) - 1982-1983. All articles had directly targeted the prevention, treatment and remedies of the most widespread diseases, such as cardiovascular disease, respiratory system, and advice on food and quality of life. At the first sight, the results showed a strong interest of the communist state in communicating about the improvements of the population’s health status. However, at a more in-depth analysis the results had revealed the fact that the prophylactic methods transmitted to the population were based on the main political goal of demographic growth postponed by the Romanian communist regime (Neculau, 2004). The communist proganda put an important emphasis in the health-related information on the importance of strictly observing the rationalization of food, the importance of breeding children and on maintaining women’s health as a means to secure the demographic increase.

Keywords: *Mass media; Romania; health-related information; audience; communist period.*

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Representing Public Health in Romanian Communist Media (1945-1989)

Introduction

Many researches has been focused on the ways in which media represents reality (McCombs, 2004), pointing out the fact that news production is influenced by organizational and professional variables (e.g. professional norms, individual and professional values) (McCombs, 2004). As a result of those external and internal factors media content no longer appears as an “isolated”, but as a product deeply rooted into the social world, being organizationally determined. McCombs (2004) widely considered the problematic role of the media in creating public interest topics. According to his analysis, the most important aspect of the role of public agenda for the media is to influence public opinion (McCombs, 2004).

The research question of this paper is: How was presented the reality in Romanian mass media in the past? In other words, our research question was:

RQ: What were the journalistic procedures to cover and present reality in a different society?

In order to offer an answer at this general question we have choose the period 1945-1989 in Romania and we have been interested to trace the media’s perspectives from which the issue of public health had been then covered in media – the reviews and magazines.

Key-elements of the public health in Romania during the communist period (1945-1989)

After 1945 the Romanian health system was completely under the state’s control and, as in the rest of Easter European countries, it was organised according to the Semashko pattern (Vlădescu, Rădulescu, Cace, 2005). This model (e.g. Semashko model) granted to all citizens free access to medical services and equality for treatments, regardless of medical needs. However, after several decades in which the health situation of the population had improved, the health sector started to be assessed as “non-productive”, as requiring more funds necessary to function than it returned (Maxim, Diaconu, Maxim, 2015). The system has reached its competitiveness peak in the 1970s when it provided the general medical care that was needed to treat common diseases.

Although East-European health systems were similar betewen 1945 and 1989 there has been some traits which could be considered as “national marks” from a medical perspective. In Romania’s case those have been the program of scientific nutrition for populatio, the anti-abortion legislation and the prevalence of specific diseases at the level of population (Neculau, 2004).

The program of scientific nutrition for population

The economic crisis Romania had faced at the beginning of the 1980s had led to the emergence of the so-called “Law for the organization, distribution and use of food supplies at the level of counties” (Neculau, 2004). As a result of this law’s passing ratios of flour, oil, sugar and bread were introduced in the etnire country (mainly in the towns and big cities). The situation was synthetised by Anton (2015: 350) in the following way: “The topics of rationalization, saving and stopping waste have turned in an obsession for the General Secretary of the Communist Party, who had taken measures that sometimes were absurd. If in 1981 a real war was lead against the curtains which covered the public offices’ windows, one year later he had forbid the serving of coffee at official meetings in order to reduce protocol expenses. The coffee also disappeared from shops, its place being taken by a mixture of chicory, chickpea and barley”.

Some major changes took place in the next years (1980-1989) and a clear-cut difference between the rural and urban areas was set up. The food ratios in cities were larger than those distributed in the villages. The consumption of food was based on the premise that the population had weight problems due to supplementary consumption of food (Mihai, 2016). Nicolae Ceausescu was worried about the “high” consumption of some food such as oil and bread, and he initiated a plan of decreasing it (Mihai, 2016), the main official reason being “maintaining the health of Romanian population”.

The anti-abortion legislation

During the communist period the population of Romania increased from 15,872,624 in 1945 to 23,211,395 in 1989 (Bolovan, 2004) (see Table 1):

Table 1. Evolution of the population – Romania: 1945-1990

1948	1956	1966	1977	1990
15,872,624	17,489,450	19,103,163	21,559,910	23,211,395

Source: Bolovan, 2004: 286

The major demographic growth registered after 1966 was a direct result of implementing pronatalist measures in a totalitarian way (Bolovan, 2004). Nicolae Ceausescu’s efforts to increase the population size were connected to a nationalist rhetoric which claimed that “a great nation needed a larger population” (Bolovan, 2004). A set of anti-abortion laws was settled after 1967, and the Romanian Higher Health Council has been tasked with acting as a primary tool of demographic control. Referring to this situation, Barbulescu (2011: 81) has resumed it in a very concise way: “In the general context of the thesis about ‘a healthy nation’, the abortion was seen as a problem which has to be solved at the national level. Major newspapers began to publish articles that discussed, on the one hand, the issue of abortion from using the eugenic framework, and, on the other, they approached the issue on the basis of the thesis that many women in the urban area used abortion to control their fertility”.

In women’s magazines and in other periodicals, articles in which the benefits of a pregnancy were exposed had been published. Those articles contain thesis according to which pregnancy helped to fight against depression, it could heal the skin diseases and allergies, or it could help to fight against melancholy (Tomescu, Todiras, Bîgiu, Rogozea, 2013).

Other health issues of the population during the communist period

Among other diseases recorded at the level of Romanian population between 1945 and 1989 tuberculosis was one of the most severe, as Mureşean (2002: 63) has stressed in an analysis of this disease in Romania: “In the second half of the 20th century, there was a clear decrease in the number of new cases of tuberculosis - 80,361 in 1950 to 12,039 in 1980. After that there was a new increase at 23,611 in 2000”.

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Table 2. The dynamic of tuberculosis' incidence (1970-2000)

Years				
	1970	1980	1990	2000
Incidence ratio at 100,000 inhabitants	137.7	54.5	64.6	105.3
Prevalence ratio at 100 inhabitants	0.63	0.20	0.2	0.18
Mortality ratio at 100,000 inhabitants	18.5	3.7	6.9	9.5

Source: Mureşan, 2002: 63

Syphilis was another disease which affected many Romanians, the main causes being the low level of hygiene and the state of primary care for population in some regions. Mureşan (2002: 63) had indicated that syphilis' incidence had increased in urban areas, as a result of internat migration from villages to cities.

Table 3. The dynamic of syphilis' incidence in Romania (1974-2000)

Years	Total	Urban areas	Rural areas
1974	29.5	48.9	17.3
2000	45.2	52.8	36.0

Source: Mureşan, 2002: 63

Elements of methodology

The present paper analysed the media's reconstruction of health problems during the communist period.

As the main method for research we have used qualitative content analysis (Chelcea, 2001). The sample was made of articles published in various reviews and magazines before 1989: "Science and Life" ("Ştiinţa şi Viaţa") (1970), "The Health" ("Sănătatea") (1967-1981), "The Woman" ("Femeia") (1987-1989), "The Yearbook of the Health Review" ("Almanahul Revistei Sănătatea") (1982-1983), "The Guide of the Housewives" ("Ghidul Gospodinei") (1970), "The Flame" ("Flacăra") (1960-1989).

The qualitative analysis allowed us to present in a descriptive the media coverage of health problems during that period of time. We aimed to highlight the importance of the explanatory language, its complexity, the ease with which it could be understood and applied by lay people.

The period of time in which all data were collected was November 2018-March 2019 and the data were analysed using SPSS 11.5.

The analysis of the result

The management, prevention and treatment of cardiovascular and respiratory diseases

The twelfth issue of the magazine "The Health", which was published in 1967, contained a two-page article describing the medical elements related to sleep and rest hours (Eskenhazy, 1967: 6). Using an accessible language, the author (who was a doctor) discussed the importance of rest and identifies several types of sleep (e.g. "passive and active sleep") and presented the polemic among Western medical scholars about rest and sleep. The article reported also the results of Romanian researches and discussed the existence of two types of sleep: "by pulling out" or "by plugging in" (Eskenhazy, 1967: 6). Also, the author highlighted the beneficial impact of "observing

sleeping rituals”, pointing out the fact that stress and lack of rest could lead to the development of diseases of the heart and the nervous system (Eskenhazy, 1967: 6).

The magazine “The Health” from 1967 (issue 12) also contained a number of articles presenting case-studies from Western countries. One of them introduced the reader to an isolated situation in France where a large number of people with cancer have been detected in a small community (Sănătatea, 1967b: 50). Using the power of contrast, the author had highlighted the positive elements of the Romanian health system in fighting against cancer in the communist period (Sănătatea, 1967b: 50).

Other articles from the same issue of “The Health” magazine had presented statistics according to which women tend to smoke more, pointing out the possible connection between smoking and death (Sănătatea, 1967a, 20). At the same time, the magazine also had published articles which had discussed other diseases of the respiratory system, not necessarily caused by smoking, such as pulmonary congestion. All articles were structured in a similar manner: factors which allow the apparition of a disease, the early signs of disease and its progression, its treatment and the measures of prevention.

Twelve years later (that is, in 1978) the first issue of “The Health” had published an article with the title: “The Great National Assembly of the Social Republic of Romania had passed the Law on population general health insurance” (Turturescu, 1978: 4). The article presents the law which stated the states’s protection on the public health for all citizens, regardless of their nationality, race, sex or religion. The author also informs the readers about their rights to receive medical care under any circumstances (Turturescu, 1978: 4). Another important article published in this issue is related to the hygiene at the work-place and it deals with the rules that should be implemented in the context of industrial production (Sănătatea, 1978a: 24). It is structured also in a simple and synthetic way: hygiene is presented as a requirement of the production; health education and control; significant control test for the pollution (Sănătatea, 1978a: 24). The section on “Medical News” of this issue of “The Health” covered the topic of nutrition which is presented through the “lens” of new scientific researches (Mihăilescu, 1978: 7). The content of the article is the presentation of a round-table discussion on the topic: “The Methodology of Population Nutrition and Nutrition Survey” and here the opinions of various doctors from Romania were cited (Mihăilescu, 1978: 7). The entire discussion was focused on understanding and explaining the population’s eating habits in Romania.

The second issue of “The Health” published in 1978 contained articles devoted to the topic of rational nutrition in the context of a general campaign for preventing the acute digestive diseases. One article presents the meeting of the representatives of the Red Cross with doctors from different districts on the topic of “improving the health status of working people, preventing diseases and spreading hygiene and sanitary knowledge among population” (Sănătatea, 1978b: 8-10). The article covers the topic of the existing link between food ratios and health issues, the conditions in which food becomes a factor which leads to certain diseases, the food’s preservation, preparation and hygiene (Sănătatea, 1978b: 8-10).

The articles on food ratios became more and more frequent at the beginning of the 1980s in Romanian printed press, but they could be found in almost every issue of “The Health” magazine between 1968 and 1989, as well as in “The Woman” magazine between 1978 and 1989.

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Three years later (in 1981), the article covering the National Program for Prevention and Control of Cardiovascular Diseases was published in “The Health” magazine (Vlaicu, 1981: 4). From this material, the readers could learn that in the period 1974-1982 the ratio of mortality due to cardiovascular disease in Romania was 478.2 per 100,000 inhabitants (Vlaicu, 1981: 4). The article discusses the strategies of the national program in order to inform people about the causes of cardiovascular disease. The author also made a list of causes of cardiovascular diseases: the abuse of food, alcohol drinking, smoking and stress (Vlaicu, 1981: 4). Once again, using the thesis of decreasing the high levels of cholesterol (one of the main causes of hearth-related diseases) the article discussed at length the necessity of food ratios in modern societies. Another article on the food-related topic published in the same issue presents the necessary amount of kilocalories that has to be consumed in 24 hours by each type of person: children or adult, young or mature, woman or man (Moronescu, 1981: 7). The author (who, once again, was a doctor) presents a list of different issues caused by bad habits related to nutrition, such as: obesity, excess of salt in food and other issues (Moronescu, 1981: 7). The readers were encouraged to make regular checks of their weights and to consult doctors if they discover that they gained extra-weight in a short period of time (Moronescu, 1981: 7). In the same issue of “The Health” it was also published a test about the readers’ diet and the announced prize was a brochure of the Red Cross with the title “When, How, How Do We Eat?” Readers were encouraged to send to the editorial team their recipes used in fighting obesity and weight-gain (Sănătatea, 1981a: 34).

The third issue of “The Health” magazine published in 1981 covered various topics, but the main focus was on combating and preventing seasonal diseases (the flu, the cold or the allergies). A separate section from this issue was devoted to nutrition, and the rationale behind this editorial decision was the fact that food and nutrition were assessed to be problems of general interest. One article used examples of good practices in order to prevent obesity and presented ways of improving daily nutrition and also pointed out the case of nutrition for a specific group of people (Sănătatea, 1981b: 12).

The same topic (e.g. nutrition) linked to cardiovascular disease was covered in an entire issue of “The Health” magazine published in 1982. One article (Hozan, 1982: 10) presents an interview with the Head of the Department of Nutrition and Metabolic Diseases of Sibiu County Hospital. In the article which presented a discussion between the doctor and the journalist and the topic approached were the underlying conditions related to Romania’s food habits which could lead to cardiovascular diseases: the type and quantity of food, the overweight of many people and the sedentary way of life (Hozan, 1982: 10). Another article from the same issue of this magazine contains advices for the population in order to introduce vegetables in their daily diet (Dumitrache, 1983: 13).

The protection of the environment and the fight against pollution

The eighth issue of “The Women” magazine (published in 1987) covered the topic of pollution and protection of the environment. In the article with the title “Holiday at the seaside” the tourists were advised to pay special attention at the cleanliness of the seaside (Iacob, 1987: 4). The article also presents a set of rules for tourism’s behavior: avoiding to let waste in no-signaled areas, paying attention to packs, bottles, plastic boxes or cigarettes’ butts which could be found in sand, avoid damaging installations from the common sanitary facilities and so on (Iacob, 1987: 4).

In the same magazine, two years later (in 1989) an article on the topic of pollution in Romania was published. The author warns about the possible dangers related to pollution and environment and the title was extremely appealing: “Let’s give an unpolluted nature to our children” (Georgescu, 1989: 9).

Linking pollution to economic development an article published in 1989 in “The Woman” magazine describes the increase of chemical emissions caused by cars and stress the need to reduce the risks of accidental pollution by complying at some basic rules of hygiene rules (Femeia, 1989a: 10). The set of solutions proposed by the authors in this case also made reference to recycling. In a second article on this topic from the same issue of “The Woman” magazine a list of ways to collect and recycle waste adapted to the new capacity needs of the growing population of Bucharest was published for the first time in the communist printed press (Femeia, 1989b: 12).

“The Yearbook of the Health Review” published in 1982 includes a series of articles on prevention and fighting against the diseases, the quality of life, the protection of environment, the family’s importance as a factor in the children’s development, the role of women in the family. In the article with the title “SOS Terra” the topics of pollution and environment’s protection were discussed (Ianovici, 1982: 46). The author states the environment’s protection as a major problem which affect people’s health economic development world-wide (Ianovici, 1982: 46). He also refers to the issue of water’s quality and warns about the need to minimize as much as possible the infiltration of toxic substances into soil, where they can affect the ground-water and, from here, people’s health. In the end, the author presents a list of the top ten pollutants and explains their use in economic activities (Ianovici, 1982: 46).

Short informative articles on general health

The sample of magazines and reviews enclosed in our sample covered also some general aspects related to health. Thus, “The Yearbook of the Health Review” (the issue which was published in 1982) contains a special section devoted to self-medication. The article with the title “Pills at any price?” presents the risks of chemical imbalance caused by abuse or incorrect administration of medicines (Almanahul Revistei Sănătatea, 1982a: 66-67). The authors offered as example the case of “Thalidomina”, a drug prescribed to pregnant women as a sedative but which had consequences on the children born after the mother undergone this treatment (Almanahul Revistei Sănătatea, 1982a: 66-67). The yearbook also published old suggestions on hygiene, health and nutrition under the title “Advices old for 140 years which are still valid today”, stressing, once again, the benefits for health of certain foods (Almanahul Revistei Sănătatea, 1982b: 140).

The next year’s issue of “The Yearbook of the Health Review” had published an article covering the activity of World Health Organization in order to develop prophylaxis for a better public health (Barnea, 1983: 3). The article cites the slogan used at the 34th World Health Assembly hold in 1981 in Geneva – “Health for All in the year 2000” – and presents the objectives of this organisation related to prophylaxis (Barnea, 1983: 3). Even in this case, the author stressed the importance of nutrition norms for the general well-being of the population (Barnea, 1983: 3). Another article published in the same issue of the yearbook stated the fact that nutrition should be balanced and “in accordance with the economic, social, moral and humanitarian rules of the socialist society” (Almanahul Revistei Sănătatea, 1983: 30). Other articles published in the same

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issue of the yearbook covered the topics of rational nutrition for pregnant women, nutrition for children and adolescents, children's obesity and its consequences.

The issues related to mental illness were among the topics which were only accidentally covered in the reviews and magazines during the communist-period. An article published in "The Yearbook of the Health Review" (the issue which was published in 1983) under the headline "Depression between sadness and suicide" pointed out the most common symptoms of depression and lists several stages and types of depression: reactive depression, mental seizures, melancholy (Pascu, 1983: 184). A short history was published for each type and stage of depression (Pascu, 1983: 184) but one could notice that there was no medical advice related to depression's treatment and / or prevention.

Other publications which had published articles on topics related to health and medicine themes were "Science and Life" (1970-1989), "The Guide of the Housewives" (1970) and "The Flame" (1960-1989). As compared with the previous magazines and reviews ("The Health", "The Woman" and "The Yearbook of the Health Review") one could notice that the last category of Romanian publications did not cover in detail the issues related to health and illness. The majority of articles published on those topics were small informative notes about certain diseases (such as flu or cold) and special sections devoted to answer questions received from the readers.

Conclusions

Referring to the paradigm of journalism in modern societies, Reese (1997: 423-424) pointed out that this can be seen as being shaped following a model that governs the collection of information, manifested in practical journalism. At the same time, modern journalism is focused on objectivity as the highest value of journalistic's ethics (Reese, 1997: 424). On the other hand, as Rieffel (1994: 190) noticed, when news was published by the media the journalists had to make appeal at certain source in order to cover an existing topic (Rieffel, 1994). Referring to the work of journalism, Jeffres (1986) have differentiated between objective and subjective (personal) standards of professional culture.

Even if in the case of the communist press one could not invoke and use the Western standards of media's activity the present article had presented some journalistic procedures to cover the health-related topic in Romania between 1945 and 1989.

Using only official sources the public health's image transmitted by the communist state was that of direct and deep concern on the health and well-being of the population. However, a more in-depth analysis allows us to point out the main themes with a clear ideological bias – this being the case with the program of scientific nutrition for population from the 1980s.

One favoured technique used by the Romanian journalists to cover health-related issues in the case of nutrition was to connect the scientific results related to common diseases (such as circulatory and respiratory ones). The aim of all articles was only to deliver a clear message about the necessity of food ratios and scientific nutrition. Another procedure was the use of non-connected health issues (such as the topic of pollution and environment's protection) and to link them to food and nutrition in order to point out, once again, the necessity of food ratios for the population.

At the same time we could notice the fact that the communist printed press had published articles which had stressed the role of media as formal educators about the medical system through the use of citations from laws and official documents, extended

coverage of medical discoveries, making recommendation about the future of the system and adopting an impersonal attitude towards the topics presented.

The present study has some limitations, the most important being the qualitative character of the analysis, which did not allow the generalisation of the results. Despite those drawbacks we assess that it could be taken as a starting point for a future analysis about the ways in which public health issues were covered in Romania in the last decades. Obviously, future research is needed in order to understand the evolution of Romanian collective mentality regarding the medical system and health.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

EFL in the Post-Communist Era: Background, Methods and Values

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Abstract

The present paper aims at offering an overview of teaching and acquiring English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in the period after the 1989 Revolution. Structured in four sections, it focuses on the background of teaching English in the communist and post-communist eras with reference at the changes of our educational system, the importance of English as a means of international communication and the extent of it in schools, as well as on the various methods used in classes in order to facilitate the learning process of a language. Thus, throughout these past 30 years from the communist period, one can easily notice a tremendous shift from the old-fashioned, restrictive way of teaching a foreign language to a modern approach, ready to meet the needs of both young learners and adults. The Grammar-translation method, widely used for some years in our educational system, has steadily been replaced by newer and more updated approaches to help learners become proficient users of English. Nowadays, the role of English as a Lingua Franca is definite, with more and more learners, at all ages, studying and using it in different contexts. Undoubtedly, English has become a tool of international communication and it is in the power of teachers/trainers to facilitate this acquisition process in order to meet the interests and needs of contemporary learners.

Keywords: *EFL, Post-Communist era; Lingua Franca; GT approach; CLT.*

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EFL in the Post-Communist Era: Background, Methods and Values

Background

English as a Foreign Language (EFL) has been learned and taught in Romania for many years, yet to different extents. When discussing the preference of the Romanians over a certain foreign language, one needs to consider other factors beside the purely linguistic ones. The studying of a language is greatly influenced by historical, geopolitical and economic factors. As part of the Eastern European countries, Romania went under the Russian influence after the Second World War, and, interestingly, during the communist period, though the regime was in tight connections with the Russians, the first foreign language learned and taught in schools was French. Other foreign languages, such as Russian, English, and, in a lower extent, German were taught in different schools across the country. Whereas Russian was mainly taught in countryside schools, sometimes as a first language, the situation looked differently in the big cities: French was considered the first option, followed by Russian and English as second languages.

After the 1989 Revolution and the fall of communism, the Romanians had the chance of meeting the Western culture, and apart from other economic and political changes, the educational system has undergone a series of transformations. It was the case of the foreign languages as well, where the role of English has risen gradually to a very large extent nowadays. Yet, this reform of the educational system has been a continuous process, targeting the leveling of teaching foreign languages to the curricula and the methods used in the European Union.

At the beginning of the post-communist period, precisely during 1990-1993, the Government tried to implement some changes which were not specific to the English language but common to all foreign languages taught in schools and high schools. The foreign language became a compulsory subject starting with the 2nd grade, the choice of the language being on the part of the educational institution, depending on their resources. The teaching of foreign languages in the primary education system proved difficult to be implemented since many schools did not possess the human resource necessary to this process, so, primary teachers had to combine their role with that of a foreign language teacher. At the same time, there was a general curriculum, valid to all languages, which was focused on the traditional teaching, the goal being the lexical and grammatical correctness of the language. In secondary schools, the English textbooks were rather dull, based on the main principle of reading and translating texts, offering no freedom to teachers but to follow the contents of the textbooks.

Only during 1993-1995 there was an attempt to modernize the curriculum, in the respect of setting objectives specific to different age-groups. Thus, we can talk about the integration of both general and specific objectives in the English-language curriculum, the appearance of some more attractive and colorful textbooks to be used in class, as well as the structuring of contents on themes, ideas and lexical-grammatical structures. The next three years brought forth a methodology of teaching with a focus on developing skills, shifting the way of teaching from the teacher-centered lesson to the student-centered one. Reading and translation, the analysis of literary texts, the grammatical theory gradually decreased in importance opening the gate towards other methods such as the audio-lingual one, offering teachers the possibility of choosing among a series of alternative textbooks which suit the needs of their classes. A real landmark in the modernization of the curriculum emerged in 1998 with the implementation of the National Curriculum which also changed perspectives in relation to the teaching of foreign languages. The new framework brought a lot of advantages for

the teaching of English, mainly the one concerning the syllabus which included the development of the four skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. At the same time, teachers were free to choose the textbook which suited best the interests and needs of their students, the number of alternative resources being on increase. Yet, a major drawback of the curriculum regarded the teaching of English as a 1st foreign language which became compulsory from the 3rd grade-on and optional for the 1st and 2nd grades.

After 2001, and especially after two important moments in the history of our country, 2004- Romania becoming a member of NATO and 2007- the adherence of Romania to the European Union, an increased interest in both the teaching and learning of EFL could easily be perceived, an interest which is still present nowadays. The process of acquiring the language has been aligned to the standards imposed by the EU while the skills involved have been in accordance with the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.

In the paper called “The Evolution of the English Subject Curriculum in Romanian Primary and Lower Secondary Education”, the authors, Norica Bucur and Oana Popa (2015), divide the curricular reform into two main stages: 1990-1998 the transition stage, 1998-present the National Curriculum stage. Yet, in the light of the main changes regarding the teaching of EFL and English as a First Foreign Language (EFFL), they continue subdividing these two main stages into several sub-stages related to the specific modifications which have appeared throughout the process. As it is stated, “considering the official EFFL curricular documents in force since 1990, the EFFL curriculum for primary and lower secondary education in Romania could serve as a possible example for the tumultuous history of Romanian education reform. Even if stagnation or involution stages could be identified along the analyzed period, the EFFL curriculum for primary and lower secondary education has moved forward. The most recently designed foreign language subject curricula for primary education (2012, 2015) definitely prove this positive evolution, which will probably extend to both lower and upper secondary levels in the near future, to ensure competence-based education, in line with European and international trends” (Bucur, Popa, 2015: 55).

All in all, ever since 1990, there have been constant efforts to improve the curriculum for teaching EFL, a process which is still in progress in order to offer both teachers and learners the chance of an education aligned to the international standards. At present, the English subject matter is studied starting from kindergarten (an optional activity) to the academic education (especially the first two years of higher education) giving the chance of an openness towards globalization.

English – a Means of International Communication

Due to globalization and the fact that, for some years now, people from different countries and different fields of activity have started to connect with one another, the English language has known an enormous spread all around the globe. It is used as the main means of communication in all sorts of fields, be it politics, business, social media, tourism, etc., thus becoming an international language. Several terms have been rendered to its use around the world, such as EIL -English as an International Language (Jenkins, 2003), English as a Global Language (Crystal, 2003), Englishes, English as a World Language (Mair, 2003), English as a Lingua Franca (Seidlhofer, 2000), all considering the widespread of this language in various contexts.

Thus, “when we refer to a certain language as *a lingua franca*, then we consider the use of it as a means of communication by speakers belonging to different cultures

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and regions. Both native and non-native speakers are integrated in the concept, since it is spoken in situations with widely varying combinations of participants, including first language speakers of different varieties” (Mauranen, 2017: 9). At the same time, in her work called “Understanding English as a Lingua Franca”, Barbara Seidlhofer (2011) discusses different studies related to the spread of English as an international language, and, implicitly as a Lingua Franca, relying on data and concepts provided by Crystal (2006), and Kachru (1992), coming to the conclusion that, “so while estimates of speakers are bound to be vague, the orders of magnitude seem to be fairly clear. Here are some figures, which taken together certainly amount to the conclusion that 'native speakers' of English are clearly outnumbered by 'non-native speakers': Crystal (2003b: 69) gives the following estimates for speakers of English in terms of Kachru's model of 'concentric circles' (Kachru, 1992): 'Inner Circle' i.e. first language in, for example, UK, USA: 320-380 million; 'Outer Circle' i.e. additional language, in India, Nigeria: 300-500 million; 'Expanding Circle', i.e. foreign language, in China, Russia: 500-1000 million” (Seidlhofer, 2011: 2-3).

Thus, considering Kachru's model, we can easily integrate Romania in the 'Expanding Circle', with more and more citizens learning and using the language internationally. Though it is very difficult to find relevant data regarding the number of Romanians as speakers of English as a Foreign Language, we can rely on data from the National Institute of Statistics which offer a view of the foreign languages studied in the Romanian educational system. In a report of the academic year 2015-2016, we find that the first foreign language studied in the primary and secondary educational system is English with 84.4% of the total number of primary school learners and 79.2% of the total number of secondary school learners, studying it, followed by French with a rate of 12.8% in primary education and 18.6% for the secondary education. On the third position we find German language with a rate of 2.1% in primary schools and 1.9% in secondary schools. (INS-The National Institute of Statistics report on the Educational System in Romania 2015-2016)

As for the situation in the high school educational system, for the same academic year 2015-2016, the students learning English as the first foreign language (562.2 thousand students) greatly outnumber those studying French (100.5 thousand students), followed by German (7.0 thousand students) and other languages in a lower degree (3.8 thousand students). (INS -The National Institute of Statistics report on the Educational System in Romania 2015-2016).

According to the data presented above, there is no doubt that English ranks first in the top of foreign languages studied in schools in the Romanian educational system. It is a matter of choice on behalf of the stakeholders involved in the educational process—authorities, teachers, and students in equal parts who have taken the decision to align the studying of foreign languages to the standards of the European Union. The fact that English nowadays is considered a Lingua Franca globally is a prerequisite of the decision made by those involved.

At the same time, since Romania is part of the European Union and, since special importance is offered to the proficiency of English throughout the continent, several statistics have emerged, ranking countries and their citizens according to the level of spoken English. In this respect, according to the latest index (2018) which regards the ranking of countries and regions by English skills, we find Romania on the 16th place (out of 88 countries and regions), i.e. with a high proficiency of the language. In Europe, our country registers a score of 60.31, being placed the 13th out of 32

countries. This high proficiency trend has been valid ever since 2014, which shows a constant effort to maintain a high standard of both teaching and learning this foreign language (EF EPI, 2018).

As stated, “worldwide, over 1.4 billion people live in countries where English has official status. One out of five of the world's population speaks English with some degree of competence. And by 2000, one in five – over one billion people – will also be learning English. Over 70% of the world's scientists read English. About 85% of the world's mail is written in English. And 90% of all information in the world's electronic retrieval systems is stored in English. By 2010, the number of people who speak English as a second or foreign language will exceed the number of native speakers. This trend will certainly affect the language” (Hasman, 2004: 19).

The spread of this language in the education systems around the world, its use in various fields of activity, the redefinition of our world, have all contributed to the rise of English as an international language. It is used in business, as the prime tool of communication among people of different origins, it appears in the academic world through international conferences, work-shops, it is the main language in medicine and technical fields, not to forget its widespread use in the online field.

Older and newer methods in teaching / learning EFL

Alongside the evolution of English as an international language, several debates and studies have drawn attention towards different methods which suit best the needs and interests of students or learners. These methods and activities are supposed to ease the task of the English teachers/trainers in helping their students acquire the necessary information in order to be successfully used in real-life situations. A distinction should be made between learning English as part of the educational system, i.e. students having English as a subject matter in schools, therefore needing to reach goals imposed by curricula and adult learners who face the task of becoming proficient in English out of various reasons: they need the language at work or they are simply interested in traveling around the globe.

This section discusses methods used in classes which help teachers facilitate the learning process of their students. A method is the means which offers suggestions on how to teach a certain content, selecting and ordering the materials to be taught. The most well-known methods of teaching are: the grammar-translation method (GT), the direct method, the audio-lingualism, the communicative language teaching (CLT) and the humanistic approaches which include the silent way, total physical response, suggestopedia and community language learning. The present part focuses on only two methods, the grammar-translation method and the communicative language teaching since these are the ones with a great expansion in our educational system. All the other methods are also used in classes, but to a lower extent. Considering the GT method, we find out that, “the grammar-translation method (GT) is undoubtedly the oldest method when it comes to teaching foreign languages. It was first used in the Middle Ages in order to teach Latin and Greek and, once the modern languages emerged, it continued to be the preferred method used in classes by teachers and scholars in the field. The use of this method in schools began at the end of the eighteenth century in Germany, being aimed at teaching English for gymnasium. This is how the GT method is also known as the Prussian method by the Americans. Actually, the grammar-translation method was devised and developed for use in secondary schools. It could even be called the 'grammar-school method' since its strengths, weaknesses, and excesses reflected the

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requirements, aspirations, and ambitions of the nineteenth century grammar school in its various guises in different countries” (Howatt, Widdowson, 2004: 151).

In Romania, during the communist period and immediately after the 1989 revolution, this method was largely used in the educational systems in order to facilitate the learning of English. The textbooks heavily relied on translations from English into Romanian and vice versa, followed by grammatical rules in detail and many exercises to practice the rules. In order to acquire new terms, students were supposed to have vocabulary notebooks where the terms were presented in English on one column and their equivalents in Romanian on the other column. Teachers used to ask students to memorize the new terms, to translate sentences and later on (according to proficiency levels), texts (especially literary ones) with no emphasis on oral communication. For the written part, students were often asked to simply copy in their notebooks texts or sentences and, from time to time, to make compositions of their own related to the topic in the textbook. The Romanian language was widely used in classes as the main means of instruction, teachers explaining rules and making comparisons between the two languages in order to make students understand different concepts. Listening as well as speaking activities were rather scarce. The method is still used nowadays by some teachers, yet to a lower extent.

The GT method has advantages as well as disadvantages. According to specialists in the field of language teaching, the disadvantages outnumber the positive points, so, it is advisable for teachers to try to use this method only when absolutely necessary. Practically, its main advantage is somehow of an economic nature, since it's easier to be applied in classes with lots of students, being less time-consuming. Teachers feel they can test students' comprehension easier and in a more precise way. Yet, the biggest disadvantage of this method is the fact that it does not focus on improving speaking skills, which is a prerequisite of learning any foreign language. One cannot believe he/she is proficient in a foreign language if they are unable to produce instant oral messages and need time to translate in their minds what they intend to say. So, the primary goal of teaching/learning a foreign language, and in this case English, is somehow overlooked by this method. Though precise in comprehension, it transforms classes into dull experiences for students who, many times seem absent-minded and bored by coping with rules.

Therefore, “translation and the formal learning of grammar proved effective in the learning of what we call today the classical languages, which except in academic and scholarly circles no one ever makes use of in normal course of life. The inordinate burden which these devices put on the pupils proved useless in the acquisition of a modern language like English which is taught for purposes of day-to-day communication and to be employed in life situations. Both formal learning of the grammar of English as well as translation were carried out in fact in writing with the result that language learning in grammar-translation method became one of learning the written form of the language” (Mukalel, 2007: 50).

Special attention should be offered to a new, modern method of teaching foreign languages, in this particular case, English. The communicative language teaching (CLT) approach is far beyond the characteristics of GT in the respect that “language carries not only functional meaning, it also carries social meaning” (Littlewood, 1981: 4). Ever since its introduction in the late 1970s, the CLT method has gone through several changes so that it could incorporate a special attention to language form. Hymes (1971), introduced the concept of communicative competence, emphasizing the fact that the

linguistic competence (knowledge of grammar rules) is not sufficient in the proficient use of a foreign language. Thus, the rules of language use, known as communicative competence, weigh much in the acquisition of an L2. The concept relies on the idea that learners should be able to function in different contexts, while the grammatical accuracy is not sufficient in every-day situations. After the introduction of the concept, several researchers proposed different models of this approach. Canale and Swain (1980), Bachman and Palmer (1981), all introduced several models of the competence which included the linguistic, pragmatic, sociolinguistic and strategic competences in the teaching of a foreign language. Curricula and syllabi integrated not only the focus on language forms but also an awareness of meanings and functions.

CLT is mainly characterized by its focus on learners, it is a learner-centered approach where students have more control and autonomy. It is based on group-work interaction and corrective feedback. In a class, students heavily rely on collaboration and sharing to get their messages through. Students are exposed to the target language as much as possible, through the use of listening and speaking activities, the avoidance of mother tongue in explanations, and a restructuring of reading and writing which are focused more on the needs of the learners. The role of the teacher is that of a facilitator, helping students whenever needed yet, creating a climate conducive to language learning. What is extremely important to state is the fact that, in the CLT, linguistic competence and the communicative one should not be dealt with separately, on the contrary, syllabi need to integrate the practice and development of all skills: reading, writing, listening and speaking. Therefore, “what the learners need to know how to do is to compose in the act of writing, comprehend in the act of reading, and to learn techniques of reading by writing and techniques of writing by reading” (Widdowson, 1978, p.144). So, a practice of a certain skill should never exclude another, all skills need to be integrated as smoothly as possible so as to lead to a proper acquisition of knowledge of the foreign language. Concerning the different syllabi which exist throughout the world, the most important aspect is that, “while there is no single syllabus model that has been universally accepted, a language syllabus today needs to include systematic coverage of the many different components of communicative competence, including language skills, content, grammar, vocabulary and functions” (Richards, 2006a: 26).

Nowadays, English teachers/trainers have at hand a multitude of materials and textbooks to choose from, depending on the needs of their learners. One cannot consider a method better than the others but try to integrate them in the teaching process so as to help students become proficient in their use of the foreign language. While the above-presented grammar-translation method is chosen by teachers in order to make sure their students master the knowledge of parts of sentences (tenses, clauses, grammatical rules), it's been proved that it is not sufficient in the complexity of language learning process. Even if students have acquired the knowledge of grammar structures, they may not be able to vary their speech in different contexts or feel at ease with different communication strategies. Both in speaking and writing, it is important to set the correct style of communication – formal or informal to be able to state that the process was a success to you (as a user of a foreign language) and to the other participants (pleased with the outcome of the interaction). The Communicative Language Teaching approach helps students precisely in this matter.

So, “current communicative language teaching theory and practice thus draws on a number of different educational paradigms and traditions. And since it draws on a

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number of diverse sources, there is no single or agreed upon set of practices that characterize current communicative language teaching. Rather, communicative language teaching today refers to a set of generally agreed upon principles that can be applied in different ways, depending on the teaching context, the age of the learners, their level, their learning goals, and so on” (Richards, 2006b: 22).

The Romanian educational system, in terms of teaching English as a foreign language, offers guidelines regarding the level students need to target at different ages depending on when they started learning the language, while the curriculum states specific competence students need to acquire as well as types of presenting contents. It is based on the CLT method since it focuses on transmitting and receiving oral and written messages in various communication situations, producing messages in various contexts, the proposed themes and contents being in accordance with the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. In the Curriculum for high-school children, under Values and Attitudes, it is stated that teachers need to develop the awareness of students regarding the role of English as a means of access to international labour market and worldwide culture heritage (Anexa O.M.E.C, 2006). Cultural differences and stereotypes are also mentioned as well as the development of students' interest in discovering specific socio-cultural and professional aspects, through the reception of a variety of texts in English. Grammar points are viewed as elements of construction for communication, needed to facilitate the overall performance of students in the foreign language. Thus, the preferred method in accomplishing the goals imposed by the curriculum is the CLT approach since it is the most suitable approach in the current situation. The Curriculum for teaching English in High-schools builds the development and thoroughness of key competences such as 'Learning to learn', interpersonal, intercultural, social and civic competences. Teachers are free to choose the textbooks which suit the level and needs of their students and ever since the appearance on the market of different prestigious publishing houses, the offer is both extended and valuable as contents. All these show that our country is on its correct path towards modernization and alignment with international standards, specifically the European ones.

Conclusion

As already mentioned in the present paper, the Romanian educational system has undergone several changes throughout the period following the fall of communism in 1989. The teaching of foreign languages, and in this particular case of English, has not been apart of the major changes which involved the system. If during the communist period, English was taught in lower extents in schools as the first foreign language, this situation dramatically changed once our country passed to the era of modernization. A real turning point in the evolution of the education system was the year 1989, when the National Curriculum was introduced, which also changed perspectives in relation to the teaching of foreign languages. This Curriculum has been updated ever since, nowadays being aligned to the common trends and values of the European Union.

Due to globalization and the fact that, for some years now, people from different countries and different fields of activity have started to connect with one another, the English language has known an enormous spread all around the globe, being considered nowadays a real Lingua Franca. Students and learners have become more and more aware of the importance of learning English since it is the main means of communication worldwide. According to statistics, English ranks first in the top of foreign languages studied in schools in the Romanian educational system. It is a matter of choice on behalf of

the stakeholders involved in the educational process- authorities, teachers, and students in equal parts who have taken the decision to allign the studying of foreign languages to the standards of the European Union, preparing themselves to function on the international market as proficiently as possible.

Alongside the evolution of English as an international language, several debates and studies have drawn attention towards different methods which suit best the needs and interests of students or learners. These methods and activities are supposed to ease the task of the English teachers/trainers in helping their students acquire the necessary information in order to be successfully used in real-life situations. The methods and approaches of teaching/learning English as a foreign language have also known several stages, including the transition from older techniques such as the Grammar-translation approach, which was widely used in the years right after the fall of communism, to the newer, modern approaches such as the Communicative Language Training, where the focus is on the student and his/her ability to use and cope with the language in a diversity of communicational situations. What is extremely important to state is the fact that, linguistic competence and the communicative one should not be dealt with separately, on the contrary, syllabi need to integrate the practice and development of all skills: reading, writing, listening and speaking. The education institutions, teachers and students and the stakeholders involved in the educational system, are all an integrated part of the process of proficiently acquiring a foreign language, being aware of its importance internationally. All in all, Romania has proved to be on the correct path towards modernization and alignment with international standards, especially the European ones.

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CEPOS NEW CALL FOR PAPERS 2020
10TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
AFTER COMMUNISM. EAST AND WEST UNDER SCRUTINY
Craiova (Romania), University House,
27-28 March 2020

Dear Colleagues,

We are delighted to invite you to participate in the 10th International Conference AFTER COMMUNISM. EAST AND WEST UNDER SCRUTINY in Craiova, Romania, 27-28 March 2020.

More than three decades after, an event is both history and present. The annual conference organized by CEPOS involves both the perspectives of the researches in the field of Communism and Post-Communism: research experiences and scientific knowledge.

Like a "pointing puzzle", 30 years after the fall of communism, the conference panels explore with emotional detachment, but with a peculiar professional involvement creating and exploiting the inter-disciplinary developments of the East-West relations before and after the crucial year 1989 in the fields of political sciences, history, economics and law.

The conference will be hosted by the University House and during two intense and exciting days, participants all over the world (professors, professionals, doctoral and post-doctoral researchers and students) are invited to raise the issue of the study of recent history of the former communist space in connection with the Western world. We are confident that all of us will focus during these two days on what is important to move the research in the field forward.

We dear to state that we even bear the moral obligation to do that.

Best regards,

The Board of Directors of CEPOS 2020 Conferences and Events Series

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Center of Post-Communist Political Studies (CEPOS) proposes the following panels:

- Political culture, civil society and citizen participation
- History, politics and ideologies in modern and contemporary Europe;
- Communism, transition, democracy;
- Post-communism and collective memory;
- Social changes, political history and collective memory
- Politics, ideologies and social action in transition;
- Revolution and political history;
- Political culture and citizen participation
- Law, legal studies and justice reform;
- Law, transitional justice, democratization;
- Constitution(s), legality & political reforms;
- Political parties, electoral systems and electoral campaigns;
- Security and diplomacy in national and Euro-Atlantic environment;
- Security, social movements and citizenship;
- Rights, identities, policies & participation;
- Education, media & social communication;
- Education, social inclusion and regional policies;
- Administrative history and governance within South-Eastern Europe during transition;
- Political leadership, democratization and regional security;
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- Knowledge transfer and competitiveness in regional economies;
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- Religion, cultural history and education;
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- Discourse, language and social encounters;
- Bioethics and transition challenges.

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The proposals must be sent in English and must contain the title of the paper, the abstract (no more than 300 words) and a short presentation of the author(s) (statute,

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institutional affiliation, short list of relevant scientific contributions).

DEAD-LINE FOR SUBMITTING A PROPOSAL: 15 MARCH 2020

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Casa Universitarilor/University House (57 Unirii Street, Craiova, Romania). You can view the Conference location and a map at the following address: <http://www.casa-universitarilor.ro/>

- More information about the Conference venue can be found at the following address: http://www.ucv.ro/campus/puncte_de_atractie/casa_universitarilor/prezentare.php

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TRANSPORT

The 10th International Conference "After communism. East and West under Scrutiny" (2020) will be held in Craiova, a city located in the South-Western part of Romania, at about 250 km from Bucharest, the national capital. The airport of Craiova (<http://en.aeroportcraiova.ro/>) has flights to Timisoara, Dusseldorf, Munchen, Ancone, Rome, Venezia, London, Bergamo etc. Other airports, such as Bucharest (Romania) (<http://www.aeroportul-otopeni.info/>) is located at distances less than 240 km from Craiova and accommodate international flights.

Train schedule to Craiova can be consulted at InterRegio CFR (<http://www.infofer.ro/>) and SOFTRANS (<http://softrans.ro/mersul-trenurilor.html>).

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The Conference Registration Desk will be opened from Friday, 27th of March 2020 (from 08.00 a.m. to 18.00 p.m.) until Saturday 28th of March 2020 (from 08.00 a.m. until 14.00 p.m.), for registration and delivery of conference bag with documents to participants. The Conference Registration Desk is located in the lobby of the University House Club, 1st Floor.

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70 euros / first paper and 20 euros/ second paper (same author(s)) can be paid directly via bank transfer on CEPOS Bank account as follows:

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The registration fee covers:

- * Conference attendance to all common sessions, individual and special panels
- * Conference materials (including a printed version of the Book of Abstracts of the Conference)
- * Conference special bag - 1 for every single fee paid, no matter the number of authors/paper
- * Coffee Breaks-March 27, 2020 – March 28, 2020. During the two days conference, 3 coffee breaks are offered.
- * Welcoming reception (March 27, 2020)
- * Lunch (March 27, 2020) offered in the University House Gala Room
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- * A Free Cocktail Buffet will be served from 19:00 p.m. to 21.00 p.m.
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- * Publication of the Conference Papers in the International Indexed Journal Revista de Stiinte Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques (previous publication of the 2012-2019 Conference papers is available at <http://cis01.central.ucv.ro/revistadestiintepolitice/acces.php>)
- * One original volume of the International Indexed Journal Revista de Stiinte Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques (where the personal conference paper was published) will be delivered to the authors (an additional fee of 10 euros is required for the mailing facilities)
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https://opac.giga-hamburg.de/ezb/detail.phtml?bibid=GIGA&colors=7&lang=en&flavour=classic&jour_id=111736

Open University Malaysia

<http://library.oum.edu.my/oumlib/content/catalog/778733>

Wayne State University Libraries

<http://elibrary.wayne.edu/record=4203588>

Kun Shan University Library

http://muse.lib.ksu.edu.tw:8080/1cate/?rft_val_fmt=publisher&pubid=ucypress

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Western Theological Seminar

[https://col-](https://col-westernsem.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma991001225541104770&context=L&vid=01COL_WTS:WTS&lang=en&search_scope=MyInst_and_CI&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=Everything&query=any,contains,1584-224X&facet=rtype,include,journals&mode=Basic&offset=0)

[westernsem.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma991001225541104770&context=L&vid=01COL_WTS:WTS&lang=en&search_scope=MyInst_and_CI&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=Everything&query=any,contains,1584-224X&facet=rtype,include,journals&mode=Basic&offset=0](https://col-westernsem.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma991001225541104770&context=L&vid=01COL_WTS:WTS&lang=en&search_scope=MyInst_and_CI&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=Everything&query=any,contains,1584-224X&facet=rtype,include,journals&mode=Basic&offset=0)

Swansea University Prifysgol Abertawe

[http://whel-](http://whel-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?vid=44WHELFSWA_VU1&reset_config=true#.VSU9SPmsVSk)

[primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?vid=44WHELFSWA_VU1&reset_config=true#.VSU9SPmsVSk](http://whel-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?vid=44WHELFSWA_VU1&reset_config=true#.VSU9SPmsVSk)

Vanderbilt Library

https://catalog.library.vanderbilt.edu/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma991043322926803276&context=L&vid=01VAN_INST:vanui&lang=en&search_scope=MyInst_and_CI&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=Everything&query=any,contains,1584-224X&offset=0

Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozial

[https://www.wzb.eu/en/literature-data/search-find/e-](https://www.wzb.eu/en/literature-data/search-find/e-journals?page=searchres.phtml&bibid=WZB&lang=en&jq_type1=IS&jq_term1=1584-224X&jq_bool2=AND&jq_type2=KS&jq_term2=&jq_bool3=AND&jq_type3=PU&jq_term3=&offset=-1&hits_per_page=50&Notations%5B%5D=all&selected_colors%5B%5D=1&selected_colors%5B%5D=2)

[journals?page=searchres.phtml&bibid=WZB&lang=en&jq_type1=IS&jq_term1=1584-224X&jq_bool2=AND&jq_type2=KS&jq_term2=&jq_bool3=AND&jq_type3=PU&jq_term3=&offset=-1&hits_per_page=50&Notations%5B%5D=all&selected_colors%5B%5D=1&selected_colors%5B%5D=2](https://www.wzb.eu/en/literature-data/search-find/e-journals?page=searchres.phtml&bibid=WZB&lang=en&jq_type1=IS&jq_term1=1584-224X&jq_bool2=AND&jq_type2=KS&jq_term2=&jq_bool3=AND&jq_type3=PU&jq_term3=&offset=-1&hits_per_page=50&Notations%5B%5D=all&selected_colors%5B%5D=1&selected_colors%5B%5D=2)

Radboud University Nijmegen

[https://zaandam.hosting.ru.nl/oamarket-](https://zaandam.hosting.ru.nl/oamarket-acc/score?OpenAccess=&InstitutionalDiscounts=&Title=&Issn=1584-224&Publisher=)

[acc/score?OpenAccess=&InstitutionalDiscounts=&Title=&Issn=1584-224&Publisher=](https://zaandam.hosting.ru.nl/oamarket-acc/score?OpenAccess=&InstitutionalDiscounts=&Title=&Issn=1584-224&Publisher=)

Elektronische Zeitschriftenbibliothek EZB (Electronic Journals Library)

[http://rzblx1.uni-](http://rzblx1.uni-regensburg.de/ezeit/detail.phtml?bibid=AAAAA&colors=7&lang=de&jour_id=111736)

[regensburg.de/ezeit/detail.phtml?bibid=AAAAA&colors=7&lang=de&jour_id=111736](http://rzblx1.uni-regensburg.de/ezeit/detail.phtml?bibid=AAAAA&colors=7&lang=de&jour_id=111736)

The University of Hong Kong Libraries

https://julac.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo-explore/search?query=any,contains,1584-224x&search_scope=My%20Institution&vid=HKU&facet=rtype,include,journals&mode=Basic&offset=0

Metropolitan University Prague, Czech Republic

[https://s-](https://s-knihovna.mup.cz/katalog/eng/l.dll?h~=&DD=1&H1=&V1=o&P1=2&H2=&V2=o&P2=3&H3=&V3=z&P3=4&H4=1584-224x&V4=o&P4=33&H5=&V5=z&P5=25)

[knihovna.mup.cz/katalog/eng/l.dll?h~=&DD=1&H1=&V1=o&P1=2&H2=&V2=o&P2=3&H3=&V3=z&P3=4&H4=1584-224x&V4=o&P4=33&H5=&V5=z&P5=25](https://s-knihovna.mup.cz/katalog/eng/l.dll?h~=&DD=1&H1=&V1=o&P1=2&H2=&V2=o&P2=3&H3=&V3=z&P3=4&H4=1584-224x&V4=o&P4=33&H5=&V5=z&P5=25)

University of the West Library

<https://uwest.on.worldcat.org/search?queryString=1584->

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224x&clusterResults=off&stickyFacetsChecked=on#/oclc/875039367

Elektronische Zeitschriften der Universität zu Köln

[https://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/IPS?SERVICE=METASEARCH&SUBSERVICE=INITSEARCH&VIEW=USB:Simple&LOCATION=USB&SID=IPS3:2d1c5acebc65a3cdc057a9d6c64ce76e&SETCOOKIE=TRUE&COUNT=15&GWTIMEOUT=30&HIGHLIGHTING=on&HISTORY=SESSION&START=1&STREAMING=on&URLENCODING=TRUE&QUERY_aIAL=1584-](https://www.ub.uni-koeln.de/IPS?SERVICE=METASEARCH&SUBSERVICE=INITSEARCH&VIEW=USB:Simple&LOCATION=USB&SID=IPS3:2d1c5acebc65a3cdc057a9d6c64ce76e&SETCOOKIE=TRUE&COUNT=15&GWTIMEOUT=30&HIGHLIGHTING=on&HISTORY=SESSION&START=1&STREAMING=on&URLENCODING=TRUE&QUERY_aIAL=1584-224x&SERVICEGROUP1.SERVICE.SEARCH_EDS=on&SERVICEGROUP1.SERVICE.SEARCH_KUGJSON=on&SERVICEGROUP1.SERVICE.SEARCH_KUGUSBWEB=on&SERVICEGROUP1.SERVICEGROUP.USB:Default=on)

224x&SERVICEGROUP1.SERVICE.SEARCH_EDS=on&SERVICEGROUP1.SERVICE.SEARCH_KUGJSON=on&SERVICEGROUP1.SERVICE.SEARCH_KUGUSBWEB=on&SERVICEGROUP1.SERVICEGROUP.USB:Default=on

EKP Publications

[https://ekp-invenio.physik.uni-karlsruhe.de/search?ln=en&sc=1&p=1584-](https://ekp-invenio.physik.uni-karlsruhe.de/search?ln=en&sc=1&p=1584-224X&f=&action_search=Search&c=Experiments&c=Authorities)

224X&f=&action_search=Search&c=Experiments&c=Authorities

Valley City State University

[https://odin-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo-explore/search?query=any,contains,1584-](https://odin-primo.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo-explore/search?query=any,contains,1584-224X&tab=tab1&search_scope=ndv_everything&sortby=rank&vid=ndv&lang=en_US&mode=advanced&offset=0displayMode%3Dfull&displayField=all&pcAvailabilityMode=true)

224X&tab=tab1&search_scope=ndv_everything&sortby=rank&vid=ndv&lang=en_US

&mode=advanced&offset=0displayMode%3Dfull&displayField=all&pcAvailabilityMode=true

Impact Factor Poland

<http://impactfactor.pl/czasopisma/21722-revista-de-stiinte-politice-revue-des-sciences-politiques>

Universite Laval

[http://sfx.bibl.ulaval.ca:9003/sfx_local?url_ver=Z39.88-](http://sfx.bibl.ulaval.ca:9003/sfx_local?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_ctx_fmt=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&ctx_enc=info:ofi/enc:UTF-8&ctx_ver=Z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/sfxit.com:azlist&sfx.ignore_date_threshold=1&rft.object_id=100000000726583&rft.object_portfolio_id=&svc.fulltext=yes)

2004&url_ctx_fmt=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&ctx_enc=info:ofi/enc:UTF-8&ctx_ver=Z39.88-

2004&rft_id=info:sid/sfxit.com:azlist&sfx.ignore_date_threshold=1&rft.object_id=100000000726583&rft.object_portfolio_id=&svc.fulltext=yes

Universität Passau

<https://infoguide.ub.uni-passau.de/InfoGuideClient.upasis/start.do?Query=10%3d%22BV035261002%22>

BSB Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

<https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/metaopac/search?View=default&oclcno=502495838>

Deutsches Museum

[https://opac.deutsches-](https://opac.deutsches-museum.de/TouchPoint/start.do?Query=1035%3d%22BV035261002%22IN%5b2%5d&View=dmm&Language=de)

museum.de/TouchPoint/start.do?Query=1035%3d%22BV035261002%22IN%5b2%5d

&View=dmm&Language=de

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Technische Hochschule Ingolstadt

[https://opac.ku.de/TouchPoint/start.do?Branch=3&Language=de&View=thi&Query=35=%22502495838%22+IN+\[2\]](https://opac.ku.de/TouchPoint/start.do?Branch=3&Language=de&View=thi&Query=35=%22502495838%22+IN+[2])

Hochschule Augsburg, Bibliothek

<https://infoguide.hs-augsburg.de/InfoGuideClient.fhasis/start.do?Query=10%3d%22BV035261002%22>

Hochschule Weihenstephan-Triesdorf, Zentralbibliothek

Freising, Germany

<https://ffwtp20.bib-bvb.de/TouchPoint/start.do?Query=1035%3d%22BV035261002%22IN%5b2%5d&View=ffw&Language=de>

OTH- Ostbayerische Technische Hochschule Regensburg, Hochschulbibliothek

OTHBR, Regensburg, Germany

<https://www.regensburger-katalog.de/TouchPoint/start.do?Query=1035%3d%22BV035261002%22IN%5b2%5d&View=ubr&Language=de>

Staatliche Bibliothek Neuburg/Donau , SBND,

Neuburg/Donau, Germany

<https://opac.swnd.de/InfoGuideClient.sndsis/start.do?Query=10%3d%22BV035261002%22>

Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, Eichstätt, Germany

[https://opac.ku.de/TouchPoint/start.do?Branch=0&Language=de&View=uei&Query=35=%22502495838%22+IN+\[2\]](https://opac.ku.de/TouchPoint/start.do?Branch=0&Language=de&View=uei&Query=35=%22502495838%22+IN+[2])

Bibliothek der Humboldt-Universität Berlin, Universitätsbibliothek der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Berlin, Germany

https://hu-berlin.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo-explore/search?institution=HUB_UB&vid=hub_ub&search_scope=default_scope&tab=default_tab&query=issn,exact,1584-224X

Hochschulbibliothek Ansbach, Ansbach, Germany

<https://fanoz3.bib-bvb.de/InfoGuideClient.fansis/start.do?Query=10%3d%22BV035261002%22>

Bibliothek der Europa-Universität Viadrina, Frankfurt (Oder)

Frankfurt/Oder, Germany

<https://opac.europa-uni.de/InfoGuideClient.euvsis/start.do?Query=10%3d%22BV035261002%22>

University of California Library Catalog

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<https://catalog.library.ucla.edu/vwebv/search?searchCode1=GKEY&searchType=2&searchArg1=ucoclc469823489>

For more details about the past issues and international abstracting and indexing, please visit the journal website at the following address:

<http://cis01.central.ucv.ro/revistadestiintepolitice/acces.php>.

CONFERENCE INTERNATIONAL INDEXING OF THE PAST EDITIONS (2014-2019)

CEPOS Conference 2019

The Ninth International Conference After Communism. East and West under Scrutiny (Craiova, House of the University, 29-30 March 2019) was evaluated and accepted for indexing in 6 international databases, catalogues and NGO's databases:

Oxford Academic Journal of Church & State <https://academic.oup.com/jcs/article-abstract/60/4/784/5106417?redirectedFrom=PDF>

10 Times

<https://10times.com/after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny>

Conference Alerts

<https://conferencealerts.com/show-event?id=205682>

Researchgate

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/327905733_CEPOS_9TH_INTERNATIONAL_CONFERENCE_AFTER_COMMUNISM_EAST_AND_WEST_UNDER_SCRUTINY_2019?_iepl%5BviewId%5D=sjcOJrVCO8PTLapcfVciZQsb&_iepl%5Bcontexts%5D%5B0%5D=publicationCreationEOT&_iepl%5BtargetEntityId%5D=PB%3A327905733&_iepl%5BinteractionType%5D=publicationCTA

The Free Library

<https://www.thefreelibrary.com/9th+INTERNATIONAL+CONFERENCE+AFTE R+COMMUNISM.+EAST+AND+WEST+UNDER...-a0542803701>

Science Dz.net

<https://www.sciencedz.net/conference/42812-9th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny>

CEPOS Conference 2018

The Eighth International Conference After Communism. East and West under Scrutiny (Craiova, House of the University, 23-24 March 2018) was evaluated and accepted for indexing in 15 international databases, catalogues and NGO's databases:

Conference Alerts, <https://conferencealerts.com/show-event?id=186626>

Sciencesdz, <http://www.sciencedz.net/conference/29484-8th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny>

ManuscriptLink,

<https://manuscriptlink.com/cfp/detail?cfpId=AYAXKVAR46277063&type=event>

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Maspolitiques, <http://www.maspolitiques.com/ar/index.php/en/1154-8th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny>
Aconf, https://www.aconf.org/conf_112399.html
Call4paper, <https://call4paper.com/listByCity?type=event&city=3025&count=count>
Eventegg, <https://eventegg.com/cepos/>
10 times, <https://10times.com/after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny>
Biblioteca de Sociologie, <http://bibliotecadesociologie.ro/cfp-cepos-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny-craiova-2018/>
Science Research Association
<http://www.scirea.org/topiclisting?conferenceTopicId=5>
ResearcherBook <http://researcherbook.com/country/Romania>
Conference Search Net, <http://conferencesearch.net/en/29484-8th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny>
SchoolandCollegeListings,
<https://www.schoolandcollegelistings.com/RO/Craiova/485957361454074/Center-of-Post-Communist-Political-Studies-CEPOS>
Vepub conference, <http://www.vepub.com/conferences-view/8th-International-Conference-After-Communism.-East-and-West-under-Scrutiny/bC9aUE5rcHN0ZmpkYU9nTHJzUkRmdz09/>
Geopolitika Hungary, <http://www.geopolitika.hu/event/8th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny/>

CEPOS Conference 2017

The Seventh International Conference After Communism. East and West under Scrutiny (Craiova, House of the University, 24-25 March 2017) was evaluated and accepted for indexing in 10 international databases, catalogues and NGO's databases: Ethic & International Affairs (Carnegie Council), Cambridge University Press-<https://www.ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org/2016/upcoming-conferences-interest-2016-2017/>

ELSEVIER GLOBAL EVENTS
LIST <http://www.globaleventslist.elsevier.com/events/2017/03/7th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny>
CONFERENCE ALERTS-<http://www.conferencealerts.com/show-event?id=171792>
10TIMES.COM-<http://10times.com/after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny>
Hiway Conference Discovery System-
<http://www.hicds.cn/meeting/detail/45826124>
Geopolitika (Hungary)-<http://www.geopolitika.hu/event/7th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny/>
Academic.net-<http://www.academic.net/show-24-4103-1.html>
World University Directory-
<http://www.worlduniversitydirectory.com/conferencedetail.php?AgentID=2001769>
Science Research Association-
<http://www.scirea.org/conferenceinfo?conferenceId=35290>
Science Social Community-<https://www.science-community.org/ru/node/174892>

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CEPOS Conference 2016

The Sixth International Conference After Communism. East and West under Scrutiny (Craiova, House of the University, 8-9 April 2016) was evaluated and accepted for indexing in the following international databases, catalogues and NGO's databases:

ELSEVIER GLOBAL EVENTS-
<http://www.globaleventslist.elsevier.com/events/2016/04/6th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny/>
Oxford Journals – Oxford Journal of Church & State-
<http://jcs.oxfordjournals.org/content/early/2016/02/06/jcs.csv121.extract>
Conference Alerts-<http://www.conferencealerts.com/country-listing?country=Romania>
Conferences-In - <http://conferences-in.com/conference/romania/2016/economics/6th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny/>
Socmag.net - <http://www.socmag.net/?p=1562>
African Journal of Political Sciences-
http://www.maspolitiques.com/mas/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=450:-securiteee-&catid=2:2010-12-09-22-47-00&Itemid=4#.VjUI5PnhCUk
Researchgate-
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/283151988_Call_for_Papers_6TH_International_Conference_After_Communism_East_and_West_under_Scrutiny_8-9_April_2016_Craiova_Romania
World Conference Alerts-
<http://www.worldconferencealerts.com/ConferenceDetail.php?EVENT=WLD1442>
Edu events-<http://eduevents.eu/listings/6th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny/>
Esocsci.org-<http://www.esocsci.org.nz/events/list/>
Sciencedz.net-<http://www.sciencedz.net/index.php?topic=events&page=53>
Science-community.org-<http://www.science-community.org/ru/node/164404/?did=070216>

CEPOS Conference 2015

The Fifth International Conference After Communism. East and West under Scrutiny (Craiova, House of the University, 24-25 April 2015) was evaluated and accepted for indexing in 15 international databases, catalogues and NGO's databases:

THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL OF CANADA, CANADA-
<http://natocouncil.ca/events/international-conferences/>
ELSEVIER GLOBAL EVENTS LIST-
<http://www.globaleventslist.elsevier.com/events/2015/04/fifth-international-conf>
GCONFERENCE.NET-
http://www.gconference.net/eng/conference_view.html?no=47485&catalog=1&cata=018&co_kind=&co_type=&pageno=1&conf_cata=01
CONFERENCE BIOXBIO-<http://conference.bioxbio.com/location/romania>

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10
CONFERENCES
ALERTS-<http://www.conferencealerts.com/country-listing?country=Romania>
<http://www.iem.ro/orizont2020/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/lista-3-conferinte-internationale.pdf>
<http://sdil.ac.ir/index.aspx?pid=99&articleid=62893>
NATIONAL SYMPOSIUM-
<http://www.nationalsymposium.com/communism.php>
SCIENCE DZ-<http://www.sciencedz.net/conference/6443-fifth-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny>
ARCHIVE COM-http://archive-com.com/com/c/conferencealerts.com/2014-12-01_5014609_70/Rome_15th_International_Academic_Conference_The_IIES/
CONFERENCE WORLD-<http://conferencesworld.com/higher-education/>
KNOW A CONFERENCE KNOW A CONFERENCE-
<http://knowaconference.com/social-work/>
International Journal on New Trends in Education and Their Implications (IJONTE) Turkey <http://www.ijonte.org/?pnum=15&>
Journal of Research in Education and Teaching Turkey-
<http://www.jret.org/?pnum=13&pt=Kongre+ve+Sempozyum>
CEPOS CONFERENCE 2015 is part of a "consolidated list of all international and Canadian conferences taking place pertaining to international relations, politics, trade, energy and sustainable development". For more details see <http://natocouncil.ca/events/international-conferences/>

CEPOS Conference 2014

The Fourth International Conference After Communism. East and West under Scrutiny, Craiova, 4-5 April 2014 was very well received by the national media and successfully indexed in more than 9 international databases, catalogues and NGO's databases such as:

American Political Science Association, USA-
<http://www.apsanet.org/conferences.cfm>;
Journal of Church and State, Oxford-
<http://jcs.oxfordjournals.org/content/early/2014/01/23/jcs.cst141.full.pdf+html>;
NATO Council of Canada (section events/ international conferences), Canada,
<http://atlantic-council.ca/events/international-conferences/>
International Society of Political Psychology, Columbus, USA-
http://www.ispp.org/uploads/attachments/April_2014.pdf
Academic Biographical Sketch,
<http://academicprofile.org/SeminarConference.aspx>;
Conference alerts, <http://www.conferencealerts.com/show-event?id=121380>;
Gesis Sowiport, Koln, Germany, <http://sowiport.gesis.org/>; Osteuropa-Netzwerk,
Universität Kassel, Germany, http://its-vm508.its.uni-kassel.de/mediawiki/index.php/After_communism_:East_and_West_under_scrutiny:_Fourth_International_Conference
Ilustre Colegio Nacional de Doctores y Licenciados en Ciencias Políticas y Sociología, futuro Consejo Nacional de Colegios Profesionales, Madrid,
<http://colpolsocmadrid.org/agenda/>.



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** Lecturer, PhD, University of Craiova, Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, Political Sciences specialization, Phone: 00407*****, Email: cata.georgescu@yahoo.com. (Use Times New Roman 9, Justified)

*** Lecturer, PhD, University of Craiova, Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, Political Sciences specialization, Phone: 00407*****, Email: avcosmingherghe@yahoo.com. (Use Times New Roman 9, Justified)

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The abstract must provide the aims, objectives, methodology, results and main conclusions of the paper (please submit the papers by providing all these information in the abstract). It must be submitted in English and the length must not exceed 300 words. Use Times New Roman 10,5, Justify.

Keywords

Submit 5-6 keywords representative to the thematic approached in the paper. Use Times New Roman 10,5, Italic. After the keywords introduce three blank lines, before passing to the Article text.

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E.g.: (Olimid, 2009: 14; Olimid and Georgescu, 2012: 14-15; Olimid, Georgescu and Gherghe, 2013: 20-23).

On first citation of references with more than three authors, give all names in full. On the next citation of references with more than three authors give the name of the first author followed by “et al.”.

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References:

The references cited in the Article are listed at the end of the paper in alphabetical order of authors' names.

References of the same author are listed chronologically.

For books

Olimid, A. P. (2009a). *Viața politică și spirituală în România modernă. Un model românesc al relațiilor dintre Stat și Biserică*, Craiova: Aius Publishing.

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Georgescu, C. M. (2013a). Qualitative Analysis on the Institutionalisation of the Ethics and Integrity Standard within the Romanian Public Administration. *Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques*, 37, 320-326.

Georgescu, C. M. (2013b). Patterns of Local Self-Government and Governance: A Comparative Analysis Regarding the Democratic Organization of Thirteen Central and Eastern European Administrations (I). *Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Științe Politice*, 39, 49-58.

Tables and Figures

Tables and figures are introduced in the text. The title appears above each table.

E.g.: Table 1. The results of the parliamentary elections (May 2014)

Proposed papers: Text of the Article should be between 4500-5000 words, single spaced, Font: Times New Roman 10,5, written in English, submitted as a single file that includes all tables and figures in Word2003 or Word2007 for Windows.

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