



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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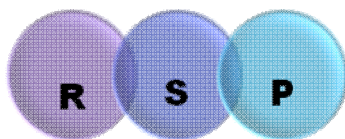
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EDITORS' NOTE

Social Movements and Civic Rights in Eastern Europe

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

Issue 61/2019

**Anca Parmena Olimid^{*},
Cătălina Maria Georgescu^{**},
Cosmin Lucian Gherghe^{***}**

After fifteen years of continuous publishing of *Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques*, the journal renews its editorial policy beginning with the Spring issue 61/ 2019 (April 2019).

This change marks the new journal strategy aimed to develop and enable a new phase of the Eastern European political, social, cultural, historical landscape. Maintaining the journal scope of publishing original papers, research notes and reviews highlighting the Eastern topics in the field of quality of democracy and threats to political pluralism, the following four issues of the journal will monitor and encompass

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the new stages of the social movements and civic rights in Eastern Europe, a variety of cross-sectorial analysis mapping citizenship, social structures, heritage of post-communism, Eastern Europe's systemic transformation, political communication, social media and social action etc.

Issue 61 of *Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques*, launched in April 2019, expands the research area of the journal by focusing on the analysis and monitoring of the challenges of democracy and by refining the social and institutional cleavages in the area of:

- human rights monitoring in Central and Eastern Europe (**Elena Todorova**, *Human Rights in Central and Eastern European Countries: Towards Their Accession to the European Union*);
- pan-European constituency and the third wave of the electoral reform in the European Union (**Jakub Charvát**, *Pan-European Constituency and Transnational Lists: The Third Wave of the EU Politics of Electoral Reform?*);
- the conceptualization of the Romanian semi-presidentialism and its “formative moment” (**Loretta C. Salajan**, *The Challenges and Formative Moment of Romanian Semi-Presidentialism*);
- the analysis of the interviews with public figures of Yugoslav media space in 1989-1990 (**Marijana Ražnjević Zdrilić**, *Interviews with Public Figures of Yugoslav Media Space in 1989/1990 in Croatian Local Newspapers*);
- the discourse of freedom and its impact on English learning and teaching after the fall of the Romanian communist dictatorship (**Eleonora Olivia Bălănescu**, *The Fall of Communism and Its Impact on English Teaching and Learning*);
- the societal and educational cleavages (**Ecaterina Sarah Frăsineanu**, *The Beginning of Studies and the Prediction of University Abandonment*);
- the causes and effects of the failure of the socialist movement in modern Romania (**Florin Nacu**, *Why Did the Socialist Movement Fail in Modern Romania?*);
- the post-modern image production in post-communism (**Simber Atay**, *Post-Soviet Era and Postmodern Image Production*);
- social movements and offline mobilization (**Adina-Loredana Dogaru-Tulică**, *A bridge between online and offline mobilization: #Rezist Movement*).

As part of our new editorial strategy, the current issue of *Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques* accepted papers at the border between the theoretical and/ or conceptual framework and other applied fields of research such as the history of arts and media monitoring. Furthermore, we appreciate that the Eastern European landscape needs additional tools for its research and investigation. Moreover, being the first issue of this year, issue 61 points a transitional phase for the journal by enabling comparative researches on human rights protection and promotion in Central and Eastern European countries and by focusing on cross-country variations in the field of social and political reforms.

The results of the researches feature the social and political changes of Central and Eastern Europe, most prominently in the Eastern Europe, as this Spring issue of the *Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques* is published during a time when the social media and online communication reveal new paths of information, ideas and movements. While this issue is not entirely dedicated to the role of communication and online media, the contents of issue 61 feature a range of current themes with impact on the Europeans' daily lives: the launch of the social movements, the protection of civic

rights, the abandonment of studies, media and education, the rethorical encounters of the political engagements and social actions.

Following these insights, the first article deals with the legal provisions of the human rights and the “widespread support for civil and political rights” (**Elena Todorova**, *Human Rights in Central and Eastern European Countries: Towards Their Accession to the European Union*).

The next article examines the issue of the “reapportionment of the 73 British seats in the European Parliament in the 2019 elections” in the context of Brexit (**Jakub Charvát**, *Pan-European Constituency and Transnational Lists: The Third Wave of the EU Politics of Electoral Reform?*).

The third article maps the problematic issue of semi-presidentialism and the Romanian legal encounters (**Loretta C. Salajan**, *The Challenges and Formative Moment of Romanian Semi-Presidentialism*).

The fourth article delves into the local newspapers published in the city of Zadar, Croatia in 1989/1990 (**Marijana Ražnjević Zdrilić**, *Interviews with Public Figures of Yugoslav Media Space in 1989/1990 in Croatian Local Newspapers*).

The fifth article is an important contribution to language teaching and learning after the fall of communism (**Eleonora Olivia Bălănescu**, *The Fall of Communism and Its Impact on English Teaching and Learning*).

The sixth article advances a monitoring and research of the abandonment of the university studies (**Ecaterina Sarah Frășineanu**, *The Beginning of Studies and the Prediction of University Abandonment*);

The seventh article focuses on the particularities of the socialist movement in modern Romania and the progressive socialist elements (**Florin Nacu**, *Why Did the Socialist Movement Fail in Modern Romania?*);

The next article connects the postmodern image production and cultural conjunctures (**Simber Atay**, *Post-Soviet Era and Postmodern Image Production*).

The last article focuses the links between the social movements and the offline mobilization (**Adina-Loredana Dogaru-Tulică**, *A bridge between online and offline mobilization: #Rezist Movement*).

Finally, the RSP Editors wish to remind all readers that the analysis of the complexity of social movements and civic rights monitoring serves to emphasize the transitional changes in Eastern Europe launching new research questions and perspectives. All in all, this inaugural issue of 2019 is aimed at creating new research approaches in the field of leadership, communication, education and societal challenges.

Wishing you all the best,

The Editors



ORIGINAL PAPER

Human Rights in Central and Eastern European Countries: Towards Their Accession to the European Union

Elena Todorova *

Abstract

Until the Maastricht Treaty (1992/1993) the European integration was of mostly economic nature. Maastricht Treaty extended the competences of the European Communities by including new policy areas and opened the way to political integration. Parallel with the deepening of the European integration process, with the end of the Cold war, the former communist states started the process of transformation and democratization of their national systems and proclaimed their aspirations of joining the EU. The integration of the new democracies into the European family was a historic moment and opportunity for the Union to overcome the East-West division and to promote peace and stability throughout Europe. The purpose of this paper is to contribute to the understanding of the role and significance of the EU for the newly established democracies and the way it encourages important political and economic reforms in the countries engaged in the enlargement agenda. EU started to prepare itself for the forthcoming enlargement process and set out new conditions for membership- the Copenhagen criteria. The aim of this paper is to analyze the respect of human rights as one of the main prerequisites for EU membership in the case with Central and Eastern European countries accession to the EU. The paper furthermore explores human rights protection in the EU, the role of the ECJ in introducing human rights into EU proceedings, as well as the external dimension of EU human rights policy.

Keywords: *European Union; enlargement; Copenhagen criteria; human rights.*

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Introduction

The European integration process started in the 1950s with the creation of the three communities: the European Coal and Steel Community (established with the Treaty of Paris signed in 1951, came into force in 1952), the European Economic Community (established with the Treaty of Rome signed in 1957, entered into force in 1958) and the European Atomic Energy Community (established with the Treaty of Rome signed in 1957, entered into force in 1958) with an aim to provide peace, security and prosperity on the European continent that was devastated by the World war II. Founders of these communities were six western European states. The politics of the Cold war shaped the process of European integration that continued to develop as western integration and reflects the division of the two blocks (East and West) that had different economic and political systems and ideologies.

European communities, as well as the Council of Europe, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEED, later transformed into the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development- OECD), the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO alliance), the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) and the Western European Union (WEU) had institutionalized the division of Europe into opposing militarized blocks, with clear boundaries and entry rules. The relations between these sub-regional structures and their member states reflected the antagonisms between the main protagonists- the USSR and the USA (Mannin, 1999: 5).

At the Lisbon European Council 1992, the Commission presented a paper- "Europe and the challenge of enlargement" that examines the issues associated with accession to the Union (in that period consisting of 12 member states) of the countries that have applied for membership or the countries that had announced their intention to apply following the end of the Cold war division. In the past, the enlargement of the Community took place in a divided continent; the integration of the new democracies into the European family was a historic moment and opportunity for the Union to contribute to the unification of the whole continent. In this report, the Union expressed its commitment to be engaged in economic preparation of these countries for future accession, because their development is of capital importance for their peoples and the stability of the European continent.

The Copenhagen criteria for membership (defined at the European Council in Copenhagen in 1993) are conditions that candidate countries must fulfill in order to become a member states. These are: political criteria (membership requires that the candidate country has achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities), economic criteria (the existence of a functioning market economy and capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union) and acceptance of the Community acquis (candidate's ability to take on the obligations of membership, including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union (European Council in Copenhagen, Conclusions of the Presidency, 21-22 June 1993; Wallace, 2004).

European Union and human rights

Because at the beginning the European Communities had an essentially economic character, there were no explicit provisions for human rights protection in the treaties establishing the European Communities (with minor exceptions) and the individual was mainly treated in the relation of that economic integration (as an

economic actor at the market). Such reference was made for the first time in the Preamble of the Single European act (1986/87).

The Treaty of Maastricht contains more comprehensive provisions on human rights (as well as the consequent treaties). Article 6(3) of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) recognizes fundamental rights as general principles of the Union's law, as guaranteed by the European convention and as they result from constitutional traditions common to member states. Prior to the Maastricht Treaty, human rights protection was developed by the European Court of Justice (ECJ). The ECJ fulfilled the legal gap on human rights protection by the general principles of the Community law. The provisions contained in the Maastricht Treaty and the following treaties are built on the several decades of work of the ECJ regarding the affirmation of the general principles on fundamental rights (Georgievski, 2010: 199-202). General principles of the Union law are not prescribed by the founding treaties or adopted by the EU institutions, but are mainly developed through the jurisprudence of the ECJ. Because of the mainly economic character of the integration until the 1990s, the ECJ led the way in introducing human rights into EU proceedings. Case law of the ECJ implies that human rights values must be respected not only by EU institutions, but also by the member states. This situation is explained by the widespread support for civil and political rights in the traditional liberal democracies of Western Europe, so that particularly regional courts but also other regional bodies can advance effective judicial activism and creativity in interpreting the law (Forsythe, 2000: 123).

The EU has adopted the Charter of fundamental rights in 2000 as a non-binding document. The proclamation of the Charter is turning point in the human rights protection- the catalogue of fundamental rights that provides visibility and publicity of the guaranteed rights and leads to a higher degree of legal certainty (Kuhling, 2006: 504). It was the Treaty of Lisbon (2007/2009) that gave legally binding force of this Charter. The Charter is composed of Preamble and seven chapters (dignity, freedoms, equality, solidarity, citizen's rights, justice, general provisions).

European Union and international human rights law

Under the Lisbon Treaty the EU has legal personality, which makes the EU subject of international law, with capacity to conclude international agreements on its own behalf. The capacity includes the competence to join human rights conventions. Under article 216(1) of the Treaty on the functioning of the European Union (TFEU), the EU has the external competence to conclude international agreements where Treaties or a legally binding EU act provide so, or where agreement is necessary to achieve the objectives referred to by the Treaties, or is likely to affect common rules or alter their scope. According to article 216(2) of the TFEU, agreements concluded by the EU are binding on its institutions and its member states (Nousiainen, K. and Chinkin, C, 2016: 55). The EU is currently party to the United Nations Convention on the rights of persons with disability (CRPD, 2006/2008). The CRPD is the first of the core international human rights treaties that explicitly allows for accession by regional organizations, an option that EU made use of by becoming party to the CRPD. The CRPD entered into force for the EU as a whole in January 2011. The CRPD illustrates the increasing interconnection between the national, EU and international human rights levels (European Agency for fundamental rights, 2011: 248).

Each of the EU member states are parties of the European convention on human rights and fundamental freedoms (1950/1953) of the Council of Europe. The Lisbon

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Treaty expressly mandates the EU to join the European Convention on Human Rights (which itself has been amended to allow this). This means that the EU, as is already the case for its member states, will become subject, as regards respect for fundamental rights, to review by a legal body external to itself, namely the European Court of human rights (ECtHR). Following accession, EU citizens and third country nationals present on EU territory will be able to challenge legal acts adopted by the EU directly before the ECtHR on the basis of the provisions of ECHR, in the same way as they may challenge legal acts adopted by EU member states (European Parliament, 2019:2). TFEU in its article 351 preserve for member states those obligations arising from agreements concluded before acceding to the EU. Similar view has adopted the European Court on human rights in its 2005 judgment in the case of *Capital bank AD v. Bulgaria* (application No. 49429/99), where the Court stated that the ECHR need to be interpreted in such a manner as to allow state parties to comply with their international obligations, as long as the measures in issue are compatible with the Convention and its Protocols (para. 111).

Most frequently, the ECJ has drawn on the provisions of the ECHR, though provisions of other treaties are not excluded. However, the EU is not bound to comply with the letter of the ECHR or case law of the European Court of Human Rights. The acceptance of any right as part of the 'general principles' of Community law is taken on a case-by-case basis. The ECJ does refer to other international human rights instruments when considering the content of fundamental rights in EU law. Perhaps the most significant such treaty (from the point of view of its global reach and scope of rights) is the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Although the ECJ acknowledges the existence of the ICCPR, it is difficult to find an example where it has actually relied on its provisions. (Ahmed and Butler, 2006: 774).

External dimension of human rights policy

In its relations with the wider world, EU contributes to the protection of human rights, in particular the rights of the child, as well as to the strict observance and the development of international law, including respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter (article 3(5) of the TEU) and calls for the EU institutions and bodies and its member states to respect the Charter in EU's external relations. With regard to external action, the Treaty states that it is one of the main objectives of the common foreign and security policy to develop and consolidate democracy and the rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Community development cooperation policy is centered on human beings and their needs; it is closely linked to the enjoyment of fundamental rights and freedoms and the recognition and application of democratic principles, the consolidation of the rule of law and good governance (Commission of the European Communities, 1995: 5-12). The EU has taken action on a number of issues, such as political and economic support to the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe (Hix, 1999: 355-356).

The EU aspired not only to protecting human rights within its jurisdiction but also in a "common foreign and security policy". EU resources are devoted to this objective and the EU is one of the major donors to international humanitarian assistance designed to secure rights to adequate food, clothing, shelter and health care in emergency situations. References to human rights are included in treaties with other countries. The EU has helped supervise elections in numerous countries (Forsythe, 2000: 123). EU institutions are involved in democracy support activities in order to strengthen

democratic institutions and participation of citizens in formulation of policies across the world. Election observation is a concrete and highly visible expression of the Union's support of human rights, democracy and the rule of law (European Union, 2018: 16). Trade policy can support the advancement of and respect for human rights in third countries in conjunction with other EU external policies, in particular development cooperation. Human rights considerations, including fundamental principles and rights at work, are integrated into bilateral and regional trade agreements. Globally, EU remains committed to integrating human rights (civil and political, as well as economic, social and cultural rights) into development cooperation. EU is promoting the advancement of all human rights through development cooperation using a rights-based approach. EU and its member states promote inclusion and participation, non-discrimination, equality and equity, transparency and accountability, and address multiple discrimination faced by vulnerable and marginalized groups (European Union, 2018: 84-89).

Conflict and crisis have affected the lives of millions of civilians. Serious violations of international humanitarian and human rights law are common in many armed conflicts. The EU's commitment to human rights includes integrating human rights considerations into all its policies and financing instruments addressing these issues. The EU refers to human rights and gender policies in the planning, implementation, conduct and evaluation of Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) missions and operations. Specialized training on human rights, gender, children and armed conflict, protection of civilians and conflict prevention is also available through ESDC and other Member State initiatives (European Union, 2016: 7).

Human rights and candidate states- the case with the Central and Eastern European countries

With the end of the Cold war the countries from the former Soviet bloc started the process of democratic transition and declared their aspirations for EU membership. It was for the first time in EU history so many countries to apply for membership at the same time. The EU helped the democratic transition in the post-communist countries and for this purpose introduced new strategies to assist CEEs that were adjusted to the specific needs and circumstances in each country.

The need to devise a policy towards the countries of Central and Eastern Europe shot on the EU's agenda in the late 1980s. It was prompted by dramatic political changes after the break-up of the Soviet Union. Devising an appropriate policy presented a major challenge for EU policy-makers, compared with the previously extremely limited relationship with the CEEs. The prospect of eastern enlargement had far-reaching implications for EU, regarding the need for internal reforms in order to accommodate the accession of CEEs (Sedelmeier & Wallace, 2000: 428). The special meeting of European Council in 1990 agreed to create a new type of association agreement as a part of the new pattern of relationships in Europe.

The newly independent countries of Central and Eastern Europe wanted to join EU for a range of economic, political and security reasons. They wanted to consolidate their fledgling democratic norms and institutions (Dinan, 2004: 9):

- Economic reasons for membership- ruined by forty years of communism, the Central and Eastern European countries struggled in the early 1990s to make the transition to capitalism (each of them chose slightly different path and progress at varying speed). However, with EU assistance and the prospects for EU membership (by

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which they would be integrated into a larger, lucrative European marketplace) were crucial for successful transition;

- Security implications of EU membership- as former Soviet satellites or, for some of them (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) former Soviet republics, they wanted to become part of the European security framework (although their primary security objective was to join NATO).

On the other hand, the EU strove to bring the Central and Eastern European countries up to a level of economic performance, political stability and administrative capacity necessary to endure the pressures of membership. The EU collectively and the member states separately, helped to bring along the Central and Eastern European countries through various programmes. Concerned about latent irredentism and weak underpinnings for minority rights in Central and Eastern Europe, the EU took one of its first Common foreign and security policy initiatives in the region- the so-called Stability pact (Dinan, 2004: 15).

The consequences of continual empowerment of the EU begun to be visible within domestic political systems, reflected in the changes of institutions, policies and politics. The process of domestic adaptation to the impact of the EU is called Europeanization. In the case of the post-communist member states the situation before acceding to EU was more specific. In post-communist countries transition to pluralist political systems and market economies was transformative in character as the aim of most of these countries was EU membership. Because of this, the transposition (downloading) of the *acquis communautaire* has more significant role in their transformation (prior to their accession) than for the older, established states in the West. In the post-communist countries much of the domestic change occurred before actual membership (this means that the Europeanization happened during the pre-accession period). These candidate states were, for the most part, only downloaders of the *acquis* without being in a position to influence or possibility to upload their preferences in a meaningful way. As a result of the strong desire of these countries for membership in the shortest possible time EU was allowed to have an unprecedented influence on the restructuring of domestic institutions and public policies in the Central and Eastern European countries (Ladrech, 2010: 38-39). Unlike the Europeanization agenda that was applied to older member states, entry into EU membership of the CEEs reflects a sort of official acknowledgment of success in their transformation.

The forthcoming enlargement of the EU was thoroughly prepared and based on clear principles, which have been articulated by successive European Councils, and on transparent and objective method set out by the Commission in Agenda 2000 and applied each year in its Progress reports (European Union, 2001: 6). The Commission's opinions on applicant states constitute a sound overall analysis of each applicant state's situation in the light of the membership criteria set out by the Copenhagen European Council. The prospects of membership represent an incentive for applicants to speed up implementation of policies which comply with the Union *acquis*. Incorporation of the *acquis* into legislation is necessary, but is not in itself sufficient- it will be necessary to ensure that it is actually applied (Presidency conclusions of the Luxembourg European Council 1997: para. 23). Accession of the CEEs countries depended on the extent to which each complies with the Copenhagen criteria. In assessing the application of Copenhagen criteria, for the Commission effective functioning of democracy was primordial in the assessment of readiness for membership. The Commission carefully examined the procedural democracy currently practiced and the efficacy of institutions

and processes in support of that practice. With regard of respect to human rights and minorities, while all countries have acceded to the European convention of human rights of the Council of Europe, concern was expressed in a number of cases regarding the independence of the media, the particular problems of non-citizens in Estonia and Latvia and concern over discrimination against the Roma in several countries (Mannin, 1999: 54).

When the application for accession is assessed, the Commission, on the basis of the Copenhagen criteria, reviews the country’s current situation regarding the situation with human rights and minorities. The Commission, in each country opinion, went beyond formal descriptions of political institutions and the relations among them, to assess how democracy actually works in practice and how various rights and freedoms are exercised. Many of the applicant countries have minority populations, which satisfactory integration into society is a condition for democratic stability. The EU played an important role in supporting democracy and human rights respect in the CEEs countries. The Commission regularly assessed the progress achieved by the CEEs in meeting the requirements set by the Copenhagen political criteria.

Table 1. Meeting the political criteria for membership- the situation with respect of human rights and the rights of minorities

Country	Conclusions of the regular reports	European Commission opinions
Bulgaria	Some progress has been made on human rights training of police and on combating trafficking of human beings. However, there is a need to address police behavior, as regard reported cases of ill-treatment continues to give cause for serious concern. A Child protection agency has been set up (further steps need to be taken to make it operational). Roma continued to suffer from widespread social discrimination.	In its 1997 opinion, the Commission concluded that Bulgaria fulfilled the political criteria. Since that time, Bulgaria has made considerable progress in further consolidating and deepening stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities (Bitzenis, 2013: 307)
Estonia	The European Commission harshly criticized the country’s language laws that are unfavorable to business relationships and tend to discriminate against minorities...”The adoption of the language law that restricts access of non-Europeans in political and economic life, constitutes a step forward and need to be amended”... The EU progress report on Estonia, published on 9 October 2002, was not free of criticism (e.g. mention was made of unemployment, public administration and naturalization). (source: Jeffris, 2004: 7-8)	In its 1997 Opinion, the Commission concluded that Estonia fulfills the Copenhagen political criteria. Since that time, Estonia has made considerable progress in further consolidating and deepening stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities.

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Hungary	<p>Progress can be reported with regard to asylum, where the situation considerably improved due to faster and better procedures and more appropriate reception facilities. However, there is a need to address police behavior with regard to reported cases of ill-treatment. In the area of public service media, a solution needs to be found regarding the composition of the Supervisory Boards of Trustees. New policy instruments and measures were adopted for Roma minority. It will be important to enhance efforts to fight against widespread discrimination and to fully implement and enforce the legislation already in place. The Roma minority should also be given the opportunity to participate more actively in public life.</p>	<p>In its 1997 Opinion, the Commission concluded that Hungary fulfilled the political criteria. Since that time, the country has made considerable progress in further consolidating and deepening stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities.</p>
Latvia	<p>Further important steps were taken to promote the integration of non-citizens into Latvian society, notably measures to facilitate the naturalization procedure and the adoption of a more elaborate Society integration program and the legal basis for the future Social integration foundation. Latvia has achieved progress towards meeting the short-term priorities of the Accession partnership in the areas of the Language law and language training. Some progress has been made towards meeting the medium-term priorities in the areas of further integration of non-citizens; however, these efforts need to continue.</p>	<p>In its 1997 Opinion, the Commission concluded that Latvia fulfilled the political criteria. Since that time, the country has made considerable progress in further consolidating and deepening stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities.</p>
Lithuania	<p>Has made progress towards meeting the accession priorities related to the political criteria. Ongoing efforts to increase the integration of Roma in Lithuanian society need to be sustained. The Children's rights Ombudsman established in 2000 has been particularly active. Cooperation and coordination among various institutions involved in refugee matters need to be improved. Trafficking of women continues to be a problem and greater efforts to prevent it are required.</p>	<p>In its 1997 Opinion, the Commission concluded that Lithuania fulfilled the political criteria. Since then, the country has made considerable progress in further consolidating and deepening stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities.</p>

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Poland	<p>There has been some progress in establishing the legal framework for equal opportunities and further work needs to be undertaken in this regard. A new element that has come to light has been the abuse of custody, which has been reported in certain cases that needs to be address. First steps have already been taken in this respect.</p>	<p>In its 1997 opinion, the Commission concluded that Poland fulfilled the political criteria. Since then, the country has made considerable progress in further consolidating and deepening the stability of its institutions guaranteeing democracy, rule of law, human rights and respect and protection of minorities.</p>
Czech Republic	<p>It has consolidated its internal institutional framework in the field of human rights. However, increased efforts are necessary to better fight the persistent trafficking of women and children. Considerable efforts have been made by the Czech government as regards Roma and other minorities. However, further efforts to combat widespread discrimination are needed, in line with the government policy for the Roma of 2000.</p>	<p>In its 1997 opinion, the Commission concluded that the Czech Republic fulfilled the political criteria. Since that time, the country has made considerable progress in further consolidating and deepening stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities.</p>
Romania	<p>Significant progress has been made in the field of human rights. Reform of the childcare system is well under way; homosexuality has been decriminalized; and important new legislation has been passed towards restitution of property and the treatment of asylum seekers and refugees. Introduction of probation constitutes and important reform of the penal system; several initiatives have been taken to address trafficking of human beings. Further reforms should increase the public accountability of police officers as well as ensure proportionality of their actions. Efforts to improve the actual living conditions in childcare institutions should continue. New legislation extending the use of minority languages was approved. A national strategy for improving condition of Roma was adopted (efforts need to focus on implementation of the strategy and effective combat of the widespread discrimination).</p>	<p>In its 1997 Opinion, the Commission concluded that Romania fulfilled the political criteria. Since then, the country has made considerable progress in further consolidating and deepening stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities.</p>

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Slovakia	<p>The constitutional reform created the basis for strengthening of the institutional structure in the field of human rights. However, there is a need to address police behavior, notably with regard to reported cases of ill-treatment. Significant efforts in further developing and putting into practice approaches to protect minority rights were taken (by implementing relevant government strategies). Positive steps were achieved towards enhancing the use and protection of minority languages. As regards the Roma minority, implementation of the Roma strategy should be further enhanced and appropriate financial means should be made available.</p>	<p>In its 1999 regular report, the Commission concluded that Slovakia fulfilled the political criteria. Since that time, Slovakia has made considerable progress in further consolidating and deepening stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities.</p>
Slovenia	<p>Continues to fulfill Copenhagen political criteria. There is a need to address police behavior, notably with regard to reported cases of ill-treatment. Concerns have been expressed over increased police brutality in Slovenia and excessive use of force against people in custody.</p>	<p>In its 1997 Opinion, the Commission concluded that Slovenia fulfilled the political criteria. Since then, the country has made considerable progress in further consolidating and deepening stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities.</p>

Source: European Union: Making a success of enlargement: Strategy Paper and Report of the European Commission on the progress towards accession by each of the candidate countries, Annex 1: Conclusions of the regular reports

Conclusion

EU has welcomed the aspirations of CEEs countries to join the EU. It was seen as possibility to overcome the Cold war division of the European continent and to spread the European values on which the EU was found throughout the whole continent.

The enlargement process has contributed to achieving political stability and economic growth. Enlargement with CEEs began in the early 1990s. The accession of new member states has benefited the EU- the enlargement has added to the EU's economic as well as physical size, and to the EU's share of global trade, allowing the EU to become a major international actor. Enlargement allowed the EU to fill the European space to which its founders advocated. This is especially true of Central and Eastern European enlargement. This enlargement phase allowed EU to overcome the East-West political debate and to promote peace and stability in Europe (Dinan, 2004: 13).

The EU had to prepare itself for the biggest possible enlargement with the accession of the CEEs states by its internal adjustment to the growing number of members and by setting more rigid conditions for EU membership- the Copenhagen criteria. On the other hand, the EU has helped the democratic transition of CEEs countries so they can endure the pressures of membership. In the case with the CEEs, the process of adjustment to EU *acquis* (Europeanization) happened before they actually become members. In the pre-accession period, the situation regarding with respect of human rights and minorities was carefully evaluated.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

Pan-European Constituency and Transnational Lists: The Third Wave of the EU Politics of Electoral Reform?

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Abstract

Brexit raised a question of reapportionment of the 73 British seats in the European Parliament in the 2019 elections. This re-opened the possibility of introducing a single pan-European constituency with transnational lists as a second tier of the European Parliament electoral system. The idea of transnational (pan-European) lists has not been new at all as it was firstly suggested by the Anastassopoulos report in 1998 as a tool how to make the European elections more European. Since then, this issue has been regularly appearing in discussions on the European Parliament electoral reform. Although the transnational lists were finally rejected in the most recent bargains about the European Parliament electoral design they seem to be a relevant issue for the future reform deliberation. Thus, the paper discusses the historical background and the political context of the most recent debates taking place in the context of the EU politics of electoral reform, whereby the essence is a proposal to introduce transnational lists within a pan-European constituency for the election of part of MEPs.

Keywords: *European Parliament; re-apportionment; politics of electoral reform; Brexit; pan-European constituency; transnational lists.*

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Introduction

Although the term European Parliament emerged only in March 1962, this institution celebrated its 60th anniversary in spring 2018. Following the adoption of the Rome Treaty, a common representative body was established in 1958 for all three European communities, the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Atomic Energy Community (hereinafter Euratom) and the European Economic Community (hereinafter EEC), which was named the European Parliamentary Assembly, but it was renamed the European Parliament four years later. The inaugural European Parliamentary Assembly meeting took place in Strasbourg on March 19th, 1958; less than a month after the European Coal and Steel Community Common Assembly,¹ which preceded the European Parliament's establishment, met for the last time.² It happened almost exactly ten years after the idea of a directly elected European Parliamentary Forum emerged at the Hague Congress in April 1948 (Smith, 1999: 27-34; Viola, 2016: 4).

In many ways the European Parliament (hereinafter EP) is a specific institution within the institutional structure of the European Union (hereinafter EU). It is clearly an institution that underwent the most dynamic development of all Union institutions in terms of composition, definition of competences and status within the EU political system in the last sixty years. While at the beginning of its existence the EP was 'only' conceived as a consultative assembly whereby its members were not elected in the elections but delegated by national governments, it gradually strengthened its position within the institutional structure of European Communities and later the EU up to the present form of a 'directly elected, fully-fledged parliamentary forum' (Viola, 2016: 3), with significant legislative, control and budgetary powers at EU level, which led many authors to state that the EP is a remarkably successful institution in this sense (Rittberger, 2005; Farrell & Scully, 2007). Furthermore, apart from being the only directly elected institution in the current EU political system, the EP is now one of the most important institutional elements based on the of the EU Member States representation.

The gradual transformation of the position of the EP within the EU structures cannot be separated from the issue of how the assembly being established. These are two communication vessels; strengthening the EP status in one of these issues allows to consolidate positions in the second area, and *vice versa*. The adoption of the 1976 Act introducing general and direct elections of MEPs, or the first direct elections in 1979, seems to be a turning point in this sense. From this moment onwards, MEPs could begin to justify their demands to strengthen the EP role by being the voice of the European people to finally use this argument effectively to gradually expand their powers (Farrell & Scully, 2007: 7).

Thus, the EP politics of electoral reform is an integral and permanent part of the European integration process. Even today, almost forty years after the first direct EP elections being held, (never-ending) discussions on the electoral system for MEPs is still

¹ The last Common Assembly meeting took place on February 28th, 1958.

² For the sake of simplicity, the text will continue to work with the term 'European Parliament' also for the two representative bodies which directly preceded the establishment of the European Parliament, that is, the European Coal and Steel Community's Common Assembly (1952–1958) and the European Parliamentary Assembly (1958–1962); the term 'European elections' will be used as a synonym for European Parliament elections.

a very lively and relevant topic. The recent discussion following the United Kingdom's EU membership referendum of June 2016 may be an evidence. The so-called Brexit brought several questions regarding the further direction of European integration process, including its (future) institutional framework. One of the major and relatively sensitive issues is the issue of the EP composition, as 73 out of 751 seats will become vacant. A new round of debates began on how the EP will be formed after Brexit, with a proposal to introduce a second (higher) tier of the electoral system for European elections where the seats would be distributed through transnational lists in a pan-European constituency.

Objectives, methods and data

Taking the above mentioned into account, the paper will focus on the historical background and the political context of the most recent debates taking place in the context of the EU politics of electoral reform, whereby the essence is a proposal to introduce transnational lists within a pan-European constituency for the election of part of MEPs. Thus, the politics of electoral reform perspective will be the initial analytical framework. Above all, the aim of this approach is to explain the processes of establishing and adopting new electoral rules and explaining the causes for their change, as the reform process cannot be understood without prior analysis of mechanisms through which a wide variety of factors (historical, cultural, institutional, contextual or personal), which subsequently form concrete results and interact against the background. Election rules are viewed as a dependent variable, because they're often the subject of political decisions made by selfish political actors who tend to make decisions in their own interest. Qualitative approaches focusing on detailed (comparative) process tracing and a small number of cases appear to be more beneficial for this approach (see Renwick, 2010; Charvát, 2016).

The present text does not have any deeper theoretical ambitions; it is neither aimed at defending or criticising the current state from the point of view of various paradigms and/or theoretical concepts but following path dependence approach, it is rather seeking to evaluate and explain the current state, *inter alia* by introducing its genesis. Therefore, the paper is conceived as an idiographic case study.

The primary data and information sources were EU treaties, the relevant legal acts dealing with the issue of EP electoral legislation and reports of *ad hoc* working groups on EP electoral reform. Data from these documents were further supplemented and extended by the findings of expert studies and analyses dealing with the EP elections legislation and its changes over time.

Two waves of the EU politics of electoral reform

As mentioned above, the EP politics of electoral reform is an integral and permanent part of the European integration process. The relevant passages of the Paris Treaty of April 1951 contributed towards it significantly, as the Treaty envisaged establishing the Common Assembly and mentioning two possible ways for its establishment; either seats could be taken by national parliaments, or the Members of Assembly could be chosen directly by the citizens of the Member States in general elections (see Article 21(1)). All Member States eventually decided to go with the first option (delegation by national parliaments), yet the explicitly mentioned general election option opened the door for discussion on whether the Assembly should be directly elected by the citizens; and, if so, whether the elections should be conducted according

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to uniform procedure. Moreover, the issue of electoral reform had been an important issue since the first Common Assembly meeting as this was one of the first questions debated; and discussions on this issue have continued over in the years (Costa, 2016: 13).

However, it will be the Rome Treaty establishing Euratom and the EEC, which explicitly mentions the presumption of future direct elections of MEPs.³ If the Paris Treaty mentioned the option for Member States to hold direct elections, the Rome Treaty included a commitment for the introduction of general elections through uniform procedure in all Member States (see Article 138(3) of the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community; Article 108(3) of the Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community). Therefore, the Rome Treaty set the next direction of the politics of electoral reform for EP elections (direct elections according to uniform electoral procedure), but, at the same time, also its significant limits; if the Assembly was responsible for the preparation of the draft, the Council had to unanimously approve it. While the Assembly began to address this issue very seriously, the Council's unanimous consent proved to be an insoluble problem at that time. The main obstacle was France's opposition (led by President Charles de Gaulle), which rejected direct elections in order not to strengthen the transnational character of the European integration process (Reif, 1984: 233). However, part of the German MEPs refused to introduce direct elections as well, saying that this step would mean a confirmation and legitimation of the division of Germany; a change in this approach occurred with the onset of *Ostpolitik*.

Although the establishment of direct European elections in the 1960s did not take place, the so-called Dehousse Report (Dehousse, 1960) is an important milestone for further development of the EU politics of electoral reform. The report stated that the term 'uniform' does not mean 'identical'. Thus, the Assembly 'only' had to set out a few basic common principles, without necessarily having a strict consistency of election procedures in all Member States. At the same time, the report sought to reflect the current situation in which the possibility of early direct elections under uniform electoral procedure appeared highly unlikely. Therefore, the report proposed splitting the original assignment into two phases: first to ensure that EP general elections are held while setting the electoral rules remains in the competence of Member States, and only then introduce uniform procedure binding for all Member States.

As the proposed phases indeed become the basic strategy used by the EP to approach the gradual fulfilment of the direct elections requirement according to uniform procedure, we can distinguish two waves of the EU politics of electoral reform. While the issue of introducing a uniform electoral system was side-lined for the time being, the main emphasis in the negotiations was put on the introduction of direct elections. The first wave corresponds to the efforts to introduce general elections to the EP and culminates in adopting the 1976 Act concerning the election of Assembly members by direct universal suffrage and in holding the first direct elections in 1979. The second wave immediately follows, and its ambition was to meet requirements to introduce common principles for European elections. The adoption of the 2002 Council Decision

³ An obvious inspiration for the formulation of the relevant passages of the Rome Treaty was the proposal submitted by the Italian delegation at the intergovernmental conferences in Brussels at the turn of January and February 1957 (for details, see van den Berghe, 1981: 8-10).

amending the above-mentioned 1976 Act can be considered the culmination of this wave though it did not actually introduce a uniform procedure for European elections.

Transnational lists as a new issue of the politics of electoral reform

However, the 2002 Council Decision did not exhaust the issue of the EU politics of electoral reform. Conversely, any change in the number of the Member States and/or a gradual strengthening of the EP powers, particularly in the context of the adoption of the Lisbon Treaty, although the rules of European elections were not the subject of discussing this Treaty, has been the stimulus for other proposals to reform the existing electoral procedure.

Perhaps somewhat paradoxically, the criticism that arise is like that one in the debates in favour of introducing direct elections for MEPs. Especially the lack of supra-nationality in the EP elections and its second-order nature are criticised. In this perspective, EP elections tend to be based on the national political and social specifics of each Member States, but without clearly showing their assumed European dimension. Not only the voting rules are set by national electoral legislations (for details, see, e. g., Outly, 2007), but the electoral process itself includes several national elements. For example, transnational political groups in the European Parliament do not nominate individual candidates for the European elections and do not interfere with the process of their nomination, but they are candidates sent to European elections by national political parties at their own discretion. Political campaigns that precede the European elections often lack the European dimension, when they focus on national rather than European issues. And last but not least, the EP election results reflect national rather than European politics (Hix & Marsh, 2007).

The way how to remedy this unsatisfactory situation, at least in this perspective, is a reform of the EP election rules, which would strengthen links between the citizens of EU Member States and MEPs and contribute to European elections having a truly European dimension. However, as soon as it turned out that the provisions on the harmonisation of the EP election rules of 2002, consisting in the introduction of the proportional representation electoral system as a crucial common principle, did not contribute to the achievement of this objective, the attention of the EU electoral procedure reformers has recently shifted elsewhere, when the proposal for the introduction of transnational lists became a new topic of the EU politics of electoral reform.

According to this proposal, the current electoral system for the EP elections should be transformed as follows. While seats are currently being allocated at national level, the transnational seat allocation level in the EP should be added if the intended change is implemented. However, the actual number of seats, which should be allocated at the possible higher electoral system tier, has changed over time. A specific feature of the pan-European constituency would be that the lists would no longer be submitted by national political parties, but by transnational political groups represented in the EP, and the lists would have to include candidates from several EU Member States. In this case, voters would have two votes in the European elections; one vote for a party list or a national candidate as is the case today, and the other for a preferred transnational list in the common constituency.

The idea of a pan-European constituency and transnational lists first appeared in the 1998 Anastassopoulos Report. Anastassopoulos proposed to allocate 10% of the total number of EP seats through EU-wide lists, starting with the 2009 European elections

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(see Article 5 of the Anastassopoulos Report). Anastassopoulos justified the need to transnational lists with their mechanism contributing towards the creation of European political awareness and the establishment of real European political parties. The establishment of a common constituency and transnational lists should also contribute to making EP elections more reflective of the truly European dimension of this political competition, instead of national political issues favoured up to then. In addition, this mechanism made it easier for the European elections nominated candidates to approach voters and thereby further enhancing the European elections representativeness (Anastassopoulos, 1998). Although this element was not introduced into EU legislation, the argumentation for its introduction laid the basis for further political discussions.

Duff Reports and post-national democracy

Reports by Andrew Duff followed in Anastassopoulos' conclusions more than ten years later. The introduction of a higher electoral system tier with transnational lists for European elections was to become the next step towards establishing a post-national democracy, the historical experiment of which the EP is (Duff, 2012; 2017). In such a model of democracy, political competition takes place at European level rather than national level and the European political groups and their system play a key role. According to Duff, the proposed electoral reform should, in addition to the ambition to reduce differences in electoral procedures across the Member States, strengthen the European dimension of the EP elections. It would be possible to strengthen the legitimacy of decisions taken at European level and to make the EP more responsible to the citizens it represents. As a result, the proposed electoral reform was to increase the EP popularity among the citizens of all EU Member States.

According to Duff, a total of 25 seats would be allocated at the EP electoral system's higher tier, corresponding to the number of EU Member States at the time of his first draft report (September 2008). The number of seats remained unchanged in later drafts and reports, although the number of EU Member States increased. However, the question of whether these 25 seats should be occupied within the existing number of seats or whether they should be additional seats was widely discussed as being a controversial issue. The first draft worked with the idea that they would be additional seats added to the current 751 MEPs. However, this solution was criticised, particularly by the representatives of the small and medium-sized EU Member States, as a means of hidden increase in the size of the representation of large Member States at the expense of other Member States (for details on representation size in the 2014 EP elections, see Charvát, 2015). Therefore, the second Duff report of February 2012 assumed that the representative seats from the transnational constituency would be part of the fixed number of MEPs.

The candidates nominated for the transnational lists may come from at least one third of the Union Member States, the lists may be gender-balanced and allow better representation of ethnic minority candidates at both European and national levels. Candidates could be nominated on transnational, national or regional lists simultaneously. To make concessions to the small and medium-sized Member States, the transnational lists should be conceived as closed lists (i.e., voters cannot change the order of candidates on the list) so that the composition of elected candidates from transnational lists would not be primarily determined by voters from large Member States.

As it became clear that the draft cannot succeed in the Plenary of the EP the Committee decided to withdraw this proposal from the agenda in March 2012. This proposal was never discussed in the European Parliament's Plenary. The third Duff Report of July 2013 was focused on organizational issues of the upcoming elections while all controversial passages in the previous reports, including a proposal for transnational lists, were deleted (Costa, 2016: 39). Therefore, the main innovation for the 2014 European elections became the introduction of the so-called *Spitzenkandidat* system, whereby the winning political group's candidate through these elections became the President of the European Commission. It was expected that this mechanism would make elections more attractive to both voters and media and would increase the interest in European elections as such.

Transnational lists and Brexit

However, it did not take long, and the issue of transnational lists returned to the EP agenda in 2015. The EP adopted a resolution on reforming the EU electoral procedure aimed at strengthening the democratic and transnational dimension of European elections and therefore the democratic legitimacy of the EU decision-making process in November of the same year, that is, before British citizens voted in the Brexit referendum. According to the annex to this resolution, the Council would unanimously decide on a pan-European constituency and transnational lists led by candidates of various political groups in the EP running for Commission President, without the issue being worked out in detail. The debate on electoral reform gained momentum in the context of the Brexit negotiations, which opened the question of how 73 British seats in the EP would be handled after the Brexit. One mentioned option was the proposal that 27 of these 73 seats would be used to establish the transnational constituency.

An important suggestion to revive the debate on the possibility of transnational lists was the Italian proposal presented in Bratislava in April 2017 (Verger, 2018: 8). The EP issued another resolution that recalled the earlier commitment to reform the European elections current rules in the sense of introducing transnational lists in April 2017. Subsequently, transnational lists gained significant political backing as it was supported by French President Emmanuel Macron, or the representatives of South European countries (Cyprus, France, Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal and Spain). It was also supported by the President of the European Commission Jean-Claude Juncker, according to whom the transnational lists could bring democracy and clarity to Europe, or Irish Prime Minister Leo Varadkar (Verger, 2018). The major potential benefit of transnational lists was once again considered to be their potential to bring truly European issues to European elections. In addition, there was a new argument of the possible strengthened role of the voter in the electoral process. Thanks to the possibility of giving two votes, one for national or regional lists and one for transnational lists, each voter will have the chance to influence the election for a higher number of MEPs than has been the case so far, assuming the establishment of the pan-European constituency.

It was assumed that the transnational lists would include candidates from at least one third of the Union's Member States, with a proportion of candidates from one Member State within a transnational list not exceeding 25% and the first seven candidates having to come from seven different Member States. The transnational lists should be conceived as closed and could be submitted not only by existing political groups represented in the EP but also by other candidate political groups. However, a 3% electoral threshold was to apply to seat allocations among the submitted lists within

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the pan-European constituency (Verger, 2018: 8). Despite the proclaimed political support and recommendations from the Committee on Constitutional Affairs, the transnational lists have not yet been introduced, especially due to opposition from the European People's Party, which was supported in this position by the Eurosceptic and nationalist MPs.

Conclusion and discussion

Introduction of direct elections to the EP through the uniform electoral procedure did not fulfil the original expectations; the real European *demos* was not created, the link between voters and MEPs was not strengthened significantly and the EP elections often lack a European dimension. To overcome these shortcomings, a proposal was made at the end of the 1990s to introduce a higher tier of European electoral system whereby various political groups represented in the EP would present transnational lists within a pan-European multi-member district (see the Anastassopoulos Report). Despite several unsuccessful attempts to establish the transnational lists (see, e.g., the Duff Reports), this issue remains an important part of the EU agenda. In the light of previous development, we can see that we are witnessing a third wave of the EU politics of electoral reform aimed at introducing a pan-European constituency with transnational lists.

However, this change significantly interferes with the balance of power between the EU institutions. At the same time, it necessarily affects the wider debate on territorial representation in the EP, which traditionally represents a very sensitive topic at inter-governmental conferences. The question of fragile power balance, both between the EU institutions and Member States, as well as the threat of its fundamental disruption when implementing the intended electoral reform, is one of the major obstacles preventing the approval of this change. Moreover, the recent (and for now) final round of political talks on the possibility of transnational lists has confirmed that the EU Member States are still unable to agree on the possible contribution of this change to the European integration process, and it is currently a crucial obstacle in adopting this reform if the Council's unanimous consent is required. It has also turned out that MEPs themselves are not ready for such reform. Despite the Lisbon Treaty's wording, several of them still think and act as if they were Member States representatives. In addition, some critics of transnational lists are concerned about the pan-European constituency further deepening the gap between the citizens and MEPs or it leading to increased support for populist and nationalist groups in the European elections and strengthening their influence (not only) in the EP.

Perhaps somewhat paradoxically, it seems that even the supporters of such electoral reform are not yet prepared for the introduction of transnational lists and have not yet been able to convincingly defend the potential benefits of this change. In addition, some defenders of the new electoral mechanism shrank into the argument that this proposal was a response to the opportunity of reforming the current situation brought by the Brexit. However, it is not enough with respect to the ambition of pushing through a fundamental change in the EU electoral procedure. Finally, the question of transnationality of transnational lists must be mentioned; their conceptualisation should not be based on national logic (as was the case in the existing proposals) if the pan-European lists are to have unquestionable transnational character. Instead, they should support a rather qualitative transformation of the nature of parliamentary seats allocated in the pan-European constituency towards a truly transnational European idea.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

The Challenges and Formative Moment of Romanian Semi-Presidentialism

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Abstract

A brief survey of the literature on comparative constitutional engineering shows that semi-presidentialism has sparked a variety of views regarding its conceptualization. Although a widespread choice in post-communist Europe, the semi-presidential model contains inherent vulnerabilities that have proved to be even more challenging in the Romanian case. This article employs the notion of “formative moment” to reevaluate the origins of the problematic nature of Romania’s semi-presidentialism, which is well illustrated in the domains of foreign policy and national defence. Despite being inspired by the French fifth republic, the Romanian system features a chain of interwoven foreign affairs decision-making, where the president largely depends on the other state pillars, particularly the government. The formative moment lens is useful in understanding why the post-communist constitutional drafters decided to tightly constrain the powers of the Romanian presidency. It thus unveils the factors that have decisively influenced Romania’s emerging democratic system: the widespread post-communist political turbulence and the prevalent meanings circulating in the constitutional debates.

Keywords: *semi-presidentialism; Romania; post-communism; constitutional design.*

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The Challenges and Formative Moment of Romanian Semi-Presidentialism

The problematic nature of semi-presidential regimes has been thoroughly analyzed in comparative politics. That is why the popularity of semi-presidentialism in post-communist Europe is still surprising, at the same time contributing to its research appeal. This paper has a dual scope: first, it examines the challenges of Romania's semi-presidential constitutional design, with a focus on the area of foreign policy decision-making; second, it unpacks the formative moment of Romania's political system, underlining the contextual elements that were at play when drafting the post-communist Constitution. The discussion begins with an overview of the key literature on semi-presidentialism and its main issues reflected in the Romanian model.

Then the study takes a closer look at the constitutional prerogatives for foreign and defence policies, where the complicated interconnection between the three state pillars (presidency, cabinet, parliament) makes it very difficult to establish which institution is the primary authority. To understand the tightly interwoven chain of constitutional powers, it is necessary to consider the turbulent events surrounding the newly democratic Romanian regime, together with the prevalent meanings that circulated during constitutional debates and which ultimately impacted the final version of Romanian semi-presidentialism. The arguments are brought together within the concluding remarks.

Overview of Semi-Presidentialism and Its Romanian Challenges

In the literature on comparative constitutional engineering, semi-presidentialism has been viewed as a hybrid political system or a middle ground between the two opposite sides: parliamentary and presidential government. Parliamentarism and presidentialism represent pure models of political executives, where the main powers lie either with the prime minister and cabinet (accountable to parliament), or with the directly elected president. As a mixed format, the semi-presidential system embraces the strength of centralized government and the allure of democratic legitimacy, at the same time trying to deal with the weaknesses of both presidentialism and parliamentarism. These issues are also a reason why the concept has been prone to definitional difficulties (Shugart, 2005).

Duverger has introduced the analytical category of semi-presidentialism, while examining the constitutional layout of the French fifth republic - "[a] political regime is considered as semipresidential if the constitution which established it combines three elements: (1) the president of the republic is elected by universal suffrage, (2) he possesses quite considerable powers; (3) he has opposite him, however, a prime minister and ministers who possess executive and governmental power and can stay in office only if the parliament does not show its opposition to them" (Duverger, 1980: 166). Semi-presidential systems differ in terms of how powerful the president is, hence the classification of "figurehead presidencies", "balanced presidency and government" and "all-powerful presidencies" (Duverger, 1980: 167).

Yet Duverger's definition has been regarded as ambiguous because scholars disagree about what constitutes a clear model of semi-presidentialism and the actual number of such state constitutions worldwide (Elgie, 2005: 100). In this respect, the second criterion appears to be the most problematic since the notion of a president having "quite considerable powers" is vague.

Linz has circumvented the problem by succinctly describing semi-presidential regimes as those which "have a president who is elected by the people either directly or indirectly, rather than nominated by parliament, and a prime minister who needs the

confidence of parliament” (Linz, 1994: 48). Elgie has aimed to exclude “the opportunity for subjective classifications” altogether by advancing a more nuanced definition - “[a] semi-presidential regime may be defined as the situation where a popularly elected fixed-term president exists alongside a prime-minister and cabinet who are responsible to parliament” (Elgie, 1999: 12-13).

Sartori has also expanded on “the common core” or main traits of semi-presidentialism - “(1) the head of state (president) is elected by popular vote - either directly or indirectly - for a fixed term of office; (2) the head of state shares the executive power with a prime minister, thus entering a dual authority structure whose three defining criteria are: (3) the president is independent from parliament, but is not entitled to govern alone or directly and therefore his will must be conveyed and processed via his government; (4) conversely, the prime minister and his cabinet are president-independent in that they are parliament-dependent: they are subject to either parliamentary confidence or no-confidence (or both), and in either case need the support of a parliamentary majority; (5) the dual authority structure of semi-presidentialism allows for different balances and also for shifting prevalence of power within the executive, under the strict condition that the ‘autonomy potential’ of each component unit of the executive does subsist” (Sartori, 1997: 131-132).

Besides the definitional difficulties, political scientists caution that a semi-presidential model presents many risks. Linz argues that it associates the most prominent “perils of presidentialism” with an additional unique drawback; such perils include the high stakes and polarizing effects of zero-sum presidential elections and the danger that a president endowed with a direct mandate from the people might be inclined to interpret his powers in an expansive or even authoritarian manner (Linz, 1994: 55-59). The additional drawback points to the acute possibility for conflict between the president and prime minister, which comes from the dual democratic legitimacy (Linz, 1994: 55). The dual executive does not function according to predetermined and predictable patterns. It can present good executive coherence and cooperation, when the hierarchy between the two offices is clearly established (Suleiman, 1994: 139).

Nevertheless, a serious institutional crisis is possible and even imminent, especially if the elections highlight a legislative majority with a different political agenda from that of the president. Skach (2006: 15) notes that the “tensions between the president, the prime minister and the legislature are inherent in the structure of semi-presidentialism, and are therefore permanent” (cited in Dimulescu, 2010: 106). She also identifies three types of semi-presidential government depending on their parliamentary support.

First, in a consolidated majority government, both the president and premier benefit from legislative backing. Second, in a divided majority government, the president faces a parliament dominated by an opposing majority. Third, a divided minority government displays no evident and solid parliamentary majority due to “shifting legislative coalitions and government reshuffles” (Skach cited in Dimulescu, 2010: 106). The conclusion is that even the best case of a consolidated majority government might be subject to grave crises, which can turn into institutional deadlock if the two executive heads do not reach an agreement or their relationship deteriorates (Skach, 2006: 16).

In spite of the potential conflict inside the executive branch, semi-presidential constitutions have been a popular choice among the post-communist European states after 1989. Romania is not an exception and fits Elgie’s conceptualization of semi-

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presidentialism, with a directly elected president for a fixed term and a prime minister accountable to parliament. Romania's Constitution shares many similarities with that of the French fifth republic. The traditional friendly relations and cultural affinity of the two states played an influential part in the drafting process.

For example, the set up and links between central and local administrations reflect the French approach, specifically how the regime functioned before President François Mitterrand's reforms in 1982 (Verheijen, 1999: 197). The Romanian legal culture has been characterized by "an importing mentality" and elites were "tempted to appeal, more or less rationally, to constitutional transplant", rather than find local solutions (Guțan, 2012: 276). The members of Romania's Constitutional Drafting Commission eventually adopted a variation on French semi-presidentialism, in which the most significant difference is the limited powers of the Romanian president.

The 1991 constitutional drafters envisioned the state's post-communist system as a "limited or parliamentarized" version of semi-presidential government, where the general objective was to increase the decision-making role of other institutions, particularly parliament (Călinoiu, Duculescu & Duculescu, 2007: 216). Sartori (2002: 10) further explains that "the Romanian political system is parliamentary characterized by a strong head of state (but who is not strong enough to change the parliamentary nature of the system) and whose strength derives from popular legitimacy, but also from several reinforcing constitutional provisions" (cited in Dimulescu, 2010: 111).

Shugart (2005: 9) has categorized the Romanian constitutional design as "premier-presidential", where the president is elected by popular vote and has the right to appoint yet not dismiss the prime minister, who is accountable only to parliament. Considering the cabinet's dominant position in directing governmental policy, the system is institutionally semi-presidential but was expected practically "to function at latitudes closer to parliamentarianism" (Guțan, 2012: 280).

However, in their quest to strengthen parliamentary prerogatives, the constitutional drafters have created a complicated but unclear semi-presidential arrangement. Mungiu-Pippidi has underlined the inherent problems of the Romanian Constitution, where in practice there is no clear separation of powers between and within state institutions. She views the political system to be "overloaded with checks and balances to the point of deadlock" and prone to institutional conflict in areas of joint responsibility (Mungiu-Pippidi, 2002: 42-43).

Other scholars have remarked on the potential instability of Romania's semi-presidentialism and its unclear constitutional provisions, in which parliament actually has a secondary contribution in the decision-making process (de Waele, Soare and Gueorguieva, 2003). The diminished role of parliament is caused by the government issuing emergency ordinances on a regular basis, which at least temporarily bypass the legislative body and become law until the relevant chamber of parliament makes a decision (Dimulescu, 2010: 112).

Metaphorically, the rapport between the major Romanian political actors has been portrayed as follows: "[t]he constitutional framework (...) confronts a president of the republic, with a strongly outlined judicial status, and a parliament which can be dissolved only in exceptional circumstances. It goes without saying that such a constitutional regulation mirrors the principle of separation of powers. This narrow separation is softened by the fact that between these two bodies, which do not depend on one another, has been placed a cushion: the government, a scapegoat, designed to be the sole possible victim in the clash between two titans" (Drăganu, 1998: 232).

In such an arrangement, the president sits uneasily as his mandate and political agenda voted by the electorate cannot be implemented without the government's agreement and help. There is "incoherence between the high political legitimacy of the popularly elected president and the number and importance of his constitutional powers" (Guțan, 2012: 281).

The reasons for this incoherence and the general diversity of semi-presidentialism go back to Elgie's framework, who draws from Duverger to underline three variables that explain why semi-presidential systems operate in varied ways: "the constitutional powers of the major political actors; the events surrounding the formation of the regime; the nature of the parliamentary majority" and its relationship with the president (Elgie, 1999: 15-16).

Although he distinguishes between the degrees of presidential power ("figurehead", "balanced" and "all-powerful"), Duverger (1980: 179) stresses that constitutional law and political practice do not necessarily coincide. The constitutional rights of state institutions are only "secondary compared to the other parameters" like events around the drafting of the constitution and the nature of parliamentary majorities (Duverger, 1980: 179).

The second factor - events surrounding the regime's creation - is contextual and "helps to engender national differences that persist over time and which can distort the operation of the set of de jure constitutional rules" (Elgie, 1999: 17). In Duverger's opinion, the third variable - relationship between the president and legislative majority - accounts to a large extent for the operational variety of semi-presidentialism, as the nature of a parliamentary majority conditions how powerful the president can become de facto (Duverger, 1980: 186).

All three factors or variables have impacted on the dynamic of Romanian politics and contributed to its specificity. Here the analysis focuses on the pivotal "formative moment" of 1989-1991, which features the emergence of Romania's post-communist system: constitutional prerogatives and the contextual elements.

The core dilemma is that the Romanian constitutional system presents problems such as the lack of a clear delineation between the powers of the state pillars (presidency, government and parliament), potential institutional conflict in areas of joint responsibility and an overload of checks and balances that can relatively easily lead to political deadlock. These aspects are most obvious when trying to identify who is the primary decision-maker regarding the state's foreign policy.

The president has a wide range of prerogatives related to foreign affairs and national defence (Constitution of Romania: articles 91, 92). Still, if the presidency wishes to issue a foreign policy or national defence act, the latter needs to be countersigned by the prime minister (Constitution of Romania: article 100.2). The government also ensures "the implementation of the country's internal and foreign policy" (Constitution of Romania: article 102.1). The president signs an international treaty "on behalf of Romania", yet the document has been "negotiated" by the government; then the treaty is submitted to parliamentary ratification (Constitution of Romania: article 91.1).

This reflects a tightly interwoven chain of decision-making, in which neither state authority is able to formally take command of Romanian international relations. So the president can have a foreign policy initiative, but cannot impose it without the government's consent and legislative approval. As Guțan (2012: 280) pointed out, the Romanian president was "designed to be a head of state endowed with relatively limited

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institutional autonomy (...) with numerous executive and legislative controlled powers, in a manner akin to parliamentary regimes, with predominantly mediating powers which were supposed to be exercised in the impartial, equidistant and apolitical spirit of a constitutional monarch or a moral magistrate”.

Another good example for ambiguous and overlapping constitutional rules originates in the government-parliament relationship. Parliament is “the supreme representative body of the Romanian people and the country’s sole legislative authority” (Constitution of Romania: article 61.1). But the government has the right of “legislative delegation” and can adopt emergency ordinances that at least temporarily bypass parliament; such a procedure is constitutionally restricted to “extraordinary circumstances”, when the cabinet can pass urgent laws that have immediate legal effect without being first sanctioned by the legislature (Constitution of Romania: article 115).

The emergency ordinances can be contested at the Constitutional Court, which may overrule a legal act that has already been put into practice. A persisting problem in Romania is that “most post-communist executives have abused the right of legislative delegation and especially the use of emergency ordinances, irrespective of their extraordinary character” (Dimulescu, 2010: 117).

Why did the Romanian constitutional drafters opt for such a tightly interwoven chain of decision-making in the post-communist democratic system, particularly within the dual executive represented by the president and cabinet? If one looks at the French fifth republic that was an inspiration for Romania’s semi-presidentialism, the president of France is in charge of the state’s foreign policy.

So where did the need to further restrict the constitutional powers of the Romanian presidency come from? To answer these questions, the formative moment of Romania’s semi-presidential model is meaningful in understanding how certain contextual factors like the turbulent transition to democracy and problematic historical precedents have decisively influenced the regime’s constitutional design.

The Formative Moment of Romania’s Semi-Presidential Regime

As a starting point, the notion of “formative moment” encapsulates certain periods in the life of individuals and societies when pre-assumed issues come under scrutiny. In “normal times” particular meanings and interpretations are simply taken for granted, while formative moments should be seen as favourable times which allow new understandings to emerge and new projects to be established (Ringmar, 1996: 83). Profound transformations are more likely, because formative moments often appear as times of “unprecedented poetic freedom”, when actors believe they can “become whatever they want to be” (Ringmar, 1996: 86).

To understand why and how the Romanian Constitution emerged, the contextual elements are highly significant, since historical precedents and the state’s transition to democracy have shaped the configuration of the post-communist political system. Romania did not have a good long-term democratic record even before the installation of communism. After 1866, Romania was a constitutional monarchy and maintained this form of government until the last king was forced to abdicate by the communists in 1947. The functioning of the monarchy depended on the king’s dominant personal attributes and hence alternated between democracy and authoritarian rule (Guțan, 2012: 289-291).

Linz and Stepan (1996: 347) have depicted the Romanian communist dictatorship to be “sultanistic”, meaning totalitarian with an extreme kind of

patrimonialism, where the supreme leader treated the country as his personal domain. Romania illustrated a distinct example of closed-off society strangulated by nationalist communism and was the only central-eastern European state that went through a violent revolution to restore a democratic regime in 1989.

There was widespread violence associated with Romania's revolution and questionable transition to democracy: the large number of victims during the popular protests in Timișoara, Bucharest and other cities; the execution of dictator Nicolae Ceaușescu, alongside his wife and co-ruler Elena Ceaușescu (25 December 1989); the Jiu Valley miners' extremely violent actions in Bucharest (June 1990 and September 1991). Such turbulent events contrasted with the peaceful transitions occurring in the rest of central-eastern Europe (Salajan, 2017).

Taking each one in turn, in December 1989 Romania experienced a painful revolution and began a difficult transition to democratic rule. Small-scale protests, repressed by the regime's security forces, turned into mass demonstrations that eventually removed Ceaușescu's dictatorship (Siani-Davies, 2005). On 23 December 1989, protestors gathered in Bucharest were shot by unidentified "terrorists"; thousands of people were killed during those street fights (Gallagher, 1995: 96).

Two days later, the Ceaușescu couple were accused of committing genocide against the Romanian people and sentenced to death by an extraordinary military tribunal. Their execution was seen as a "purifying act" for Romanian society, until the promises of the new regime did not live up to the population's expectations (Gallagher, 1995: 96).

There is still no definitive answer as to whether Romania went through a revolution or a coup in late December 1989. One argument says that a coup orchestrated by second rank communists managed to "hijack" the Romanian revolution (Geran Pilon, 1992: 4). Another opinion is that Ceaușescu's rule could not have been abolished without a wide popular uprising; a coup would simply not have been sufficient to overthrow the dictatorship (Verdery and Klingman, 1992: 121).

Amidst the disagreement about what prompted the removal of communism, the revolution clearly consolidated Romania's exceptional case within the "velvet" transitions of central-eastern Europe and shaped the state's transition to democracy (Roper, 2005: 60). In the resulting political turbulence, it cannot be denied that the experienced "second-rank communist officials managed to fill the power vacuum by emphasizing their revolutionary mandate" and organized a "popular front" called the National Salvation Front - FSN (Dimulescu, 2010: 108).

They argued having a vital part in the revolution to gain legitimacy from the population, while condemning Ceaușescu and not the dictatorial regime itself. The phenomenon is known as "the capture of a revolution" by former communists, who remained unchallenged in their discourse and actions during the initial moments of transition (Linz and Stepan, 1996: 345).

In February 1990, although it was supposed to be a provisional body ensuring government until the first democratic elections, FSN converted into a political party and its leader Ion Iliescu became Romania's first post-communist president. They had all the advantages to win, since civil society and other political groups were organizing slowly. The early timing of elections - May 1990 - was also useful in limiting the possibility of opposing political parties to be a substantial threat (Karl, 2012: 95).

Despite its semi-authoritarian tendencies, FSN had to prove a commitment to democracy and political pluralism. Between February and May 1990, the Front was

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replaced by the Provisional Council for National Unity (CPUN) - a governing entity that contained members from FSN and the newly reformed historical political parties, which had been outlawed by communists in 1947. These were the National Peasant and Christian Democratic Party and the National Liberal Party.

CPUN was viewed as an idea deriving from Iliescu's concept of "original democracy", where "narrow party positions are avoided in favour of 'unity in mind and action'"; it was an efficient means through which the future president consolidated his candidature among public opinion (Culic, 2002: 68). Iliescu was definitely charismatic and held wide popular appeal, thus he was expected to represent a strong president.

In the first years after 1989, Iliescu was "able to impose himself as the principal element of stability in the context of unstable parliamentary majorities, with government action otherwise paralyzed by the absence of a clear majority and deprived of leading political personalities" (Frison-Roche, 2007: 72-73). He was also supported by the FSN (later transformed into the governmental party), which had irrevocably marked Romania's transition to democracy.

The new constitutional regime was established gradually, starting on 14 March 1990 with the adoption of Decree-Law 92. Apart from laying out the foundation for the national democratic elections in May 1990, Decree-Law 92 configured the basic premises of Romania's institutional framework. After the May elections, the Constituent Assembly (Parliament) had a double mandate - "to draft the new constitution and to adopt the most urgent economic reform legislation" (Verheijen, 1999: 195). The general semi-presidential principles advanced by Decree-Law 92 were developed and a constitution draft was presented to the Constituent Assembly in July 1991. Following a few months of parliamentary deliberations, the Romanian Constitution project was approved via referendum in December 1991.

To a certain extent, the hegemonic nature of FSN managed to "control the constitution making process and to tailor the fundamental law according to their political and institutional interests" (Dimulescu, 2010: 109). Yet the formative moment was complex and other forces came into play as well. Drafting the new political system was an opportunity to put forward "the hopes of the Romanian people" and to deal with "constitutional anxieties" such as the historical obsession for national unity and territorial integrity, an aversion towards monarchy coming partly from the communist indoctrination and, most of all, a fear of authoritarianism (Guțan, 2012: 281).

In 1989, Romania had just finished "a disastrous republican experiment", a dictatorship whose later stages emulated the North Korean model of personality cult (Guțan, 2012: 281). The communist Constitution of 1965 granted President Ceaușescu extensive prerogatives that were enhanced by the sole ruling party and the ferociously repressive apparatus, giving him unrestricted control over the state and society. He was periodically reelected by the Great National Assembly, which in turn had been the unchanging outcome of unfree votes.

Consequently, one of the revolution ideals was about promoting free elections that would give true legitimacy to the exercise of political power; and this was reflected in the Constitutional Drafting Commission, where the majority of members resonated emotionally rather than rationally with the direct election of the president (Guțan, 2012: 282-283). A head of state voted by parliament was associated with the communist dictators. Moreover, the constitutional debates brought to the surface a number of fears with historical origins that predated communism.

As a member summarized during the deliberations, “[w]e had an absurd parliamentary system, due to the Constitution of June 1866. After June 1871, Carol I switched the parliamentary system to an authoritarian regime. The monarch appointed the head of the executive power. In this period, Romanian political life underwent great instability. Many cabinet changes were made (...) So Romania started with a mixed parliamentary system and reached an authoritarian monarchical system” (Lăzărescu cited in Iorgovan, 1998: 35). There were two strikes against parliamentarianism, because of the constitutional monarchy and communist dictatorship.

Having already decided on a directly elected president, the most suitable constitutional arrangement for Romania was either presidentialism or some type of semi-presidential system. The FSN members of parliament had a very comfortable majority in the Constitutional Drafting Commission. It was surprising that they did not push for a truly powerful presidency, even though it would have certainly benefited Iliescu and the governmental party.

A possible explanation for this restraint is that the “abuse of power under the previous regime was fresh in the memory of politicians of all political convictions and it was also obvious that the adoption of a model with a strong president was likely to be rejected by the people in the referendum” (Verheijen, 1999: 197). A United States inspired presidential format was rejected because it had the potential to personalize the power of the presidency - “[t]he presidential regime (...) is a bad memory. It can develop into an authoritarian regime, where the executive power rules. Therefore, we should choose a mixed system (...) We could opt for de Gaulle’s model of the [French] fifth republic” (Lăzărescu cited in Iorgovan, 1998: 35).

It is useful to note that there was no historical precedent for a semi-presidential design in Romania. France was a reference point and source of inspiration, but the constitutional drafters did not resort to mimicry. Regardless of the political affiliation, they were anxious about the powerful presidency of the French fifth republic and made sure to constrain the presidential institution as much as possible in the Romanian context: “[t]his is our concern, we all feel it, the need to avoid another Carol II, a Ceaușescu (...) Everyone agrees with a semi-presidential republic, yet one very well regulated to cut off any excessive authoritarian initiatives, as they occur in dictatorships” (Moțiu cited in Iorgovan, 1998: 35).

The prevalent discourse during the constitutional debates showed a distinct lack of interest in the advantages of semi-presidentialism for Romanian democracy, as well as in the prerequisites necessary for it to function reasonably well. The Constitution drafters were influenced by historical factors and experiences of past regimes, being preoccupied with what the post-communist system should not be, rather than what it should accomplish.

Barbu (2004: 157) has summed up the situation eloquently - “the debates that should have been conducted on a solid institutional analysis, on the study of constitutional traditions and Romanian political culture, on the legislative strategies of transitional societies, on a macroeconomic calculus, on comparative law and politics, on empirical studies and surveys, have concentrated exclusively on ideology and on mystifying the values of the past”.

Concluding Remarks

A survey of the literature on comparative constitutional engineering highlights that semi-presidentialism has sparked a variety of opinions regarding its appropriate

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definition. There is consensus, however, on the fact that semi-presidential regimes tend to foster tensions and even conflicts within the dual executive, especially when the directly elected president and the cabinet accountable to parliament have diverging political agendas.

A widespread choice in post-communist Europe, the semi-presidential model contains inherent vulnerabilities that have proved to be even more challenging in the Romanian case. It hence prompted this article to employ the notion of “formative moment”, which helps to reevaluate where exactly the problematic nature of Romania’s semi-presidentialism comes from. The formative moment lens is useful in showing the factors that have impacted on the Romanian constitutional system in the early 1990s.

The events surrounding the emergence of post-communist Romania began with a violent revolution and a questionable transition to democracy. The large number of victims fallen in unclear circumstances and the disappointing trajectory of FSN contributed towards the strong political turbulence. Even so, the prevalent meanings in the constitutional debates indicate a deep seated fear of authoritarianism due to Romania’s historical experiences. The only desirable solution was a semi-presidential arrangement inspired by the French fifth republic, but with a restraining twist.

The Romanian presidency had to avoid any authoritarian potential, which translated into limited or codependent constitutional prerogatives, including in the area of foreign policy and national defence. Considering that government and opposition members agreed on this during the constitutional discussions, it is difficult to say whether the subsequent challenges of Romanian semi-presidentialism could have been avoided at the drafting stage.

The outcome was a convoluted design with several key problems: a president with direct popular legitimacy but without extensive executive powers, a political system that should operate like a parliamentary republic yet not actually be one, a democracy that should somehow work even if it was prone to ambiguous responsibilities and institutional conflict or even deadlock.

The saddest realisation for an outside observer is that, even after two decades of democracy with plenty of good and bad experiences, political elites have not wanted or been capable of addressing the intrinsic challenges of Romanian semi-presidentialism. The mistakes of the past are perpetuated and reflected in recurring institutional conflicts at present, while future prospects remain dim.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

Interviews with Public Figures of Yugoslav Media Space in 1989/1990 in Croatian Local Newspapers

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Abstract

This paper analyses newspaper articles published in the form of interviews with public figures of the Yugoslav media space in 1989 and 1990 on the example of local newspapers which were published in the city of Zadar in the Republic of Croatia. The research corpus is based on newspaper articles published in the local newspapers Narodni list and Fokus, which were published in city of Zadar in the Republic of Croatia. The research period of this paper was from 9 February 1989 until 22 September 1990, because youth monthly newspaper Fokus was published in that period. The research period was extremely turbulent for all the republics that were then part of SFRY. Croatia was affected by numerous changes particularly in socio-political contexts. At that time, the multinational republic of Yugoslavia broke up, which resulted in the beginnings of the development of liberalization and democratization of the social and political life in Croatia. Former Zadar media publications Narodni list and Fokus allowed important participants of social-political life to step into the public at the local and national level. The particularity of these interviews was that some of these public figures were given for the first time the opportunity of media appearances in public because they were forbidden to do so until then. The research included newspaper articles classified in the category Interviews with public figures of Yugoslav area published on the pages of the weekly newspaper Narodni list and the youth monthly newspaper Fokus. Descriptive, exploratory and qualitative content analysis was used in this paper. 104 newspaper numbers and 1175 newspaper articles were analysed, of which 32 were published within the category Interviews with public figures of Yugoslav area. The research results have shown that the researched Zadar local newspapers Narodni list and Fokus allowed the media appearance in public for people from then social and political life, and even those who were forbidden from doing so and in that way informed readers about current events.

Keywords: *interviews with public figures of Yugoslav area; local newspapers; democratization; Croatia; 1989/1990; content analysis.*

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Introduction

The end of the 1980s was a transitional period for many countries in Central and Southeastern Europe. The Cold War, as a non-armed conflict between two superpowers, the USA and the former USSR, ended in 1991 and the Eastern-Western Bloc division of the world into two systems is mentioned as its fundamental characteristic: the capitalist system was in development by the USA and the socialist system was in development by the former USSR. The symbol of the Cold War was the Berlin Wall that divided the city into West (part of the USA's Western Bloc) and East (part of the USSR's Eastern Bloc) Berlin. When it was torn down in 1989, the Eastern-Western Bloc division of the world didn't exist anymore and a new transitional and liberal era for the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe, including Croatia, began. According to Crook, Dauderstädt and Gerrits, there were two fundamental transitional problems in the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe: economic modernisation and social crisis. Three main transitional goals were: 1. democracy, tearing down communist dictatorships, 2. progress by switching from the unproductive and planned economy to the modern market economy and 3. independence (Ražnjević Zdrilić, 2013: 8, according to Crook, Dauderstädt, Geritts, 2002: 16). Pusić states that there were two transitional models in the above mentioned European countries: 1. the northern model developed by Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic and 2. the southern model developed in Romania, Bulgaria, Slovak Republic, Croatia, Slovenia and Albania (Ražnjević Zdrilić, 2013: 9, according to Pusić, 1998: 156).

Before tearing down the symbol of the Cold War - the Berlin Wall, in 1987 many revolutions occurred in the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe. Each of those revolutions had the aim of tearing down the existing ruling communist regimes and created the prerequisites for the creation of democratic rule, and thus societies as well. The Velvet Revolution in former Czechoslovakia can be mentioned as an example. Its main actors were students who organised a massive protest to commemorate the execution of nine Czech students and the shutdown of Czech universities (Ražnjević Zdrilić, 2013: 9, according to Milardović, 1998: 23). Unlike its Czechoslovakian counterpart, the Romanian revolution was violent. It resulted in the execution of the dictator-communist leader Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife. Democracy and a multi-party system were established in Romania after their execution (Horvatić, P. , 2018).

Above mentioned examples of countries, as well as other Central and Southeastern European countries, have achieved their liberalisation, democratisation and political pluralism path much easier than the multinational construct of Yugoslavia. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was a multinational republic consisting of Croatia, Slovenia, FR Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia. The animosity between the nations and republics of the former SFRY resulted in its dissolution and armed conflicts - war. Croatia, as a part of that multinational community, had a thorny path towards achieving transition, liberalisation, democratisation and political pluralism. The Homeland War (The Croatian War of Independence) was fought on its territory against the Serbian aggressor from 1991 to 1995. Croatia's main goal at the time was to defend its territorial structure and to achieve independence. Unfortunately, becoming independent had catastrophic consequences, a lot of people were killed and many homes, villages and cities were destroyed. From the above, it can be seen that Croatia had difficulties achieving its democratisation development path. According to Kasapović, the democratic transition taking place in Croatia consisted of two phases: 1. limited liberalisation of the political life while

Croatia was still a part of the former Yugoslav Federation, 2. democratisation during and after the process of becoming an independent state (Ražnjević Zdrilić, 2013: 24, according to Kasapović, 1996: 155). Therefore, Croatia began its democratic transition while it was still a constituent part of the former Yugoslavia, as stated by Kasapović in her division of the second phase of Croatia's democratisation into two time periods: 1. the period of Croatia's "inner independence" within the Yugoslav Federation and 2. the period that encompasses war, the struggle for international recognition of the state and the continued development of political and economic life (Ražnjević Zdrilić, 2013: 24, according to Kasapović, 1996: 158). One of the first steps of Croatia's democratic transition was introducing the political pluralism in political life. Among the first newly founded parties was the Croatian Social Liberal Party (HSL), then the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) and the Party of Democratic Reform (SDP), which was founded from the League of Communists of Croatia. First democratic elections were also held and HDZ was the winner. Thus, some of the fundamental conditions for the development of Croatian society's democratisation were achieved.

When it comes to the media democratisation in Croatia in the researched time period, it's important to point out that that democratisation path also had difficulties, as was the case with democratisation in the political framework. Journalism in Croatia was controlled by the League of Communists and therefore it was impossible to develop the freedom of speech and expression, as one of the basic human rights. At the time, there was a Yugoslav media model, similar to the Soviet media model, which had some of the following characteristics: media was concentrated in big, strictly controlled newspapers and broadcasters and it was impossible to establish privately owned media (Ražnjević Zdrilić, 2013: 40, according to Malović, 2004: 16-18). Regarding the laws and other legal acts and legislation, an interesting thing to point out is that every one of them guaranteed and ensured the freedom of speech and expression, while in practice, it was completely different. The first Public Information Act was brought by the Parliament of the FR Croatia in 1982, famous for its Article 133, i.e., the Article on criminal speech that restricted the freedom of media, expression and journalist activity (Ražnjević Zdrilić, 2013: 44, according to Novak, 2005: 880, 923). The term "Blacklist" was often associated with this article. The "Blacklist" referred to a list of Croatian intellectuals and journalists whose work and public and media appearance were prohibited because they were labelled as nationalists (Ražnjević Zdrilić, 2013: 54). This term was first pointed out by the youth journalists. It is important to point out that the youth journalists, i.e. youth media - the press, television and radio had an important role in the promotion of the freedom of speech and expression concepts at the end of the 1980s. Youth media made it possible for all Croatian intellectuals and politicians who were prohibited from public action, to make an appearance in public. One of them was the youth journal *Fokus* which was published in Zadar, and which is also the subject of this research.

When the new democratic pluralistic media model was created in 1990, the Public Information Act was amended, and the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia also accepted four fundamental Council of Europe acts on the freedom of the media and expression (Ražnjević Zdrilić, 2013: 44, according to Thompson, 1995: 126), which guaranteed the freedom of speech and expression.

Methodology

This paper researches the communication aspect between journalism and the right to freedom of speech and expression as one of the basic human rights. The freedom

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of speech and expression in this paper concerns the right of any individual to make a public appearance. The research was based on an example of newspaper articles published in the local newspapers that were published in Zadar in the Republic of Croatia in 1989 and 1990 - youth monthly journal *Fokus* and weekly newspaper *Narodni list*. Each mentioned publication had its own peculiarities. The weekly *Narodni list* has a long publication history, dating back to 1862 and based on this fact, it is considered as one of the oldest “living” newspaper in Southeastern Europe. In the beginning, it was called *Il Nazionale* and was written in Italian and from 1876, it is published solely in Croatian. This publication played a significant role in the Croatian National Revival in the second half of the 19th century, advocating the reunification of Dalmatia with Croatia at the time and the introduction of Croatian as an official language in all public institutions. In its literary addendum *K list* many literary genres of famous Croatian writers were often published, with the purpose of raising awareness in Croatian readers about their homeland and language. The youth journal *Fokus* had other peculiarities, which were different from the weekly *Narodni list*. It was published in Zadar from 9th February 1989 until 22nd February 1990. Even though this youth journal was published over a short time period, it left a significant mark in the history of Zadar and Croatian journalism. It was started by a group of young enthusiastic journalists from Zadar in a time when the communist regime was weakening in Yugoslavia, which slowly opened a space for establishing independent media, and *Fokus* was one of them. Its pages often featured published news articles about all current issues at the time, without censorship, and numerous interviews with people from Croatian and former Yugoslav socio-political life, which are the subject of this research.

This paper analysed newspaper articles published in *Fokus* and *Narodni list* which were sorted in the category “Interviews with public figures of the Yugoslav media space”. 104 newspaper issues were analysed, i.e., 1175 newspaper articles, 32 of which were sorted in the category “Interviews with public figures of the Yugoslav media space”. Scientific methods that were applied in this paper are descriptive, explanatory and qualitative method of content analysis. The qualitative method of content analysis covers six newspaper articles/interviews published on the covers of the weekly *Narodni list* and six newspaper articles/interviews published on the covers of the monthly *Fokus* in 1989 and 1990. This paper is based on the hypothesis that the researched newspapers enabled the public appearance of people from the Yugoslav socio-political life at the time in their press space, particularly to those who were prohibited from appearing, and thus contributed to the democratisation of the press space of Zadar, Croatia and former Yugoslavia.

Result of research

Table 1 shows the corpus of the research, i.e., newspaper issues that were published in the researched period. In 1989 more newspapers' issues were published than in 1990. Considering the number of published newspapers' issues in relation to each researched printed media, it is apparent that *Narodni list* published more newspapers' issues than *Fokus*. Considering this aspect, it isn't possible to compare these publications because they had a different publication periodicity. *Narodni list* was published on a weekly basis and *Fokus* on a monthly basis.

Table 1. Issues of *Narodni list* and *Fokus* in 1989 and 1990

	NARODNI I LIST	%	FOKUS	%	TOTAL	%
1989	48	55,81	11	55	59	55,66
1990	38	44,18	9	45	47	44,34
TOTAL	86	100,00	20	100,00	106	100,00

Source: Adjusted according to Ražnjević Zdrilić (2013: 85)

Table 2. Comparison of the share of newspaper articles in *Narodni list* and *Fokus* in 1989 and 1990 according to the research category *Interviews with public figures of Yugoslav media space*

	NL	%	FOK	%	TOTAL	%
1989	2	12.5	9	41	11	29
1990	14	87.5	13	59	27	71
TOTAL	16	100	22	100	38	100

Source: Adjusted according to Ražnjević Zdrilić (2013: 126, 128)

Table 2 shows the comparison of the share of newspaper articles in *Narodni list* and *Fokus* according to the category *Interviews with public figures of the Yugoslav media space* in 1989 and 1990. By analysing the table according to the two researched years, it is apparent that in 1990 more newspaper articles, that are sorted in this category, were published than in 1989, i.e., 71 % of newspaper articles. By analysing the table according to the researched publications, it was established that the youth monthly *Fokus* published more newspaper articles, i.e., interviews with public figures of the Yugoslav media space than *Narodni list*, even though *Fokus* had a shorter publishing periodicity than *Narodni list*. The above mentioned confirms that the youth journal *Fokus* dedicated more media space to the actors of the socio-political scene of Zadar, Croatia and Yugoslavia at the time.

Qualitative analysis of content

FOKUS

Franjo Tuđman gave his first interview to *Fokus*, namely, several days before his injunctive on public appearance expired. Tuđman was at the time one of the more significant political figures on the Croatian political scene. He was the founder and president of the Croatian Democratic Union and after Croatia became independent, he was elected to be the first Croatian president. His name was also on the notorious “Blacklist” which was mentioned in this paper’s introduction. The interview was published in the fourth issue of *Fokus* on 30 March 1989, titled *There is no escape from history*. The interview discussed the reasons behind founding the Croatian Democratic Union, for which Tuđman stated it was founded as a result of the general crisis that affected Yugoslavia in socio-political and economic terms, and in terms of the relations

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between its nations. He says that they were supported by all layers of the society because of its founding. He stated that for him, the term democracy represents the possibility for everyone to express their opinion, regardless of whether this opinion is the same or different, in respect of the person listening. He also adds: *It is the civil right of any man, even an inalienable national right of every nation to its opinion, national self-determination and secession, as set out by the Constitution of SFRY. A democracy that respects the civil rights of every man and nation is the democracy that this country needs* (Fokus, Bauer, 1989: 9). The interlocutors also touched upon the subject of MASPOK - a movement that unsuccessfully tried to open the door for democratisation in Croatia in the 1970s. He stated that the movement was characterised as chauvinistic and fascist, while also having Ustasha characteristics.

Fokus also published the interviews with two Croatian academics: Ivan Supek and Dalibor Brozović. The interview with Ivan Supek titled *Confidence in the restoration of humanism* was published in the sixth issue of *Fokus* on 18 May 1989. The interview discussed his political engagement while he was a member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. However, a special emphasis was put on his scientific contribution in the newspaper article. Thanks to Supek, a Croatian institute named after Croatian scientist Ruđer Bošković was constructed. He was expelled from the Institute because of his disobedience, i.e., resisting the production of nuclear weapons. He actively supported students during the students' unrests which were the result of their dissatisfaction with the socio-political situation in former Yugoslavia. In order to achieve peace, unity and equality in former Yugoslavia he stated the following: *The first and foremost is to understand that the fate of every one of us, of each nation, is inextricably linked to the fate of the entire world. ...Since all the aggressive ideologies brought the Earth to the brink of destruction, our greatest confidence lies in the restoration of humanism which can become the foundation of all nations and all societies* (Fokus, Butković, Škorić, 1989: 4).

Three severe mistakes is the title of the interview published in the seventh issue of *Fokus* on the 17 June 1989 with academic Dalibor Brozović. The interlocutors touched upon numerous subjects in the interview, among which was the current topic at the time, the issue of the Croatian language. Brozović was of the opinion that a clear distinction should be made between the Croatian standard language and the Serbian language. He rejected any kind of connection between HDZ and MASPOK with right-wing forces from the Second World War, stating that this was about completely different ideas that had no common traits. There was also talk about his employment at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zadar, for which he stated that he was given the opportunity to found his own department, which he built upon later by himself (Fokus, Tokić, 1989: 4).

In the 12th issue of *Fokus* an interview with Dražen Budiša, a participant in MASPOK and one of the founders of the first political party in Croatia, titled *The fate of the country in Serbian hands*, was published. At the time when the interview was held, Dražen Budiša was employed at the National and University Library in Zagreb. Because he participated in MASPOK, the interlocutors touched upon 1971 and the student movements of the time. Budiša was the president of the League of Students of Zagreb and was punished because of his political activity at the time. The socio-political developments in 1971 in Croatia, historically also known as the Croatian Spring, Dražen Budiša characterised as a hint of pluralism in Croatia, and as an example of an independent political organisation of the time, he mentions the League of Students of

Croatia. According to Budiša, the development of pluralism enveloped the whole of Europe, so it was obvious that it will envelop Croatia and Yugoslavia as well. Under the topic of political pluralism, there was also talk about founding Serbian political parties in Croatia, i.e., Vuk Drašković's Serbian National Renewal party, about which Budiša had nothing to object. He said the following about the possibilities of Croatia entering Europe: *I believe that the decision about that, today, is a decision for the Serbian political leadership to make. Its turn towards Europe and democracy would be crucial for the entire Yugoslavia turning in that direction. Under the circumstances, I'm not sure that our chances are great* (Fokus, Luburović, 1990: 5).

Fokus' Kosovo associate, Naser Breca Jashari, interviewed Adem Demaqi, an Albanian writer. The interview was published in the 15th issue of Fokus, titled *Force never stopped progress*. Demaqi was also called the European Nelson Mandela, and he was famous for the fact that a large number of his living years were spent in jails and three unfounded proceedings. He also touched upon the human rights violations, using himself as an example, stating that the defendants were found guilty while the investigation was still going: *While I was in jail, I realised that they were incarcerating people in other places as well, in the exact same manner in Croatia and in Vojvodina. I think that everybody, except Slovenians, had some kind of lists according to which they would convict and arrest people, whether they were guilty or not* (Fokus, Breca Jashari, 1990:12). Demaqi stated that the political prisoners' mass release at that time, 107 of them, including him, was the result of the global public's pressure, but also the result of the process of democratisation that slowly started to envelop Yugoslavia at the time. He advocated for proclaiming Kosovo an independent republic and for the Albanian nation to be equal to the other nations in Yugoslavia. According to Demaqi, Serbia was, particularly through the media, advocating the thesis that Kosovo is a Serbian colony.

The last interview published in Fokus, analysed by the qualitative analysis of content in this paper is the one with the president of the Serb Democratic Party in Croatia, Jovan Rašković. In the interview titled *Nationalism is a communist fabrication*, published in the 16th issue of Fokus, there was talk about the first sitting of the multi-party Parliament, which emphasised freedom and democracy, according to Rašković. Regarding HDZ, he pointed out that there is an Ustasha core within the party by using the statement of Šime Đodan from HDZ as an example. He also addressed the probability that the Croatian Parliament will redefine the Croatian state as the Croatian nation's national state, stating that his party will react to such a decision because they believe that Serbians belong to Croatia since ancient times and that the Croatian Constitution should acknowledge the sovereignty of Serbians in Croatia (Fokus, Selimović, 1990:12).

NARODNI LIST

Narodni list published an interview with Ivo Karamarko, a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. In the interview titled *The Yugoslav leadership weakened*, published in the 7639th issue of Narodni list, the interlocutors discussed the current situation in Yugoslavia at the time, stating that there were open conflicts between certain republic leaderships. Karamarko also commented on the political and economic situation in Yugoslavia at the time: *... the economic situation in Yugoslavia is becoming more difficult, politically complex and socially tense than ever before. The inflation's consequences were increasingly devastating and mass gatherings and protests increasingly often, and the number of those who live at the edge*

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of existence also increased (Narodni list, Opačić, 1989: 3). He also addressed the Party, stating that unity still prevails in it and that it will keep on fighting for the development of socialist, democratic and non-aligned Yugoslavia. Regarding Milošević, as one of the creators of the idea of establishing Greater Serbia, he said that Milošević should take the multinational nature of Yugoslavia more into account during his public appearances. According to Karamarko, nationalism and national homogenisation represent a danger to the entire Yugoslavia. At the end of the interview, there was talk about the preparations for the 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Ivo Karamarko believes that this Congress shall have a great meaning for resolving the socio-economic and political crisis in Yugoslavia.

*Narodni list published an interview with Branko Greganović, the president of the SSOJ Federal Conference Presidency in the 7649th issue. In an interview titled *Why don't we stop lying to each other*, the interlocutors discussed diverse current topics of the time, democracy, pluralism, state of law and the abolition of democratic centralism. According to Greganović, there is a political, social and trade union pluralism and tolerance which aren't ensured: *Legalisation of pluralism, legalisation of a society of conflict and establishing institutions that balance those relations are merely an essential condition announcing the possibility of tolerance and reasonable dialogue. But, which by itself, doesn't guarantee it (Narodni list, 7649, Kučina, 1989: 4). As well as the previous interlocutors analysed in this paper, Greganović believes that Yugoslavia can't develop as a modern European state as long as there is a political crisis present. He also touched upon the changes in the new Constitution: *The new constitution should be written based on the Declaration of Human Rights, with its basic principles being: the freedom of people and citizens, social and trade union pluralism, direct secret elections and federalism (Narodni list, 7649, Kučina, 1989: 4).***

Besides to people from the political life in Yugoslavia at the time, *Narodni list* also gave the media space to people from the religious life. In the 7664th issue of *Narodni list*, an interview with the Archbishop of Zadar, Marijan Oblak, was published under the title *I'm not a pessimist (Narodni list, 7649, Marinković, 1989:15)*. The reason behind the interview with this interlocutor was the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of "Branimir's year", that was commemorated in the town of Nin, next to Zadar. Seeing that a large number of the faithful gathered at the anniversary, archbishop Oblak clarified that the anniversary didn't represent a national gathering and homogenisation, but rather that this religious ceremony is commemorated every first Sunday in September, since back in 1979. He pointed out that the democratisation of the society at that time increased people's religiosity and free expression of religious sentiments. The readers were also able to find out from the interview that in certain churches in Zadar County, Holy Masses are organised in French and German during the tourist season.

His media space in *Narodni list* was also given to the president of the Serb Democratic Party at the time, professor Branko Marjanović, published in the 7602nd issue in the interview titled *Against the abyss of strife and hate (Narodni list, 7602, Opačić, 1990a: 4)*. He mentioned the assault on Miroslav Mlinar, the president of the Party Committee of the Serb Democratic Party as an example of the bad position of Serbians in Croatia, also known in the media at the time as "the Benkovac case". He also addressed the aspiration of Croatians for sovereignty, stating that he is not against it, but that he sees Croatia as a common homeland of Croatians and Serbians, and that their

relationship should not be a master and servant one. He sees Yugoslavia as a federation, not a confederation.

The interview with professor Romano Meštrović was analysed as an example of an interlocutor from the Zadar socio-political scene who was the president of the Municipal Committee of SKH-SDP, titled *We don't want to lag behind HDZ* and published in the 7618th issue of *Narodni list*. Professor Meštrović addressed the political scene in Croatia and Yugoslavia at the time, stating that the changes happened fast and that the adjustment to a newly elected government and multi-party democracy is still going on. He stated that unlike HDZ, which according to him, won the first parliamentary elections in Croatia by playing the national card, SKH-SDP will base its programme on human rights and freedoms of citizens. Regarding the relations between HDZ and SKH-SDP on a local level he pointed out: *I start from the presumption that the progress of Zadar and Croatia is in all of our hearts and based on that, as much as possible, we should seek cooperation that will result in fruits of labour with more quality. By cooperation I mean critical dialogue and that means clearly showing certain disagreements and letting the public to be the judge* (*Narodni list*, 7618, Opačić, 1990b: 5).

Narodni list published an interview with professor Davor Aras from Zadar, a member of the Council of the Parliament of FR Croatia. The interview was published under the title *Stronger than the hell of Lepoglava* in 7604th issue. Aras chronologically described his childhood, education, imprisonment in Lepoglava penitentiary and his current membership in the Council of the Parliament of FR Croatia. He was a prisoner in Lepoglava for five years for being one of the organisers of the illegal organisation HORA (Croatian Revolutionary Liberation Army). About his life in prison, he said: *I quickly experienced what imprisonment is, and the suffering caused my health to rapidly get worse and worse. (...) Through advocating and interest of the international and national public, particularly International Amnesty, an early stay of sentence was approved in February 1979 (after five years of imprisonment* (*Narodni list*, 7604, Kučina, 1990: 4).

Conclusion

The processes of transition, liberalisation and democratisation have marked the history of the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. Almost all countries had the exact same path in achieving these processes. On the other hand, Yugoslavia was specific, primarily because it was politically structured as a federation that consisted of republics. Croatia was one of those republics. The weakening of the communist regime that ruled in former Yugoslavia slowly led to the possibility of developing Croatia's democratisation, from a political, social and economic point of view. The increasing animosity between certain republics within the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia resulted in its dissolution, and every republic had to achieve its independence. The Socialist Republic of Serbia, led by Slobodan Milošević, developed the idea of creating a Greater Serbia, according to which Croatia would be a part of Serbia and not an independent state. Because of this idea, Croatia had to achieve sovereignty the hard way, because its priority was defending its territory from the aggressor. It was not until after the ending of the Homeland War in 1995 that Croatia could develop and carry out the processes of transition, liberalisation and democratisation with more intensity. The subject of this paper were newspaper articles published in the form of a newspaper interview with public figures of the

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Yugoslav media space at the time, on the pages of Zadar local newspapers *Fokus* and *Narodni list*. The research was conducted precisely on printed media from Zadar because Zadar, in the history of the world, except for its natural and cultural-historical sites, is also known as the town with the longest media tradition in Croatia. This was the town where the first newspapers in Croatian were published – *Kraljski Dalmatin* back in 1806. Based on the results of the research it was established that both researched publications, the weekly *Narodni list* and the youth monthly *Fokus* published interviews on their covers with numerous local and national actors of the Yugoslav socio-political life at the time. By following the political and other turmoils on the territory of Yugoslavia, they chose people who marked certain events in former Yugoslavia as their interlocutors, mostly political actors (members of certain political parties/organisations/associations; political prisoners) and social actors (college professors/academics included in political developments, religious representatives). Considering one of the current topics at the time, about conflicts between the nations and animosity, their media space was given to Serbian nationals, i.e., presidents and members of certain Serbian political parties that were founded in Croatia after political pluralism was introduced and first democratic elections were held in Croatia. Based on a qualitative analysis of content, the research results have shown that the youth journal *Fokus* enabled the public appearance of political actors who were prohibited from making an appearance in public at the time because they were characterised as nationalists by the political leadership of Yugoslavia at the time. Interviews with Franjo Tuđman, the first president of the Republic of Croatia and Dražen Budiša, the founder of the first political party in Croatia - HSL, are stated as an example. Research has established that both researched newspapers actively monitored socio-political developments in Zadar, Croatia and Yugoslavia and according to that, they invited people as their interlocutors, with whom they've analysed, commented and criticised and in that manner, informed their readers in detail about the socio-political situation at the time on the territory of the entire Yugoslavia.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

The Fall of Communism and Its Impact on English Teaching and Learning

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Abstract:

The end of the communist era opened all sorts of borders, freeing people from Eastern Europe not only to travel without restrictions, but also to have access to information. Mass media and satellite communication have made space and geographical demarcations entirely arbitrary. In a world of increased interaction among individuals, countries and cultures, English has acquired the role of a lingua franca, hence people's need for proficiency in English. The aim of this article is to analyse how students' motivation and learning needs have changed since 1989, and to scrutinise how the Romanian education system has accommodated all these changes. As a method, we will compare English teaching before and after 1989, in terms of study programmes, methodological approaches and schoolbooks. The result of all these changes is that more and more students have access to English studies, and their level of proficiency is increasing.

Keywords: *communication; education; motivation; needs; skills.*

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Introduction

In 1989 the communist regimes in Central and South-Eastern Europe collapsed one by one, Romania being the last piece of that historical domino to fall. The wave of joy and freedom quickly swept over this part of Europe. People, despite any political conspiracies hidden behind the fall of communist dictatorships, were genuinely happy and eager to experience their newly discovered sense of freedom. They were finally free to speak, free to travel, free to communicate with people from anywhere in the world. Many have changed in Romania since 1989, and by “many” we understand people’s mentalities, social and political contexts, practices, principles, the society itself. All these changes called for proficiency in English.

Romania, a formerly francophone country, had to switch from French to English, that is, to focus on the teaching of English, perceived as a lingua franca in various socio-political and cultural fields. Romanians needed English when they travelled, when they interacted with foreigners at home or abroad, when they looked for jobs or wanted to study abroad. The year 1989 also granted people unrestricted access to information. Mass media and satellite communication, by its continuous infoglut, have succeeded in bringing people and places closer than ever before, thus giving rise to the recent phenomenon of globalisation, which has reinforced the dominant role of English. This is one more reason why Romanians want to study English.

In what follows we shall look at students’ motivation and learning needs after 1989, and analyse what the Romanian education system in general, and English teachers in particular, have done in order to meet these needs. Our analysis will be backed by a comparison between pre- and post-1989 practices in teaching and learning English as a foreign language.

Learners and their motivation

Generally understood as “some kind of internal drive which pushes someone to do things in order to achieve something” (Harmer, 2001: 51), motivation plays a significant role in the process of learning a language, and in the success of any activity. Jeremy Harmer points out that students’ motivation to learn English is influenced by a number of factors, the most important being the society they live in and its views of language learning (2001: 51-2).

In pre-1989 Romanian society, students’ motivation to study English was low for several reasons. First of all, there were hardly any direct contacts with foreigners, people were not allowed to travel freely, did not have access to mass media in English, and could not study or seek jobs abroad. Moreover, English was culturally perceived as a symbol of the “decadent” West, hence authorities’ reluctance to include the subject in school curricula. At the time, the education system in Romania emphasised the importance of studying Russian and French, and consequently these two languages were taught in all schools. English featured as a second foreign language in the curriculum of some schools only.

The fall of communism, which changed Romanian society, also changed the attitudes to language learning. The opening of borders, both physical and cultural, brought English into focus, and soon after 1989 the learning of English was considered very important. The cultural images associated with English suddenly became positive, and more and more people expressed their wish to study this language. Since then,

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learners' motivation has been strengthened by this positive view to English language learning.

The Romanian education system was quick to respond to this growing interest in studying English. Thus, in the 1990s the subject was included in school curricula, afterwards being taught in virtually all schools in Romania. Nowadays, there are also high school classes with intensive teaching in English, even bilingual classes, where admission is highly competitive. In order to understand the important role assigned to English in Romanian schools, it is worth mentioning that a regular class has two hours of English tuition per week, an intensive class has four hours, and a bilingual class has six-seven hours per week. There is the possibility of dividing intensive and bilingual classes into groups, which are usually taught by two teachers.

At academic level, apart from Faculties of Letters where foreign languages are main subjects, there are many faculties which offer undergraduate studies in English. Thus, students can choose to study medicine or engineering, for instance, in English. Moreover, the study of a foreign language, usually English, has been part of the curricula of all faculties since Romania signed the Bologna declaration in 1999. It is worth mentioning here that students of non-philological disciplines do not study General English, but English for Specific Purposes, such as English for Engineering, English for Business and Economics, English for Medical Science, etc. In the 1990s there emerged a distinctive group of people who were increasingly interested in learning English in order to take direct part in economic transactions and international projects. They were professionals in their domains, and wanted to broaden the horizons of their careers, to expand their businesses, to do research abroad, etc. They constituted a new generation of learners who needed English and knew exactly why they were learning the language. The famous saying "Tell me what you need English for and I will tell you the English that you need", considered as the main guiding principle of ESP (Hutchinson and Waters, 1994: 8), emphasises the importance of learners' needs in designing any course. Therefore, Romanian universities have promptly reacted to their students' learning needs and introduced ESP courses for students of non-philological disciplines

Coming back to motivation, another factor that has an impact on the learning enthusiasm that students bring to class refers to the influence of their families, friends and colleagues. The attitude of "significant others" (Harmer, 2001: 52) helps to build learners' motivation. Thus, parents may encourage their children to study English, or, on the contrary, may consider that math and Romanian are far more important since these are the subjects that are tested in most school exams. Nowadays, it seems that parents have understood the necessity of English in today's society, and they encourage their children to begin studying English at a very tender age.

As a result of parents' growing concern with their children's language skills, in 2013 the Minister of Education decided that pupils should begin studying a foreign language in the preparatory year for school, and issued a curriculum for "Communication in Modern Language 1" for the preparatory year, and grades 1 and 2. In reality, children start studying English even before going to school, that is, at the age of three, because Romanian nurseries, both public and private, offer them the possibility to join English classes taught by teachers who have part-time contracts with the nurseries.

Friends and colleagues, as "significant others", also play an important part in building students' motivation. Since 1989, English has gradually become a fashionable language in Romania, with growing appeal to teenagers. They want to speak the

language in order to socialise with foreigners online, to understand information in English, to have good jobs in the future, or simply to be “cool”. From this perspective, English features as a key to teenagers’ social integration, thus enhancing their motivation to study.

Teachers also constitute a major factor in shaping students’ attitude to the language being studied. In order to create a positive learning atmosphere in the classroom, the teacher should bring in an “obvious enthusiasm for English and English learning” (Harmer, 2001: 52). If during the communist regime English teachers could rarely establish any contacts with the English speaking world, especially with the United Kingdom, and could not have access either to original course books, or training sessions with native teachers, the situation changed rapidly after 1989. Romanian schools and universities were eager to welcome foreign trainers, and also to send their teachers to training courses abroad. There followed a decade that put great emphasis on English methodology, a decade which rapidly arouse English teachers’ enthusiasm in embracing new, modern ways of teaching. As English became a major subject taught in schools, language teachers went to training in England, and foreign specialists in English teaching came to Romania and organised training courses with the aim of “updating” the teaching methods used in English classes.

It is obvious that the method used has a great impact on students’ motivation. As Harmer points out, “it is vital that both teachers and students have some confidence in the way teaching and learning takes place”. (2001: 52) The methods changed after 1989, making English more interesting and appealing to students, and so did schoolbooks. If at the beginning of a course students are highly motivated to study due to the above mentioned factors (society, family, friends), it is teachers’ responsibility to sustain the motivation by providing learners with interesting topics and activities in order to keep them engaged. On the other hand, there are students who come to classes with a relatively weak motivation, and then, again, by bringing in interesting subjects and exercises, teachers have the possibility to build and increase these students’ internal drive to learn and succeed. The choice of material is, therefore, very important in initiating and sustaining students’ motivation, but even more important is the way in which the material is taught, that is, the method used in the lesson.

Communicative Language Teaching

In the 1990s English teachers in Romania shifted their focus to Communicative Language Teaching, a methodology that had been popular around the world since the 1970s. Before that, teachers used more traditional teaching methods, such as the Grammar-Translation Method, which focused on grammatical accuracy. Many of us are familiar with this method because we once studied a language in this way, or even taught a language employing this method. In her book *Techniques and Principles in Language Teaching*, Larsen-Freeman outlines the main principles of the Grammar-Translation Method (2003: 15-19):

- The grammar rules of the target language are taught explicitly, and students are required to memorise them and to apply the rules to other examples. Besides, conjugations and other grammatical paradigms should be learnt by heart.
- Vocabulary is presented in the form of bilingual lists.
- Language practice focuses on translations from L1 to L2, and from L2 to L1. Successful language learners are considered those students who can translate from one language into another.

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- The teaching is done in the native language of the students.
- The focus is on reading and writing, while listening and speaking receive little attention.
- Literary language is considered superior to spoken language, and consequently learning focuses on the study of literature and fine arts.
- The ability to communicate in the target language is not a goal of the instruction.
- The teacher is in total control of the class, and he/she is the knowledge provider. When students make mistakes, he/she immediately offers the correct answer.
- The whole class works together with the teacher; therefore, there is much student-teacher interaction and very little student-student interaction.

After 1989 this traditional method began to lose ground, English teachers orienting themselves towards the Communicative Language Teaching, which places great emphasis on fluency, rather than accuracy. The ultimate goal of teaching is to provide students with the right skills to communicate in the target language. To do this, students need to know linguistic forms, meanings and functions.

Communicative Language Teaching can be seen as a set of “principles about the goals of language teaching, how learners learn a language, the kinds of classroom activities that best facilitate learning, and the roles of teachers and learners in the classroom” (Richards, 2005: 1). Here are some of the underlying principles of this method (Larsen-Freeman, 2003: 125-132):

- Language functions are emphasised over linguistic forms. One function, such as requesting or apologising, can be expressed by several linguistic forms which are presented together. Students learn grammar and vocabulary from the function and the situational context.
- Since language is studied at the level of discourse, students must learn about coherence and cohesion, i.e. they must be familiar with the linking words used to bind sentences together.
- Students should be able to understand language in real contexts, as it is really used, hence the emphasis on using authentic materials, both written and spoken.
- Students are involved in real communication, such as role-plays, simulations or games, which requires the use of both linguistic structures and language functions. Consequently, learning activities are selected according to how well they engage the learner in meaningful and authentic language use. At the same time, teachers devote more time than in the past to teaching intonation and pronunciation in order to improve learners’ ability to make themselves understood, and also to understand words in connected speech.
- The social context of the communication is important in giving meaning to the utterances. Students need to learn how to choose the linguistic structures suitable to a particular context.
- The target language is not only the object of study, but also a vehicle for classroom communication.
- The role of the teacher is that of a facilitator who sets up communicative activities. During those activities, he/she acts as an advisor and, sometimes, as a co-communicator. Since the focus is on fluency, not accuracy, the teacher does not correct the students on the spot, but records the errors in order to return to them later. Errors are largely tolerated because they are perceived as an

indicator of the fact that learning is taking place. They show that a student is experimenting with language, trying to see what works and what does not work, attempting to communicate, and making progress.

- Communicative activities encourage students to work together in pairs or groups; therefore, there is a great deal of student-student interaction.
- Students are expected to express their ideas, opinions and feelings.
- From the very beginning teachers and learners focus on building and developing all four skills: reading, listening, speaking, and writing. Just as oral communication entails an exchange of ideas between speaker and listener who work on negotiating meaning, so too is the meaning of a text understood through negotiation between the writer and reader. The meaning is not in the text, but in the reader's interpretation of the writer's message.

The analysis of the two sets of principles listed above (traditional vs. communicative) clearly shows that Communicative Language Teaching represents a major shift in second language education. Farrell and Jacobs (2010: 16-7) point out the most important components of this shift:

- Attention is mainly directed towards the learner. Thus, the traditional teacher-centred instruction is replaced by a learner-centred instruction.
- Teaching focuses on the learning process rather than on delivering a product.
- Students are not treated as individual learners, but as members of a group/community, hence the emphasis on the social nature of learning.
- Differences among learners are viewed as diversity, and also as potential resources that teachers should discover and exploit in order to maximise students' performance.
- Teaching is shaped by the needs and motivation of the students, their learning goals, age, level, and also by the uniqueness of the context. Consequently, the teaching methods used are not imposed from outside the classroom, but from inside.
- Since the emphasis is on context, there has been an emphasis on connecting school with the world beyond with the aim of promoting holistic education.
- Students are helped to understand the purpose of learning, and, at the same time, encouraged to develop their own purposes.
- The emphasis is on making students understand the meaning of any type of communication. This implies a whole-to-part approach; for instance, students begin with a whole meaningful text and are helped to understand the various features that make up the text: the organisation of ideas, the choice of words, etc.
- Learning is viewed as a life-long process rather than a temporary stage in life when learners need to study in order to achieve immediate goals, such as passing an exam.

In terms of practice, Communicative Language Teaching relies to a great extent on communicative activities, such as games, role plays, problem-solving tasks, etc. Nowadays the use of communicative activities in the classroom has become common place. They have certain characteristics that distinguish them from non-communicative activities.

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Table 1. The characteristics of non-communicative and communicative activities

Non-communicative activities	Communicative activities
- no communicative desire	- a desire to communicate
- no communicative purpose	- a communicative purpose
- form not content	- content not form
- one language item only	- variety of language
- teacher intervention	- no teacher intervention
- materials control	- no materials control

Source: Harmer, 2001: 85

When people communicate, they do so for good reasons. Harmer outlines three reasons for communication: people “want to say something”, that is, they have something to say and they willingly choose to address other people; people “have some communicative purpose”, that is, they expect a certain result of what they say; people “select from their language store”, that is, they have the capacity to select from the language store they have, the language they need for conveying their message (Harmer, 1991: 46-47).

We can generalise and say that we communicate when we have some information that the other one does not have. This is called “information gap”. From this perspective, a conversation helps to close a gap so that eventually both speakers have the same information. The aim of a communicative activity in class is to create an information gap, and thus encourage students to exchange ideas, facts, opinions, etc., as to ensure realistic and meaningful interaction.

Schoolbooks: now and then

This shift towards communicative activities in English language education in Romania is reflected in the teaching materials used in schools. Since 1989 new school books have been published, in the attempt to cater for the learning needs of the new generations of students that emerged in the post-communist era.

In order to understand the changes in teaching and learning English, we have chosen to compare two 7th grade schoolbooks: *Limba Engleză. Manual pentru anii III-IV de studiu (English Language. Schoolbook for study years III-IV)*, published in 1984 by Editura Didactică și Pedagogică (Pedagogical and Didactic Publishing House) based on the school curriculum approved by the Ministry of Education in 1983, and *English Scrapbook. Student's Book 7*, published in 1998 by Oxford University Press, based on the school curriculum approved by the Ministry of Education in 1995.

At first glance, there is a huge difference between the two in terms of graphics, design and quality of paper. Frivolous as it may seem, the cover sells the book, and learners are more likely to be attracted by a beautifully coloured schoolbook than by a dull, black and white book, printed on cheap paper.

In terms of the organising strand of materials, the 1984 schoolbook focuses on a grammar syllabus. This approach is outlined in the “Contents” section:

- Year III
 Revision A – Present Tense Simple
 Revision B – Past Tense Simple
 Revision C – Present Perfect Simple
Lesson 1 – **In the Năvodari Youth Camp**
 Present Perfect – Past Tense
Lesson 2 – **In the Chemistry Laboratory**
 Present Perfect + for/since
Lesson 3 – **My Pet**
 Future Simple
 if + present
Lesson 4 – **School in Romania**
 Present and Past Tense Continuous
Lesson 5 – **The Applied Science Club**
 Present Perfect Continuous
Revision 1 – Tenses

(Bunaciu and Gălăţeanu-Fârnoagă, 1984: 285)

Grammatical structures are sequenced in such a way as to help students acquire knowledge gradually, and, in the end, get a general understanding of the grammatical system. The vocabulary, the texts, the tasks, the functions and the skills are all matched with the grammar items. As Harmer points out: “Although grammar syllabuses have been used with success over a long period of time, many methodologists have come to see grammar as the wrong organising principle for a syllabus” (2001: 296), mainly because learning grammatical rules does not necessarily mean learning to communicate, which is the ultimate goal of studying a language.

Apart from excellent graphics, beautiful page design, attractive pictures and colours, *English Scrapbook* comes with a series of features that bring it close to the Communicative Language Teaching approach. The authors state on the back cover that the coursebook follows a topic-based syllabus, although the “Overview of contents” reveals rather a “multi-syllabus” syllabus:

Table 2. The first unit of *English Scrapbook* syllabus

Topic	Communicative Areas	Grammar	Vocabulary Areas	Pronunciation	Main Skill(s)
1. Tastes and Behaviour 1.1. Greetings from ... <i>page 6</i>	Asking for and giving opinions	Adjectives ending in <i>-ed</i> and <i>-ing</i>	Adjectives describing weather, people, food and places [recycling], tastes, behaviour TV programmes [recycling]		Writing
1.2. What do you like? <i>page 8</i>	Expressing likes and dislikes Describing personality	So do/am I ; neither do/am I [recycling] love, like,	Adjectives describing personality	Stress and rhythm in sentences expressing likes and	Listening Speaking

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		don't mind, can't stand, hate + -ing form		dislikes	
1.3. An unusual experience <i>page 10</i>	Speaking about past events	Simple past [recycling]			Reading
1.4. Table manners around the world Factual and cultural information: <i>table manners</i> <i>around</i> <i>the world and in Romania</i>					
Integrated skills <i>page 12</i>					
1.5. The sword in the stone Extensive reading and listening					

Source: Achim et al., 2002: 3.

Instead of focusing mainly on grammar and lexical items, this type of syllabus helps learners acquire language through the study of various topics, viewed from different angles. However, a sequence of topics, relevant and interesting as these may be, “is unlikely to be sufficient for syllabus organisation” (Harmer, 2001: 299). Each topic is therefore chosen as to accommodate certain functions, grammar, specific vocabulary for the topic, pronunciation issues, and skills.

One of the major gains of *English Scrapbook* is that it offers learners the possibility to build and develop all language skills. It comes with a CD, and there are listening activities for each topic. By contrast, the 1984 schoolbook does not have any listening material, this skill being virtually nonexistent in the design of the syllabus.

It was, of course, the advance of technology that enabled audio materials to be integrated in second language teaching in Romania in the late 1990s. Now English coursebooks include an increasing number of recordings with a wide range of aims and activities. Apart from these published audio materials integrated in textbooks, teachers have the possibility to record things themselves – TV news, pop songs, advertisements, etc. – and play the materials in class for teaching purposes. Videos have also become a popular classroom tool, and now the great majority of English coursebooks have DVDs or CD-ROMs included. Language laboratories that have been created in many Romanian schools and universities offer the modern technology that teachers need in order to use all kinds of audio and video materials in foreign language teaching.

Nowadays, the access that both teachers and students have to Internet has hugely broadened the area of possibilities of studying English. In the case of English teaching, the Internet can be used as a reference tool, since there are online dictionaries, encyclopaedias, and articles on virtually any topic of interest. There are also sites specially designed for students of English as a foreign language. Thus, teaching and testing programmes give students the possibility to study texts and conversations, to do vocabulary and grammar exercises, to listen to texts, to watch videos, and even to record their own speeches. Almost any web site has certain potential for learners of English. For instance, they can visit virtual museums for projects on science, arts or history. One of the greatest advantages of using the Internet as a learning tool is that students and teachers have access to “authentic” English.

The issue of the authenticity of English materials brings us back to the comparison of the two schoolbooks. Harmer points out that one of the criteria that writers must take into consideration when designing a syllabus refers to the “kind of culture the material should reflect or encourage” (2001: 295). From this perspective, the 1984 schoolbook clearly mirrors the Romanian society before 1989, as it mostly consists

of texts that refer to the propagandistic interests of the communist regime of the time. The titles of the texts speak for themselves: “In the Năvodari Youth Camp”, “The Pioneers’ Visit to the Nursery School”, “Joining the Union of Communist Youth”, “Working the Land”, “The 23rd of August”, etc. These texts are obviously not authentic; they are written for didactic and political purposes. Some of the book units, however, end with supplementary reading texts which are original. It is about short literary extracts from texts written by classics, such as Jerome K. Jerome or Mark Twain. Students’ task is to read and translate these texts with the dictionary, an activity which reminds one of the principles of the Grammar-Translation Method which place great emphasis on literary language and translations.

The texts included in *English Scrapbook* are not literary; they are adapted to the language level of 7th grade students, and focus on British and American culture. Thus, students learn about iconic British figures such as Robin Hood, King Arthur, Thomas Becket, Henry VIII, Lady Diana, but also about Thanksgiving, Pocahontas, festivals around the world, Australia, or Elvis Presley. The British, the Americans, the colonies, all contribute to the English cultural education of the students.

Regarding the working activities designed for learners, both schoolbooks include numerous “discrete item tasks” (Scrivener, 2005: 302) that refer to particular items of language, such as: gap-filling tasks, sentence construction or re-ordering, true/false statements, choosing the correct form out of two, placing words in correct sets or lists, etc. As for the tasks referring to skills, the 1984 schoolbook comes with traditional learning activities, such as: “Read the text and answer the questions”, “Describe the picture”, “Talk about yourself”, etc.

By contrast, *English Scrapbook* contains activities that are closer to the communicative approach to teaching and learning; thus, students are asked to predict what a text will be about, to predict or change the ending of a text, to play games, to participate in conversations, debates, role-plays, etc. In other words, there is much emphasis on learners’ opinions, on what they think and feel, and also on the necessity of team work, as communicative activities involve much pair work and group work. At the same time, each unit in *English Scrapbook* contains listening activities which, as already mentioned, do not exist in the 1984 schoolbook. It is clear that listening skills work is extremely important in class as it introduces new material, reinforces the already learned material, builds confidence, and improves learners’ pronunciation skills. In order to be good communicators, which is the ultimate goal of learning a language, learners should be able to speak and listen. The speaking success greatly depends on the ability to listen efficiently.

From what we have discussed in this section, it is obvious that the communicative approach to English teaching has enabled students to refine all their language skills, and thus to be able to efficiently take part in conversation.

Conclusion

The fall of communism in 1989 had a huge impact on English teaching and learning in Romania. Students’ motivation and enthusiasm to learn the language increased, their needs changed. The education system was quick to react, and over the years it has tried to meet learners’ needs by coming up with new schoolbooks and study programmes. As a result, English has become the most important foreign language in Romanian schools and universities, given more and more students the possibility to study it for better professional opportunities and/or personal fulfilment. Since most

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Romanian students start their English training at the age of seven, it comes as no surprise that their level of proficiency is quite high, and this is undoubtedly due to the collective efforts of families, teachers, schools, and universities, and also to the implementation of modern approaches to English teaching and learning.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

The beginning of studies and the prediction of university abandonment

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Abstract

This study makes an incursion on the issue of abandoning the higher education, understood as the most serious situation in which is a first-year student, who wants to abandon the studies. Also, in its turn, the phenomenon of abandonment is linked to the social exclusion, unemployment, poverty, delinquency, lack of health insurance, which means that a poor education, without exploiting own possibilities, trains, like a snowball, a series of shortcomings. However, we can distinguish the abandon from the false failures that can occur in the cases of shy, indecisive, pessimistic students, who usually assess exaggerated the difficulty of the current academic tasks, especially in the case of the difficult examinations, considered as impossible to be passed, as there is no confidence in their own possibilities for action. Thus, the smallest failure makes these students to devaluate themselves even more, to develop a fear of failure, which they will consider as a fatality. The reason for choosing such a thema is closely related to the high rate of university abandonment in our country, which requires a detailed analysis of the causes in order to prevent or improve them. At the national level, the results of certain research indicate the main causes: the financial problems, dissatisfaction with the choice of specialization, but these causes are very diverse: the distance to the educational institution, the negative influences of the socio-cultural environment/the anti-school culture, the mobility/migration of parents which creates inconsistencies in the social integration, life events such as marriage and the birth of children, intellectual disability, insufficient training, health problems, teachers' poor pedagogical style and so on. From our perspective, as teachers, the prevention of dropping out of university studies can be achieved through remedial activities at the problematic disciplines, through counseling sessions in academic learning, personal development activities, or socio-professional/practical training.

Keywords: *higher education; students; abandon; retention; adaptation.*

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The specific of the higher education

In Romania, the higher education is a tertiary education (ISCED 6), and its specificity is given by objectives, contents, methodologies and assessment modalities different from the other stages of education, compared to the previous education cycle, the high school education. In the higher education, the pursued aims of advanced specialization impose new standards that require a considerable learning effort from the students.

The disciplines and the contents of learning are very close to the pure science, being heavily theorized. Identifying those methods and means in order to attract more students in the learning activity remains a challenge for their teachers (Sava and others, 2015). At the same time, in order to adapt to the way in which the higher education is conducted, in particular to the summative assessment, through exams, the students need to restructure and make more efficient their strategies, learning styles, to self-organize themselves so that they can learn deeply, thorough and not superficial, in assault.

An important factor in adapting students to the requirements of the study program is attending the courses and seminars, their involvement in learning, the benevolent attitudes promoted. The students' participation in activities ensures a familiarity with the elements to be learned: a initial learning, as a result of the interactions with the discipline, the means of education, teachers, colleagues, which provide the basis for the academic success, by knowing of criteria/requirements/teaching style.

By their specificity, the learners who are in a low-frequency education, are engaged in the professional and family life and do not have time for learning, this being unsystematic. However, it is possible, especially if they are adults, to be more determined than young learners, by a professional motivation, to have a richer experience, to experience the social affirmation and the confrontation with others, to be concerned about the practical utility of what they learn, to be critical about the quality of the training they get, to be more independent in their approaches, which are some of the advantages that need to be taken into account when we know them and interact with them.

What is the abandonment of the university studies?

The abandonment means giving up the studies, but it does not occur instantly, it is announced by a series of the pre-emergent phenomena: the non-attendance at school/the absenteeism, the isolation from colleagues, low/at limit graduation or the repeatability, the temporary abandonment of the studies. Traditionally, the attribution or existence of the decision to abandon the studies of the learner, as an independent and definitive decision, corresponds to the drop-out, and a more modern perspective also draws the attention to the "expelled students": the push-out phenomenon.

In the pre-university education, from a legal point of view, the abandonment means that the students do not attend the school for two consecutive years. From a statistical point of view, the dropout rate is established as a percentage ratio between the number of the students enrolled and the number of the graduates.

Although it is considered to be a manifestation of the scholar failure, we should, however, distinguish the abandonment of the studies from the situations of false failures. There are cases where the timid, indecisive, pessimistic people usually over assess the difficulty of the current academic tasks, considering them as impossible to be passed,

because they do not trust their own means of action. The smallest recorded failure leads them to devalue themselves even more, to develop a fear of failure, which they will consider as a fatality.

Also, due to the practice of some students to enroll in more specializations in the first year, for the admission safety or to have options to choose what they are testing, from a numerical point of view, we can mistakenly catalog these cases as abandon.

The phenomenon of dropout (or disinsertion) was analyzed by many authors: Tinto, 2006; Moseley and Mead, 2008; Dekker, 2009, 2010; Demetriou and Schmitz-Scibouski, 2011; Delen, 2011; Raisman, Thammasicci and others, 2014 (cited by Aulk and others, 2017).

The abandonment is the most serious situation in which a pupil/student can be found, but the more serious is whether or not the society accepts or is indifferent to this phenomenon. The severity of the situation is given by the interdependence of the abandonment with the precarious education, social exclusion, unemployment, poverty, delinquency, lack of health insurances, which in their turn are generative. Those who abandon the school are not re-accepted later to the same educational institution and are not enrolled in an alternate schooling program. The short-term and long-term effects are negative: the students do not get a qualification, they have an insufficient training, they are under the unemployment spectrum, they have low incomes, invested training resources are lost, and socially, there may be blaming.

The importance of preventing or remedying the university abandonment is also given by treating or reporting it in the educational policy documents. The European Commission recommends widening the access to the higher education by drawing attention to "the social responsibility in helping students to reduce the psychological, financial and/or emotional risks of not completing their studies (...). The students retention can be considered as a key indicator of the performance of superior education systems." (European Commission, 2014:10).

At national level, in mass media, empirical studies indicate that Romania is among the countries with the most pupils and students in Europe who abandon the school. In the case of the pre-university education, in spite of the improvement programs, there is a percent of 20% on school drop-outs. In the case of the university education, the non-binding nature of the studies creates very high abandon rates. The National Alliance of Students Organizations in Romania (2014) showed that only 61% of the students enrolled in the first year completed their undergraduate studies, one of the most common reasons for the university abandonment being the lack of financial resources.

At European level, the countries where the success of studies is low are Bulgaria, Cyprus, Iceland, Lithuania, Slovakia and Turkey, and examples of good practice are given by countries such as Denmark, England, Estonia, Finland, Belgium, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Serbia, Slovenia, Sweden (European Commission, 2015: 7).

Etiology of abandonment

Referring to the quality of the Romanian higher education, Păunescu and others (2011: 44) observed that the main criteria that dominated the classical higher education, meaning the selective and elitist criteria, were replaced by the increase in the participation in the higher education and, in our opinion, this trend may be an explanation for which some students of the first year abandon their university studies.

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Their adaptive difficulties include the difficulty to keep up with the specifics of higher education as a volume and pace of instruction, which requires the awareness of the teachers teaching these students, the intervention to support them, in order to avoid the demotivation.

Citing Jordan and others, 1994, Watt and Roessingh, 1994, Doll and others (2013: 2) report why students abandon: they can be pushed, pulled, or fall out of school: students are pushed out when adverse situations within the school environment lead to consequences, ultimately resulting in dropout; students can be pulled out when factors inside the student divert them from completing school; we talk about falling out of school, when a student does not show significant academic progress in schoolwork and becomes apathetic or even disillusioned with the school completion.

The approach to the abandonment concerns not only the educational domain, but also the sociological one, and some authors such as Rumberger, Dornbusch, Ghatak, Poulos and Ritter (1990), Ensminger and Slusarcik (1992), Jenkins (1992), Alexander, Entwisle and Horsey 1997), Russell (2000) (cited by Olah, 2009) analyzed the causality of abandonment. Thus, a number of predictors of the abandonment were established: the poverty, race, parental non-involvement in the school life, parents' level of education, aggressive behavior of the pupil. The studies carried out mainly referred to the situation of the public schools, especially those in the less-favored areas.

Aulk and others (2017: 17) considered that "The students who dropped out (...) were defined as those students who did not complete at least one undergraduate degree within six calendar years of the first enrollment", and the factors influencing this trend, experimentally established, are very diverse: specialization, age, whether the students are or not at the first enrollment, the session in which they enrolled (summer, autumn).

The causes of abandonment may be cognitive or non-cognitive, both of them being important. Also, another way of identifying and structuring the intervening factors includes the external-internal dimension. Thus, as external factors, socially-objective, the cause the decision to abandon the studies is the physical environment represented by the geographic isolation. Also, external factors are the precarious socio-cultural environment, the disorganized and non-supportive family environment, the mobility/migration of parents, which creates superficial/inconstant adaptation, marriage or professional integration, imposing other existential priorities, extra-family group, friends who have antisocial aspirations, a anti-school, anti-work anti-discipline culture, poor pedagogical style, obsolete teaching, assessment errors, inadequate relationship of teachers with their students. Many of the external causes are related to the socio-economic context: low financial resources or disadvantaged environments have an effect on motivation, beliefs, the ideal of life of the young people.

The students values can be related to the types that Schwartz (2006) enumerated as personal values: Power, Achievement, Hedonism, Stimulation, Self-direction, Universalism, Benevolence, Tradition, Conformity, Security. It is interesting to determine whether the propensity towards certain material values is a predictor of abandoning the studies because some national studies indicate the lack of money as the main cause (Pricopie and others, 2011: 65). A model of the predictive factors of the abandonment (idem: 67) includes: the family income (the students coming from the low-income families are 58% more likely to abandon than the students coming from the high income families), evaluation scores in the session (students with small, medium grades are more prone to the abandonment), plus the presence of materialistic values, compared

to the case when the students choose other values related to their intellectual-spiritual training.

From this point of view, we appreciate that the study of the determinants of abandoning the university studies must be done carefully, depending on the national specificity, but also according to the concrete context of each university, fact confirmed also by Rothman (2001: 67), is important to choosing an appropriate design for the analysis of school data, especially when data are collected as part of an educational system's administrative collection.

In Europe, during the 1970s, sociologists approached the issue of the "global crisis of education" (Coombs, 1968) from conflictual positions. The crisis of the education has been linked to the inability of the education and training systems to help all people to value their resources. The main reproach to the education systems was that they constitute a factor in reproducing certain power reports existing in society by discriminating the access to the high culture of the children coming from the social-culture disadvantaged environments. The school can not ensure equal opportunities, by favoring access to a higher education only to children from the social classes with a leading role in society. Through complicated systems of conditional access to higher education, exploiting the inequality in the distribution of the linguistic and cultural codes that promote success, the education leads to a reproduction of the existing power relations in society. The equal opportunities refer to the fact that the human beings are free to develop their personal capacities and to choose without limitations imposed by strict roles, being pursued for humanitarian, ethical, social, economic, political, legal reasons. Raymond Boudon (1973) showed that the educational system and the choices that pupils make repeatedly can lead to inequality of the chances. For example, rural origin creates an inequality in the opportunities for the personal development/non-formal education/leisure, as well as for support or guidance chances, parental monitoring during studies. In this case, the work activities become competitive for learning ones. The existence of some reasons for social discrimination (such as Roma membership) may be an impediment to further studies through the additional effort required to integrate into the community.

The internal factors of abandoning the studies include the general health status, which, if unfavorable, biologically conditions the learning success, but also the psychological factors, regarding the poor functioning of the intellect, the insufficient mobilization of motivation, attention, will, affectivity, malfunctioning in the manifestation of the personality components: temperament, character, aptitudes.

The individual affective issues, such as the anxiety for school, for teachers, emerging from some conflicts, create an avoidable behavior. The same happens in the case of certain psycho-nervous determinations such as hyper-excitability, emotional imbalance, depression, and so on. From a behavioral point of view, they are destructive, if they are virulent: the originality crisis/delayed adolescence, aggression, delinquency.

Sneyers and De Witte (2015: 7) have shown that the higher admission standards reduce the abandonment rate. Correlatively, the mediocre school results in the pre-university cycle often generate a low motivation for the academic learning. Also in this category, related to the insufficient training level is the lack of psychological training, the low capacity to respond to the requirements of the academic environment due to the differences from the previous cycle. The students (especially those of the first year) face difficulties in organizing their own activities and do not have adequate intellectual work strategies, which in most cases comes from a behavior perpetuated from high school.

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Many of them have little confidence in the role of completing a university course, in finding a job or in obtaining material or moral benefits.

From the point of view of predictive research, some contributions point to arborescence explanatory patterns and establish a strong correlation with personal factors such as the illness or educational factors, consisting of learning difficulties, difficult courses or institutional factors relating to the university campus environment (Rai, 2014).

At a personal level, the academic learning is often hampered by the lack of: the necessary skills, exercise, basic knowledge, learning techniques; by insufficient motivation, accountability, focus or voluntary support; poorly defined interests or professional orientation; negative learning experiences; not attending courses; by inappropriate material conditions; by the lack of planning and organizing competencies for the learning activities, by a wrong self-evaluation and the avoidance reactions, refusal to learn (Frăsineanu, 2012).

Knowing students and investigating the risk of abandoning studies during the first year of the license

According to a pilot survey conducted at the West University of Timișoara, Sava and others (2015: 5) showed that "The failure to meet the reasons and expectations, the unrealistic expectations and their lack of clarity, specificity, the emotional training and the poor academic abilities, the adaptive (s) difficulties and the marginalization from the academic process cause abandonment of the students". In 2016, The Transylvania University of Brașov used a questionnaire to monitor the academic abandon rate. An own questionnaire, pre-tested on students from the University of Craiova, could be helpful in determining early the risk of dropping out of university studies, but it is also an easily applicable tool, so that the teacher and the students themselves to be better acquainted with the educational needs, respecting the principle of student centered academic education.

The structure of the questionnaire is presented below, and the utility of such a tool is related to the knowledge of the causes and the action on them, also other authors considering tracking and monitoring of students aims to reduce the number of students who drift away, especially in their first year (Quinn, 2013).

Questionnaire for the prevention of academic abandonment

This questionnaire is designed to know and improve the factors associated with the interruption or abandonment of studies for the first year students, in the second semester. Please respond honestly to your questions and we assure you that your data will be used exclusively for statistical reporting, being useful in preventing this phenomenon. Some questions allow more variants of answers, which you may to choose or detail.

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- A. Facts:
1. Academic year
 2. Initials of the first and last name
.....
 3. Gender
 - a) Female
 - b) Male
 4. Age
 5. Faculty:
 6. Specialization/
Program of Studies:
 7. Educational format:
 - a) Frequency education
 - b) Reduced frequency
 8. Type of studies:
 - a) Budget
 - b) With study fee
9. Domicile
 - a) In the urban environment
 - b) In rural areas
10. Current residence area:
 - a) Home
 - b) Campus
 - c) With rent
 - d) Other situation
(to be specified).....
11. Type of admission to university:
 - a) Based on a file
 - b) Exam
12. Nationality:
13. Marital status:
 - a) Married
 - b) Unmarried
- B. Questions:
1. Please indicate which of the following variants corresponds to your current professional situation:
 - a) Hired
 - b) Self-employed/Entrepreneur
 - c) Inactive person on the labor market
 - d) Unemployed
 2. You assess that your family's income is:
 - a) Very good
 - b) Good
 - c) Average
 - d) Low
 - e) Very low and not at all
 3. Please indicate, by making a circle the appropriate answer, which of the following variants corresponds to your current study situation. So far, within the university:
 - a) You have been enrolled in a single study program (the one mentioned above).
 - b) You are a graduate of a university degree program.
 - c) You have previously been enrolled in a degree program, but have not graduated.
 4. Who do you think is the main support factor for continuing university studies in your case?
 - a) Family
 - b) Teachers
 - c) Entourage, friends
 - d) Other students, colleagues
 - e) Other situation (to be specified)
 5. Being a student and graduating then from the university is, for you:
 - a) Very important
 - b) Important
 - c) Little important

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- d) Not at all important
 - e) I do not know
6. In the following academic year, you intend to:
- a) Continue your studies
 - b) Do not continue your studies
 - c) Enroll in another study program
 - d) Continue your studies abroad
 - e) Other (to be specified)
7. If you are considering to abandon the studies, please indicate which of the following reasons would clearly make you make this decision:
- a) Not applicable
 - b) Low chances of finding a job
 - c) The quality of the study program does not meet your expectations
 - d) Teachers do not teach you according to your requirements
 - e) The content of the education disciplines does not meet your expectations
 - f) The educational conditions do not meet your expectations
 - g) Lack of usefulness of what you need to learn
 - h) Your financial resources are limited and you can not cover your tuition costs
 - i) Your financial resources are limited and you can not cover your personal expenses
 - j) The courses timetable or the schedule does not match your wishes
 - k) The residential environment is far from the university
 - l) The financial charges/fees outweigh your possibilities
 - m) The accommodation conditions are unsatisfactory
 - n) The cultural-academic life does not meet your expectations
 - o) Deficient human relationships
 - p) Your professional status has changed
 - q) Your family situation has changed
 - r) Another reason (to be specified)
8. Your grades average in the first semester was:
- a) Less than 5.00
 - b) Between 5.01-6.00
 - c) Between 6.01-7.00
 - d) Between 7.01-8.00
 - e) Between 8.01-9.00
 - f) Between 9.01-10.00
9. Make a self-assessment of your degree of involvement or effort in the academic learning!
- a) Very much
 - b) Much
 - c) Average
 - d) Little and very little
 - e) Not at all
10. Make a self-assessment of your attendance at courses and seminars!
- a) Very much
 - b) Much
 - c) Average
 - d) Little and very little

e) Not at all

11. In your own case, the main reason for choosing the license specialization was:

- a) Continuing the profile chosen in high school
- b) Tradition of the family
- c) High chances of enrollment
- d) The benefits of the profession
- e) External encouragement made by parents/close relatives
- f) As an alternative to lack of job
- g) Other reason (to be specified)
- h) Combined Reasons

12. Do you consider that in order to prevent the abandonment of the university studies, it would be necessary:

- a) Common debates teachers-students
- b) Remedial courses
- c) Psycho-pedagogical counseling sessions
- d) School and Professional Orientation Activities
- e) Exchanges of experience
- f) Other activities (to be specified)

In developing the built tool, we took into account the specificity of the questionnaire survey: tracking/integrating components that correlate with the scholar abandonment and can be real indicators for its prediction in relation to different premises. The facts can provide information about: the gender differences, age, student specialization, education form, impact of the study fees, the change of residence environment, the influence of the admission mode, the nationality, the marital status. The Item 1 refers to the professional integration, which can be an asset, but also involves additional efforts from the student. The Item 2 aims to establish the level of the financial support, correlated with the Item 4, in an attempt to know the moral/motivational support. The Item 3 seeks to identify the existence of some competitive factors for the current activity, in close connection with the motivational dimensions (interests, intentions, motives) investigated by the Items 5, 6, 11. The Item 7 is the core of the questionnaire, in that, the student is required to exclude the risk of abandonment or to select the plausible reasons for it. The Items 8, 9, 10 establish the level of the results achieved by students and the consumed learning effort, the degree of study attendance, as quantitative or qualitative indicators of the learning efficiency. The last item aims to validate anti-abandon measures or solutions. Such a tool can be combined or supplemented with other questions within the focus groups or with individual student conversations.

Solutions to university abandonment

The students retention, as the positive phenomenon opposed to the abandonment, is the intent of the educational policies in the university education. Thus, for the academic year 2018-2019, the National Council for Statistics and Prognosis of Higher Education in Romania proposed a tuition figure of 62,000 places financed from the state budget for the higher studies, one of the arguments being the evolution of the number of the enrolled students in the first year at the state universities, which has a slightly upward trend in recent years.

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In the U.S. education system, there is a number of the facilitating measures for organizing the student learning activity so that they better adapt to the new environment: the Endowment with modern resources such as electronic libraries determines the use of state-of-the-art technologies for obtaining and processing information by students (e.g. e-mail accounts for documenting or presenting different papers); the study program is flexible, with many optional courses (especially in the first period of studies), which gives the student the possibility to choose the courses according to his/her own requirements; at the beginning of the studies there are programs that provide the guidance, assistance, counseling in learning.

From the perspective of teachers, it is important in the academic education, to notice but especially to solve the situation in which sometimes, the students find themselves as being unable to cope with the learning requirements, to feel overwhelmed, because what is required is new, too much, too difficult. Therefore, identifying the specificity of the study area approach is a solution that includes assessing learners' needs and learning styles, guiding them in learning. This is a matter of regulation or feed-back, which should be solved at the initial moments of the training, in which the teacher presents the specifics of the subject matter and along the way, when establishing, by consultation with the students, strategies of teaching/learning/assessment.

The European Commission (2015: 65) identifies our country-specific approach to ensuring the success of studies: financial support for students, Curriculum design, student support services, support for study choices. Other solutions that can be listed are: knowledge of threats and the action on them; personalized intervention programs; applied interactive methods, using the modern means; deleting elitism, meritocracy, in favor of an education correlated with the requirements of the labor market, more pragmatic; interdisciplinary; applying new education, extracurricular education; introducing the admission exam; initiation programs; tutorial; provide personalized support; encourage innovation.

Some solutions are already being applied, for example, in the Romanian Secondary Education Project (ROSE), with reimbursable funding, grants are allocated to universities to reduce the students abandonment. In the ROSE Project (2017-2019), *The Retention of the Philology students with the abandonment risk, integrated solutions* at the University of Craiova, as a project we participate at, the students are involved in: a) remedial activities in those areas where students have had low results; b) guidance and support sessions in order to optimize the academic learning process; c) personal development activities, coaching and building of some important socio-emotional skills, allowing the students to set priorities more easily, to relate more easily, to increase the interest in volunteering and lifelong learning, which will lead to a better quality of their life in the long term; d) activities that familiarize students with the current job requirements and working atmosphere in a professional organization, aiming at socio-professional training, career counseling and guidance, and entrepreneurship sessions.

We conclude that, through a reflective, proactive, selective, responsible approach, the students can identify the proper resources to improve their outcomes and to get support for the risk of abandonment of the university studies: human resources - teachers, themselves, others colleagues, material resources, information and of content, financial resources, procedural resources, space resources, time resources.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

Why Did the Socialist Movement Fail in Modern Romania?

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Abstract

The present article advances a series of elements presented previously in our publications, illustrating the causes that led to the failure of the socialist movement in modern Romania. Practically, the Romanian socialists were grouped in two tendencies, one of them constructive-national and the other revolutionary-anarchist, influenced externally. The particularities of the society, economy, social categories from Romania, the active involvement of the Church in the cultural, social life and even the education of the Romanians, made the workers and the peasants to not become too close to the socialists, who were declaring adversaries of the religion, considered a form of medieval, and even bourgeois domination. The attitude of the revolutionary-anarchist line, presented through its representatives from the Tsarist Russia, was speculated by the liberals and the conservatives who, on one side were regulating it for the interest of their limited electorate (the vote was based on qualification), and, on the other side, they were attracting the progressive socialist elements towards these parties, throwing the image of anarchy and disorder on the radicals. The Romanian historiography, in different ages, has presented differently the image of the socialist movement from the modern Romania, leaving us, today, to attempt a unitary and objective image on it.

Keywords: *socialist movement; modern Romania; revolutionary tendency; national-constructive tendency; historiography; failure.*

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Introduction

After the 23rd of August 1944, one of the decisive moments on addressing the change of the contemporary Romanian policy course, became evident that the new political power was to be legitimated by supporting the thesis of the secular fight that the peasants had been involved in for their social rights, meaning that, in 1944, the Romanian working class was not even a century old, the industrialisation developing in Romania after 1878, and progressing after the Great Depression from 1929-1933.

There was mentioned in a previous article (Nacu, 2017: 22-24) that the socialist movement in Romania began at the end of the 19th century, the socialists managing to obtain even few mandates in the 3rd College of the Deputy Assembly.

The newspaper “Adevărul”, led by Constantin Mille had preserved ample space for the advice on addressing the health of the people living in villages, especially the women and children. Thus, the women were advised to air and clean the rooms, to whitewash the walls. Moreover, there was recommended the keeping of the hygiene by washing, especially in the summer, when the water was easier warmed. In the yards, there was recommended the planting of fruit bearing trees, and in the small gardens vegetables.

The workers from the industry had received the recommendation to drink milk, although it was difficult to obtain it from the markets, the workers labouring, many times, even 12-14 hours per day (Hitchins, 1994: 363- 364).

Nonetheless, these newspapers did not have much influence in the world of the Romanian village. First of all, the illiteracy had reached high rates (the reform of education, imposed by Cuza, knew the first attempt of amendment at the end of the 19th century, through Spiru Haret), the money was scarce, in the rural areas the exchange was in the form of the barter (a product for another product), thus very few people could afford a newspaper subscription (Scurtu, 2001:55).

Changes in the world of the Romanian village and in the incipient Romanian industry

Furthermore, the agrarian reform of Cuza and its later regulations on addressing the regime of the landed property had maintained the peasants basically in economic dependence on the landholders from the nearby regions. The plots of land received during the ruling of Cuza had to be paid by indemnification, the lack of money determining the peasants to resort either to loans, or the work on the boyars’ estates (Nacu, 2013: 9). Those who had been able to pay for the plots, even if they could not sell them for a period of time, halved them, or reduced them in thirds or quarters, according to the number of their children (the average family, in the modern age was made of 6-8 people- mother, father, four children and two older people), the land being the type of dowry especially desired when the marriages were contracted, even for peasants, not only for boyars.

The industrial development had absorbed an important share of the landless peasants, who had left to the city, but many of them intended to return when they would have earned enough money to buy a plot of land and agricultural implements.

The emerging of the rural credits had not enjoyed the presumed success, therefore the money lenders had thrived, owing to the fact that they gave credits easier, but in case the peasants did not pay their debts and the interest, they lost the land (Berindei, 2003: 57-65).

Florin NACU

Moreover, while the economy was evolving, the boyars who had a certain style and conception on life, investing in the acquisition of land (the extensive agriculture was dominating the intensive agriculture) and less the mechanised farming inventor, were resorting to the seasonal work (generally, the peasants who used to come from the mountain areas where the land was scarce), while for the administration of the estates they would request the help of the leaseholder. The leaseholder was either a man educated in the field, either a money lender who had decided to offer the lease (rent) requested for the specific estate.

In general, the sons of the boyars were opting for liberal professions that would ensure a careless living in the urban centres, only few of them would choose agronomical studies. And even if a young boyar would come up with ideas on addressing the mechanisation of the agriculture, he would face the opposition of his father, who would depend much on the badly paid work of the peasants from the areas where he owned the estates (Nacu, 2013: 10). Furthermore, many boyars had seen their officer sons, in the Army, Gendarmerie, magistrates, and, if inheriting the wealth after the death of the parents, they would not have been able to manage the business, preferring a leaseholder, instead of depending on a personal administrator, who would need a boyar, in case of any decision that needed to be made (Berindei, 2003: 51-53).

Yet, the increase in size of the leaseholders category was also caused by the fact that the boyars, most of the times, in order to provide the dowry of the girls or the education of the boys, used to borrow money from the money lenders, basing their decision on the abundance of the future wheat or corn crops, but sometimes the weather would impede with their former plan, leading to delays when paying the debts, or the interest. The rising of the debt would make the boyar surrender easily in front of the leaseholder's pressure, a money lender himself, or previously making an arrangement with a money lender. Thus, the boyar would agree with leaving the estate to be administrated by the leaseholder, instead of the debt. There ought to be mentioned the fact that some boyars had become addicted to gambling, had initiated temporary relationships with young models, artists, show girls, new worlds that were merely at their beginning, and, from the desire to make a strong impression, they would resort to loans, sometimes uncovered. Followed by the money lenders and the banks, many of them would lease the estates on almost nothing, or even sell them for very little money.

Obviously, the most affected category was that of the peasants, because the owners, who had the right to vote for the Parliament, or could even be elected or appointed in positions of mayors, prefects, deputy prefects, were directly or indirectly legislating according to the interest of their social category. Thus, having the law on their side, the owners and the leaseholders could manoeuvre the legislative and administrative environment according to their wishes, which transformed the peasants in sure victims.

The boyars (and less the leaseholders) were preoccupied to create on their estates the feeling of connection with the peasants, occurring more from the medieval tradition of the ruler, "the father of the nation". Thus, the boyars, besides the donations to the village church (they were gaining the respect of the peasants), used to be the godparents of the poor peasants, giving their blessing for the marriages, even between men and women from neighbouring estates (in agreement with the other owner), used to help the rural schools (primary education was free, but the books would sometimes lack, and the teachers, most of the times, used to buy them for the poor children, who proved willing to learn).

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The factory owners also used to attract the well prepared apprentices and the journeymen to put them in school, in the country or abroad, in order to increase the quality of the production (Berindei, 2003: 65-69).

Thus, these situations were not predominant, there was created a de facto, moral alliance between the boyar/owner and their peasants/workers. The priest of the village was also acting as a mediator (obviously more on the side of the boyar), teaching the people at the church about the fact that, respecting the boyar, they would show respect to God.

It must not be forgotten that there was a hierarchy in the world of the village, there were the first, the average and the last peasants. In the village world, many of them had attended, at the most, four primary classes, as a consequence of the ruler Alexandru Ioan Cuza's reform. The only ones who would hope for education over this level were, first of all, the sons and the daughters of the village teachers, who were usually following the footsteps of their parents. The gendarmes who would ensure the public order, the military men from the units of the Army would direct their children towards the military schools, generically called "Schools of the officers' sons. The priests and the parish clerks would send their children to the theological seminary schools. There were also cases, few nonetheless, of hard-working children, both from poor and wealthy families who would send their children to the schools outside the village, to theological seminary schools, to military schools. As a rule, the boys had more advantages, because the girls, after the age of 13-14, had to marry, the wealthier peasants wishing, in this way, to unite their assets through marriage, the sons and the daughters of boyars could attend high-school classes, pension schools, and even faculties, including abroad. There were many families of boyars from the rural areas who would prefer to bring a private teacher on their property, who would teach their children basic scientific knowledge, but especially foreign languages, French, and also English and German being at the top of their preferences (Berindei, 2003: 32-36).

The great mass of the peasant children had to work the land, the skilful ones being able to do a job (as a mason, carpenter, lumber, tailor, furrier, brandy maker, inn keeper, trader). The apprenticeship period was carried out "for profit", that is the young people were sent to the proprietors of inns, shops, workshops, having an apprenticeship period full of privations. The same fate were expecting the children of the workers from the cities too, the boys going to the factories, and the girls to schools of housewifery, tailoring, sanitary schools.

Many times, the apprentices were running from their masters, going to factories or to the railroad company, a permanently developing area, where there was earned more money, although the work was harder.

The parliamentary failure of the Romanian socialists (1888-1903)

The right to vote was based on qualifications, the Constitution from 1866 provisioning that people could vote in the four electoral colleges, the last colleges, III and IV (united through the electoral reform from 1884 as college III) being made of the small proprietors, respectively the peasants with land, who would vote indirectly, choosing delegates.

Evidently, when the socialist circles appeared, at the end of the 19th century, the activists had a very wide public that could be lured. Only that, this public, active in their work, could not be active politically, lacking their right to universal voting. The

socialists had developed, especially after the revolt from 1888, which did not have the amplitude of that from 1907.

The Romanian socialists had not yet left the high spheres of the elitism. Having as models the occidental socialist fight (even in the Russian Narodism), the socialists resorted only to press campaigns, publishing newspapers, leaflets (the pressmen being able to print, clandestinely, these publications, collecting their own money, or using, without having the right, the raw material from the newspapers contracted by the owners of the presses). “Tipograful român”, in 1865, can be considered the first socialist newspaper (Stăiculescu, 2005:1-3). By 1914, the number of the publications, as mentioned previously, had increased. There was also a tendency, among some of the press owners, who would publish these newspapers and leaflets, when the liberals were opposing, in order to put pressure on the conservatives, and without implying them directly, but even then, the owners would charge the few socialists with potential.

Socialist views, and somehow hostile to the Russian Narodism, had also numerous activists from Bessarabia, such as Constantin Stere, one of the founders, along Garabet Ibrăileanu (considered the father of populism), of “Viața Românească” magazine. There appeared literary currents, following the model of “junimismului” (youth): “gândirismul” (thinkers), “sămănătorismul” (semanantorism), “poporanismul” (populism). Yet, Nicolae Iorga, a young historian, promotor of “sămănătorism” current, evolved from an intellectual with Marxist views, towards a promotor of the nationalism, even with extreme tendencies, accentuated in the inter-war period.

In the period July 1881-May 1891, Ioan Nădejde and Vasile G. Morțun led “Contemporanul” literary magazine (Hitchins, 1994: 363- 364).

In 1887, at Iași, it took place an ample manifestation, organised by the Conservative Opposition, whose target was King Carol I. Vasile G. Morțun appealed to few socialist students, to the workers from the industrial areas of Iași, Tătărași and Nicolina, organising a counter-demonstration, therefore supporting the King Carol I, and publishing a manifest in which there was justified this political option. From here, there seemed to always be a close relation between the Romanian socialists and liberals.

Vasile G. Morțun and Ioan Nădejde had succeeded in obtaining the mandates of deputies at College II from Roman (1888, 1891, 1895), and respectively College III. And yet, why once arrived on the desks of the Deputy Assembly, their discourse did not convince? First of all, the peasant voters were lured, by the landlords from the area, towards a specific delegate, who was the “man of the boyar”. The same was happening with the small proprietors from the urban areas, because the production network was uniting them with the interests of the great proprietors and bankers. Thus, the conservatives, in the rural areas, and the liberals in the urban areas, had the monopole of the reformative initiatives, which, although they were scarce and were advancing with difficulty towards the form of laws, did not lack. Ioan Nădejde and Vasile G. Morțun militated for the introduction of the universal vote (Ibrăileanu, 1968: 335-337).

In 1895, the governmental rotation, that is the assuming of the governing, successively, by the liberals and conservatives, was reserving the act of governing to the two movements, which, although opposed, did not lack associations with some other currents. Thus, Junimists would present the progressive side of the conservatives, while the “honest liberals were adopting certain socialist principles.

The law of the Sunday rest (1897, remodified in 1910), Missir law (the law of professions - 1902), which provoked an international scandal, after the accusations that it discriminated the Jew craftsmen, certain laws from the educational range (Spiru Haret

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reform), agricultural (Agricultural Credit), economic (the law of subsoil resources) and medical (the care of injured workers) were opening the way for the economic categories, significant in number, but without economic potential, towards an improvement of the situation (Nacu, 2017:22-26).

Another problem for the socialists was that, permanently, the conservatives and the liberals were accusing them of relating to the socialist agitators, expelled from Russia, Constantin Dobrogeanu Gherea, doctor Russel and others.

Zamfir Arbore (a Romanian intellectual and fighter from Bessarabia) unmasked and published in “Telegraful” newspaper, in 1887, very conclusive data on the Russian espionage agency that was acting in the Russian Legation from Bucharest, led by M.A. Hitrovo, publishing in the newspaper the list with the names, addresses, conspiring houses and the sums of money that each influential Russian agent was receiving.

Practically, this major misunderstanding hurried the end of the short socialist parliamentary life. As mentioned before, the Social-Democrat Party of the Workers from Romania was created on the 31st of March 1893, they people who laid the foundation being practically from two groups, one of the “generous”: Vasile G. Morțun (chief of “the group of the generous since 1895”), Ioan Nădejde, Sofia Nădejde (sister of the painter Octav Băncilă and wife of Ioan Nădejde) and one of the “radical activists” (many of them from Russia: Constantin Dobrogeanu Gherea, Cristian Rakowski, Ilie Moscovici, Ion C. Frimu, Dimitrie Marinescu, Gheorghe Cristescu, Mihail Gheorghiu-Bujor (Nacu, 2013: 315). The first category preferred to migrate towards the liberals: “the Generous” of Vasile G. Morțun reached the liberal party on the 9th of February 1899, and Ioan Nădejde in 1903.

The second category (except for Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea and Ion C. Frimu, who died in prison in 1919) wished to adopt the socialist model from Russia, which was embracing the idea of revolution, the overthrowing of order, including through anarchist movements. Rakowski reached after 1918 “the banner of Bolshevism” (Mitican, 1983:184,185), and Gheroghe Cristescu-Plăpumarul and Mihai Bujor laid the foundation of the Communist Party from Romania, on the 8th of May 1921, as a section of the Socialist International, respecting the indications of the Bolshevik Party from Moscow, which was aiming including the dismemberment of Romania (declared illegal in 1921).

The Romanian elite started, helped by the encouragements of the Romanian Royal Family, to promote certain folk traditions, to portray the Romanian peasant in art, literature, Princess Mary, the future Queen Mary of Romania, promoting the Romanian traditional costume, for her and for the ladies of her entourage. Alexandru Vlașuță published “*Picturesque Romania*”, a work written as a travelling journal, but in a profoundly literary style.

The surviving of the socialist ideas and actions (1903-1918)

Left in 1899 from PSDMR (Social Democratic Workers Party from Romania), Vasile G. Morțun permanently communicated with his friend and “fight comrade” Ioan Nădejde. Vasile G. Morțun had taken drama courses in Paris, literature courses at Brussels, although he did not take the licence degree exam.

In 1901, helped by Nădejde, he managed to obtain a new mandate in College II Roman, on the lists of PNL (National Liberal Party). Vasile G. Morțun obtained, due to the results of PNL, the position of vice-president of the Deputy Chamber. In 1907, on the 12th of March, Vasile G. Morțun became the Minister of Public Works, a dignity that

he had until the 28th of December 1901. Thus, during the revolt, when the conservatives ran for the mandate, the liberals entrusted a former PSDMR the mandate of minister in the field in which Ion I C Brătianu had started his career as a minister. The actions of minister Vasile G. Morțun were directed towards the modernisation of the transport legislation, on roads, but also on railways and water. Ioan Nădejde, also coming from PNL, was appointed representative of the Romanian Government, at the resort ministries from France, Switzerland and Germany, in order to study the legislative systems of transports from the countries where the railway, road and navigable canals networks were extended. The two managed to impose in Romania the resting homes for the railway workers (the German model) and the medical and social insurances for the workers (the Swiss model).

The revolt from 1907 represents the moment in which the end of the incipient before-war Romanian socialism was hurried (Nacu, 2017:27-29). The socialist militants accused Brătianu government (Ionel Brătianu also had the Internal Affairs portfolio) of extreme repression, the socialist press publishing that there had been 10,000 dead people among the peasants, more than in the official version (under 500 dead). King Carol I himself, who, in 1906, had celebrated 40 years of ruling (“The Royal Jubilee”), declared that there had been “several thousands”.

Beyond the interpretation of the 1907 moment, it is clear that the socialist teachings had been spread in villages by many socialist students. At Pașcani, in Moldova, a train with arrested peasants was stopped by the railway workers, who freed the prisoners and tries to oppose the forces of order.

Certainly, some measures, lacking substance and being taken by the liberals and conservatives after 1907, were present nonetheless, but in 1910 Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea was talking about the “new-serfdom” (Dobrogeanu-Gherea, 1988, III: 498), resulted from the manoeuvring of agricultural agreement contracts, in the interest of the proprietors.

Orleanu Law (or “the villainous law”) introduced the interdiction of the protest movements, in 1910, touching in this way the socialist activism (Dohotaru, 2013:1-4).

In the same year, on the 31st of January 1910, the socialists founded a new party, the Romanian Democrat Social Party (PSDR), made of Ion C. Frimu, Mihail Gheorghiu-Bujor, Cristian Rakowski, Dimitrie Marinescu, Constantin Vasilescu.

The leaseholders continued to prosper, associating with the people who managed the capitals, corn dealers, being interested in laws favourable to raw material exports, and less the processing of it in the country.

In 1912, Vasile G. Morțun tried, successfully, to guide many industrial workers towards the Liberal National Party, due to the fact that the socialists had oriented towards anarchism and the revolutionary spirit that began to gain even greater importance in the Tsarist Russia.

Although of a quiet old age, when Romania declared war to Bulgaria, in 1913, Vasile G. Morțun enlisted voluntarily within a military unit from Roman (Regiment 14 Roman), being promoted by King Carol I, on the battle field, to the rank of sergeant. He also obtained mandates of member of the parliament, including member of the Romanian Senate.

Vasile G. Morțun obtained an important portfolio in the Romanian Government, Minister of the Internal Affairs, on the 4th of January 1914, a position that he held until the 10th of December 1916. His name is among the participants to the famous Crown

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Councils from the 21st of July 1914 (neutrality) and the 14th of August 1916 (participation to war).

In the refuge from Iași, Vasile G. Morțun occupied the position of President of the Deputy Chamber, and in 1916-1917 he presided at the Constituent Assembly, formed with the purpose of adopting the electoral and agrarian reforms, which were exactly the reforms for which he fought all his life, as a socialist.

His death, which occurred prematurely on the 30th of July 1919, did not allow him to see these reforms materialised, after the war, in 1919, respectively 1921 (Berindei, 2003: 59).

Thus, on the 6th of December 1918, although few days since the entering in Bucharest of the Romanian Army (1st of December 1918), the typographers from “Sfetea” and “Minerva” workshops organised a strike, expressing wage and social claims. It was obvious that the internal economic situation was disastrous, after the two years of systematic plunder of the German and Bulgarian occupation troops, which led to the rejection of the list of claims. Ion C. Frimu, Gheorhe Cristescu, Cristian Rakowski (political activists), Iancu Luchwig (typographer), Sami Steinberg (typographer), Marcus Iancu (shoe-maker), Marcel Blumenfeld (compositor), Ilie Moscovici, D. Pop (political activists) were credited as being the authors of the general strike of the 13th/26th of December 1918. Almost 600 workers (besides the typographers who came, and other workers from Bucharest) shouted slogans against the King, requesting a republic, while marching towards the National Theatre Square. The Prime Minister Ionel Brătianu answered the report of general Mărgineanu, giving authorisation to the minister of the Internal Affairs, George Mârzescu, to open fire. The manifestation was precluded with gunfire, 16 workers died, other 100 being wounded. The socialists declared later that the number of the dead was of 102, and the wounded of few hundreds (Mamina&Scurtu, 1996: 29).

The following investigation brought forward much evidence, according to which, the manifestation of the typographers would have been transformed towards a Bolshevik revolution, because, among the demonstrators, there were seen Alecu Constantinescu, Jacques Konitz, I.S. Dimitriu, Alexandru Bogdan, well-known Bolshevik agitators, and the policemen and the agents of Security would have discovered, in one of the socialists' main headquarters, a manifest that was instigating to violent overthrowing of the Government. There were arrested the agitators and hundreds of workers. In February 1919, the agitators received 5 years of detention, and the rest of the workers were amnestied, for not aggravating the situation, due to the worsening of the economic situation of Romania, after the war. Constantin Titel Petrescu, Toma Dragu, N.D. Cocea, Constantin Mille, Radu Rosetti, famous socialists became advocates of the workers, managing to fight against the royal prosecutor, meaning that the charge of conspiracy could be considered only in the case of the communist agitators, and not of the arrested workers.

Ion C. Frimu, badly wounded, beaten as instigator in the Police arrest, died on the 6th/19th of February 1919, in Văcărești prison. He became the first great socialist martyr, his tomb was positioned in the exterior semi-circle of the Communist Heroes Mausoleum, built after 1944, in Park Carol from Bucharest. I.C. Frimu borrowed his name to a factory from Sinaia, and several streets from Romania (Mamina&Scurtu, 1996: 30-31).

Lawyer Constantin Titel Petrescu was remarked as a socialist solicitor, defending the socialist militant Alexandru Nicolau, in 1911, and criticising the

incompetence from the Romanian Army (the military campaign from 1913 cost the lives of 5,500 military men, who had died not in combat but because of the dysentery epidemic outbreak), which was giving a clue about the deficiencies that led to the defeat from 1916. He defended the workers who had been arrested after the strike from the 13th of December 1918.

Constantin Mille was one of the publicist participants who militated in favour of the human rights, with strong socialist opinions.

Radu Rosetti, deputy of Fălciu, College III, after 1891, prefect of Roman, Brăila, director of the prisons in 1895, chief of “Special and historical works” department of the Ministry of External Affairs, member of the frontier regulation commission with Hungary, despite his noble origin, supported the cause of the socialists, writing papers on the peasant problem, defending, as lawyer, the socialists workers, in 1981.

N. D. Cocea, publicist, lawyer, was also an active supporter of the Romanian socialists that he defended in December 1918, declaring himself an admirer of Vladimir Ilici Lenin.

What did the communists preserve in historiography within the period 1944-1989?

The historiography from the communist period, as it was shown in an already published book, overrated the importance of class conflict, in the modern age. The significant personalities of the modern era, such Tudor Vladimirescu, Nicolae Bălcescu, Alexandru Ioan Cuza were “brushed-up” by removing any allusion to their noble (bourgeois) origin. The presence in the modern Romanian Parliament of the first socialists was seen as the result of success within the class conflict, the accent falling on the moments from 1888 and 1907, purged of anything that represented a subversive foreign influence that could aim at weakening Romania (Maciu, 1973: 343). It should not be forgotten that, although the alliance of Romania with Austro-Hungary was a secret one, the closeness to Germany and Austro-Hungary was a quite visible one, and the Tsarist Russia was trying to attract Romania on its side, using a variety of means (there had been tried the marriage of prince Carol (a king after 1881) with a Russian princess, and there was a partial success in the case of the prince heir Ferdinand, married with the British-Russian princess Maria de Edinburgh n.n.)

Obviously that the merits of the socialist activists, with communist views, were much exaggerated, over the real ones that the socialists who did not wish to choose the revolutionary way had, making alliances with NLP, considered by the communist historiography a “bourgeois party”.

In the period of the German military occupation (1916-1918), the socialist militants were included among those who fought in the anti-German resistance movement. The communist historiography almost limited the role of the Tsarist army in the military success from Mărști, Mărășești, Oituz, from the summer of 1917, which cannot be contested. It was when Russia left the War on the 3rd of March 1918 that we found ourselves unprotected before Germany, Bulgaria, Austro-Hungary, and made us conclude the peace from Buftea-Bucharest, on the 7th of May 1918.

The socialist leader, Ion C. Frimu, corresponded, in 1911, with Vladimir Ilici Lenin, a fact that brought him, besides the glorification from the communist period, his attendance, in September 1917 at Stockholm, in Sweden, to the 3rd Conference of the

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Socialist International that condemned the war, which was at its highest point (Mamina&Scurtu, 1996: 30-31).

PSDR adopted the Russian policy line, the union of Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transylvania being condemned as “actions of conquering” of Romania, as the Russian directives were mentioning, whose messenger was doctor Cristain Rakowski. There were mentioned, in a previous article, his attempts to overthrow the Romanian government from Iași and to assassinate King Ferdinand.

Even if after 1947, in the years of the “national communism”, there were no talks about Bessarabia, the union with Transylvania became an important topic. Owing to the distancing from Moscow, the idea about Transylvania was taken as a major objective of the socialist fight, for the Romanian unitary national state, especially that, in 1944, the Romanians fought for the liberation of North-West Transylvania from the Horthysts who were allied with the Nazis.

In this period, the accent fell exclusively on the class conflict. Today, numerous streets are called “December 13”, and many streets and a factory, as mentioned before, were called I. C. Frimu.

The electoral and the agrarian reform became a reality in 1919 and 1921, but the socialist movement was totally seized by the activists inspired by the Marxist-Leninist direction.

There is another aspect that has not been yet discussed enough. The socialists, and especially the adepts of the Marxist-Leninist direction, were adversaries of religion, while the majority of the modern Romania population was educated “in the church porch”, both from the point of view of the school, culture, customs, social and moral attitude and health (the fasting in different periods of the year was contributing, in the view of the Church, to the strengthening of the spirit and body n.n.). It ought not to be forgotten that the Romanian right extreme, promoting the Christian values of the Romanian people, in a radical manner (the even violent resistance of the Christian autochthonous Christians against the non-Christian allogeneous people, going to the chasing of the latter ones, n.n.), was much more popular in the rural and urban areas from the inter-war Romania.

As it was seen, among the socialist militants, and their defenders, there were numerous people with noble or bourgeois origin, willing to reform the society in which they were living.

Initially, in the period 1944-1958, they could not even be mentioned, the public, interested in history, paying attention to them after 1964, but especially after 1974, because some of them perished in the Romanian camp system after 1945.

Conclusions

As we have tried to show in the other studies published so far, the socialist movement has not been for a long time approached using historical objectivity. The historians from the first half of the 20th century insisted on the baneful influence of the Marxist-Leninist Russian line, ignoring some merits of the Romanian socialists. On the contrary, the historiography from the period 1944-1989 exaggerated the role of the socialists and the social movements, on one side ignoring the socialists and their bourgeois origin friends, in favour of the rigid, revolutionary line adepts, and, on the other side, in the years of the national communism, excluding, from the socialist movement, the subversive elements that wanted even the destruction of Romania, they were opposing the war for the national unity (Nacu, 2015:89-92). Yet, there should be

mentioned, that a part of the socialist activists, without being adversaries of this war, which ended with the constituting of Great Romania, noticed, the same as Constantin Titel Petrescu, the major lack of endowment, tactics, specialised training of the militaries from the Romanian Army, sanitary protection against epidemics, deficiencies that weighed in the disastrous defeat from the winter of 1916, a defeat that was only overcome by the heroism of the Romanian soldiers from Mărăști, Mărășești and Oituz, in the summer of 1917.

Thus, the socialist movement from Romania, with the both components, the constructive-reforming, national line and the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line were well-represented in Romania, although, in different ages, they were not treated unitarily (Nacu, 2017:29-31).

The great disadvantage of the socialist movement in modern Romania was because the political message failed to penetrate from the source to its receptors in the rural and urban areas. The vote based on qualification, the censorship, the limitation of access to basic education, the perpetuation of the medieval economic relations between proprietors and producers, press control expressed by the two important political forces, the liberals and the conservatives, limited the spreading of the reforming message. Some elements of reform were introduced by the liberals, under the influence of the socialist leaders. The ascension of the Marxist-Leninist current, started before 1918 and culminating with the founding of PCDR in 1921, contributed to the dissociation of a great part of the population from the socialist movement.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

Post-Soviet Era and Postmodern Image Production

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Abstract

The Russian avant-garde is one of the most effective movements of Art History as theory and practice. Consequently, the concept of Ostranenie, which was found and developed by Viktor Shklovski and Russian Formalism have been remained original in postmodernism as well as in modernism. Moreover, New Media reflects the characteristics of Russian avant-garde due to new digital hardware and software technology and the new aesthetic potential of this technology. This update of 'avant-garde new' has been carried out by Lev Manovich. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Lomo camera, a product of the Russian optical industry, became a symbol of attraction and nostalgia. As a result of Austro-Russian cooperation, Lomography today has become an international analogue photography brand and a photographic genre. Post-Soviet social chaos is an inspiration source for art photographers, documentary photographers and photojournalists. In this context, Case History of Boris Mikhailov(1999), Winterreise of Luc Delahaye (2000), City of Shadows of Alexey Titarenko (2001), The Last Riot of AES+F (2005-2007)and Space of the City of Georgy Pervov (2004) are remarkable samples of a New Romanticism. These photographers have contributed to the development of postmodern photographic language, as well as *fulfilling the historical witness mission with a humanist approach*.

Keywords: *new; ostranenie; lomography; new romanticism; total realism.*

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Art moves, transforming. It changes its methods, but the past does not cease to exist (Shklovski, 2011: 19).

Introduction

Nowadays, Communism is no longer a political practice except North Korea as an exception and China –partly-, certain political parties present within democratic regimes, some radical organizations and related Marxist individuals. However, some experimental approaches and experiences of Communist Art and Culture continue to exist in the field of media, art and aesthetics. Russian Formalism maintains its appeal globally for many creative minds and cultural heritage of communism continues to exist in postmodern image production, new media theory and practice and cyber culture. Moreover, freedom of expression, which was established after the collapse of the Soviet Union, allowed for the making of social descriptions that were not possible at the time of communism. Misery, solitude, auto-destruction and despair of human being are displayed clearly and uncensored.

The chaos of Soviet Union collapse and dissolution became great opportunity for historical testimony and fascinating inspiration source for photographers. Moreover, a new photographic genre has been developed that we could identify it as New Romanticism.

In this context, focusing on Soviet Union, I will discuss using descriptive method some components of postmodern image production as notion of New, Ostranenie of Viktor Shklovsky, Lomography, New Romanticism and related photo- project samples of Boris Mikhailov, Luc Delahaye, Alexey Titarenko, AES+F and Georgy Pervov.

1. New

New is an ‘élan vital’ sign -until becomes old; it connotes awakening, beginning, action, change, energy and alternative existence. New is revolutionary and futurist by its nature. New has a regenerative power. Therefore, notion of new exist also in the postmodern mentality- despite anachronist postmodernist conjuncture- as in modern thinking.

However, in the postmodern age, it is sometimes observed that the simulation of new has been replaced with the realnew, especially in political context. Even simple social changes can be named as new, making metonymy.

However the technology is intact from this kind of distortion of meaning. Because, technology evolves continuously and new scientific developments and technological evolution involve always new environments. Besides, the idea of III. Millennium has created a passionate new metaphysics while we were passing from 20th century to 21th century. This is a futuristic reflex, but on the other hand it also explores the origins of the new in various contexts. On the other hand, in the 20th century, the evolving digital revolution and cyber culture, along with the World Wide Web (2000), have gained more and more powerful momentum. For this reason, 21th century is also a revolution era but this is a revolution of information. By the way, the cultural determinations of digital technologies have naturally led to paradigm shifts. But “to move from an old paradigm to a new one is not merely a question of becoming informed in the sense of adding new facts to old ones with which we are already familiar, but rather in the sense that new facts, and old facts in a new light, change our world view

entirely (Bard and Söderqvist, 2012: 27). Due to these changes, there have been some photographic paradigm shifts in the 21st century:

- Photo has completed its global development as a democratic project, and millions or all the photo-image producers in the world have been united on Instagram!

- Analog photography and digital photography dialectics have strengthened experimental photography creativity by conventional applications and software possibilities.

- Photo History is constantly updated as an algorithmic project.

- Photo is considered not only as an image but also as a sustainable raw data for new creation. Googlegrams (2005) of Joan Fontcuberta and Phototrails (2013) of Lev Manovich are some samples in this context.

- Photojournalism has become at the same time a conceptual photographic category.

Media theorist Lev Manovich updated the notion of modernist 'New' that was peculiar to The Communist Revolution and Soviet Avant- Garde-but in a new way- with his book *The Language of New Media* (2001) and his famous article titled 'Avant-garde as Software' (2002) by an astonishing postmodern anachronism.

According to Manovich (2003): "New Media indeed represents the new avant-garde...the new avant-garde is radically different from the old; the old media avant-garde of the 1920s came up with new forms, new ways to represent reality and new ways to see the world. The new media avant-garde is about new ways of accessing and manipulating information. Its techniques are hypermedia, databases, search engines, data mining, image processing, visualization, and simulation" (Manovich, 2003: 23).

2. Ostranenie

Then, New Media is not only the result of a technology-aesthetics dialectic but also transforms the 1920s avant-garde spirit as theory and practice into new virtual and cultural environments. Manovich (2002), in his article entitled *Avant-garde as Software*, describes also the relationship between New Vision and 3-D Data Visualization: "HCI (human control interaction) and computer methods of data analysis inherit aesthetic techniques developed by the 1920s European avant-garde. Putting into practice Russian critic Viktor Schlovsky's notion of ostranenie...a number of photographers in the 1920s begun to use unorthodox viewpoints...Most outspoken defenders of this approach to photographic composition were Moholy-Nagy in Germany and Rodchenko in Russia" (pp.6-7).

At this point, let's remember some photographic ostranenie examples taken by Alexander Rodchenko (1891-1956) from the birds-eye view, worms-eye view with vertical perspective and foreshortening with strong diagonal lines: *The Building on Miasnitskaia Street* (1925), *Pine Trees in Pushkino* (1927), *On the telephone* (1928). These works that represent an aesthetic revolution and experimentation for the evolution of photographic language were criticized in a paradoxal way as "easel art" by Lily Brik (Tupitsyn, 1996, p.41).

Formalism is associated with change and variability. Discovering the extraordinary side of the usual and transforming the ordinary into extraordinary are two main functions of formalism.

Formalism represents always new point of views. Formalist art critic or formalist artist is a visual explorer. Formalism is a research of language covering all

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branches of art from literature to photography, from painting to graphic, from cinema to media aesthetics etc.

Viktor Shklovsky (1893-1984) is one of the main representatives of Russian Formalism. According to Shklovski: "Art always projects itself into the future" (cited in Vitale, 2012: 39). Shklovski, as an art theorist made a neologism that was base of Formalist ideal and New Media and coined concept of *ostranenie* starting from literature, especially analyzing the texts of Lev Tolstoy.

Ostranenie, etymologically derives from Russian word: 'strannyi' that means making strange. This concept is a subject of several controversial translation initiatives and it's translated in English as estrangement, enstrangement, defamiliarization, deautomatization, making strange, alienation (Bogdanov, 2005: 48; Berlina, 2017: 56).

However, since there is a meaning shift for each translation provision, the original use of the concept is generally preferred. On the other hand, there are two 'n' in *strannyi*, but we write *ostranenie* with only one 'n'. Shklovski is also aware of this error (Berlina, 2017, p.334). Although the effort to correct this word as *ostranennie*, the concept is now widely known as *ostranenie*. In this context, the cult text titled as *Isksstvo kak priem* (1917) of Shklovski is available in English in two titles, *Art as Device* and *Art as Technique*.

Shklovski was a humoristic man because he said: "Art as Device "is like a Rubik's cube: you can turn it this way and that (cited in Berlina, 2017: 340). Indeed, *ostranenie* became also a vast interdisciplinary research area for example from science-fiction to theology and so it is not only an aesthetic phenomenon, but also an inspiration source of theoretical studies. If we give some examples:

- According to Rossbacher (1977) *Ostranenie* looks like Aristoteles' *Admiratio* (marvelous): "device of estrangement as a means to break down the barrier of automatic perception and of the problem of indifferentism bring us to the notion of man's amazement at the existence of the world as expressed in Aristotle's term *admiratio*" (p. 1042). Because *admiratio* is an initiative of clear mind, soul power and creative attempt like *ostranenie*.

- Bogdanov (2005) indicates that evangelical *Kenosis* is also *ostranenie* - naturally his discourse was based on this related part of Holy Bible, "but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant" (Philippians 2:5-8) and he explains: "the astonishment decision of the son of God to become "just like one of us" is revealed in order to demonstrate the overwhelming power of love. It is revealed through form, a form that is identifiable and at the same time strange and fascinating in its miraculous manifestation" (pp. 50-51). On the other hand, crucifixion as a simple human being and resurrection of Jesus is the culmination of *Kenosis*, because *Kenosis* manifests his divine otherness (Kronberg, 2018: 29). In this context, crucifix became a *Kenosis* symbol. *Kenosis* and *ostranenie*, the both is a matter of form. *Kenosis* is to discover God in Jesus' self, and *ostranenie* is to perceive the extraordinariness contained in something ordinary. In both cases we need to think and strive to discover the truth and not just settle for what we perceive.

- Bertold Brecht's *Verfremdung* or V- Effect is based on the theory of estrangement .V-Effectis opposite of Aristoteles' catharsis. When we watch an epic theater representation, we understand the work with our thoughts, not our feelings. Therefore, we begin to think not only about the subject of the work but also about theater, art, art language and life, because this is a state of consciousness. Besides, the films of Jean-Luc Godard also, who brought Brecht's epic theater principles

to the screen, are examples of cinematographic alienation effect. “Verfremdung has a strong didactic and political meaning, and clearly is part of the audience’s perception. The V-Effect blocs empathy” (Spiegel, 2008: 370).

- Darko Suvin (1972) identifies Science Fiction in this way: “SF is, then a literary genre whose necessary and sufficient conditions are the presence and interaction of estrangement and cognition, and whose main formal device is an imaginative framework alternative to the author’s empirical environment.... Estrangement which was determined by Shlovski and Brecht, defines meta-realistic vision of sci-fi and cognition keeps its scientific character (Darko Suvin, 1972: 375).

Science fiction is a modern genre; modern science, time travel, speed, futuristic design of life, titan-like heroes, encounters with aliens, sometime, metaphor of alienation as critical way of real world politics, an endless imagination based on the dialectics of the most primitive and the highest one, the archaic and the ultimate one from technological and anthropological point of view, new worlds, intertextuality of mythological sources, sacred texts, legends, popular science texts, alternative-sometimes simultaneous- presences in different dimensions, are main components of sci-fi culture.

- Ostranenie is an effective concept also for interactive computer game experience. Computer games world is the new environment of homo ludens. The player assumes performs and represents perception variability determined algorithmically. In the universe of computer games, the usual and unusual constantly transforms into each other.

Myers (2010) indicates that “formalism can be recognized as an early form of cognitive science... computer game rules and relationships undermine and deny conventional experience in much the same manner that poetic language undermines and denies conventional language” (pp. 43-46).

Avant garde and formalist spectator is an active participant of art representation and performance or with another expression an emancipated spectator in Jacques Rancière way.

According to Kessler (2010): “Defamiliarization is always ”in the eye of the beholder” ... Any defamiliarizing device is bound to turn into a habitualized one as time goes by, so to the readers or viewers of later generations... My suggestion is then to never cease to defamiliarize defamiliarization” (pp. 78-79).

Eventually we consume all notions, even ostranenie. “At this point, let’s recall a sentence of Shklovski who loves really joke: “Automatization eats things, clothes, furniture, your wife and fear of war” (cited in Berlina, 2017: 80).

-An another important detail about our subject, ostranenie is that the Russian society, until the Bolshevik Revolution, has a multi-lingual culture. Even in some social sectors, Russian Language is like a secondary language alongside French and German. This situation of Russian is a linguistic alienation and, with a little exaggerated expression, it can be argued that the development of Russian literature is almost like the development of minor literature of Deleuze. In general meaning, this alienation has become a creative awareness. Russian Literature is written with a –almost-foreign language that is Russian.

Svetlana Boym draws attention to this point; according to Shklovski (1929): “For the Assyrians it was Sumerian, Latin for medieval poetry, Arabism in literary Persian, and Old Bulgarian as a foundation of the Russian literary language” (cited in Boym, 1996: 515-516). According again to Shklovski, “Today, an even more

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characteristic phenomenon takes place. Russian literary language, originally alien to Russia, has penetrated into the human masses so deeply as to level many dialectical varieties (cited in Berlina, 2017: 94).

Shklovski presents himself *ostranenie* as “A new view of the world” (cited in Berlina, 2017: 334). Besides he identifies the characteristics of *ostranenie* in a hypertext design which he has created by navigating from Dostoevsky to Tolstoy, from Cervantes to Dickens, from Andersen to Pushkin, from Khlebnikov to Bakhtin and he determines it as “The world of *ostranenie* is the world of the revolution” (Shklovski, cited in Berlina, 2017: 297). The starting point of *ostranenie* was Literature and especially work of Tolstoy. Thus, “It is from literature that writers learn to write. For they learn push themselves off literature. The history of literature is partly the history of fighting against yesterday” (Shklovski, cited in Berlina, 2017: 335-336).

In his famous work, *Art as Technique*, Shklovski (1917) indicates like this: “Tolstoy’s device of *ostranenie* consists in not calling a thing or event by its name but describing it as if seen for the first time, as if happening for the first time” (cited in Berlina, 2017, pp.81-82).

For Shklovski, imagery is common point for all art branches. Shklovski (1917) underlined: “Art is thinking in images”... “Without images, art-including poetry- is impossible”... “Poetry is a particular method of thinking, namely thinking in images; this method creates a certain economy of intellectual energy...the goal of imagery is to bring the meaning of the image closer to our understanding” (cited in Berlina, 2017: 73-74).

Avant garde understanding, while discussing new materiality possibilities for an art branch and developing new creativity strategies, also criticizes the nature of the same art branch; According to Shklovski (1917): “The technique of art is to make objects “unfamiliar,” to make forms difficult, to increase the difficulty and length of perception because the process of perception is an aesthetic end in itself and must be prolonged. Art is a way of experiencing the artfulness of an object: the object is not important (p. 2).

When he describes the properties of *ostranenie*, he also applies to metaphors; for example, to describe the autonomous nature of *ostranenie*, he indicates: “Jean Jacques Rousseau, in his own way, estranged himself from the world; he lived apart from the state” or,

He clarifies glocal and global character of *ostranenie* like this: “Gogol’s troika, which is rushing over Russia, is Russian because it is sudden. But it’s also international; it’s flying over Russia, and Italy, and Spain” or, *Ostranenie* is “the dream of a new world” just as “Mayakovski’s many-colored, belt-free shirt” (cited in Berlina, 2017: 334).

Then, *ostranenie* is now a natural component of our virtual reality and a current way of seeing such that Manovich explains: “Defamiliarization now involves simply a movement of a computer mouse to change the perspective, thus getting a new way of the scene” (2003: 7).

3. Lomography

Lomo factory (Leningrad Optical Mechanical Association) was found in St. Petersburg (1914) to produce originally optical military equipment then photo cameras. Today, Lomography Society, working with Lomo license and Chinese production, is the only analogue photo company in the world that produces analogue tools and materials from the camera to film.

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Story of this establishment is described by Russian politician Ilya Klebanov in Lomography Magazine as: “It was the end of 1992. That year I was appointed a General Director of LOMO PLC. At that time a new sales line of LOMO LC-A cameras was established. Three recent graduates from Vienna University had established the “Lomography Society”. They had created something akin to a new branch of art: Lomography. The idea is: you take small-sized pictures with a small, simple, cheap automatic camera and glue them on a stand with almost no order. And you get a picture of an instant section of life. They had exhibitions in Paris, Tokyo, New York, Moscow, St Petersburg, and Vienna, Berlin and so on. They decided to be the exclusive buyers of our cameras. They made an application. But the problem was with the price... We refused. But unexpectedly two Austrian members of parliament happened to be fans of Lomography. They had a meeting with Putin who was the Head of the Committee for Foreign Relations and knocked on me during this visit. Then I met Putin at a conference. He asked me: “Why not help the guys? It would be profitable for both: the factory and the city.”...Eventually we found the solution. This was our first meeting” (“We Want More LOMO LC-A’s The Meeting with Vladimir Putin,” n.d.).

These three aforementioned graduates were Matthias Fiegl, Wolfgang Stranzinger, and Sally Bibawy; finally in 1996 happy end takes place and the agreement is reached. At that time, Vice Mayor of St. Petersburg, Vladimir Putin himself was a LOMO LC-A user and fan.

10 golden rules of Lomography has a feature of discourse that creates avant-garde connotations:

1. Take your camera everywhere you go;
2. Use it any time – day and night;
3. Lomography is not an interference in your life, but part of it;
4. Try the shot from the hip;
5. Approach the objects of your Lomographic desire as close as possible;
6. Don't think;
7. Be fast;
8. You don't have to know beforehand what you captured on film;
9. Afterwards either;
10. Don't worry about any rules;

The manifesto of lomography, the constitution of 10 golden rules, slogans, the so-called embassy stores located in various parts of the world, international lomo meetings, memory-strategies reflecting a subjective history approach and photo history intuition, where the consumption of lomo products as product name and product design are structured on occasion for example, Petzvallens or black and white films under the name of Postdam or Berlin, the corporate discourse that identifies non-perfectionist aesthetic with life style designed by the rebel, wanderer or flâneur view, and, on the one hand, advertising politics of lomographic euphoria developed by combining a strong individualism with being a member of the universal lomo society, determination of analog photography as an alternative and experimental environment of independence despite the dominant digital photography industry, analogue -digital dialectics, etc...using all these, has been created a doctrine -simulation and then lomographer became a special type photographer of our era almost a militant. The Lomo camera is a ready-made object that represents the nostalgia of the Soviet Union. Moreover, Lomography imposes vernacular photography characteristics like an original

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photographic art genre feature as a context-changing strategy peculiar to avant-garde understanding.

4. New Romanticism

4.1 Case History of Boris Mikhailov

Boris Mikhailov (1938) made a conceptual photography project titled Case History between 1997 and 1998 and this work is published in 1999 as an album. Case History is a historical testimony that cannot be expressed in the Soviet Union period because there are homeless people as protagonists of social change. The photographer portrays this elegiac environment with a naturalist interpretation. According to Frye (1969): “The elegy is often accompanied by a widespread, resigned, and melancholic sense of the passing of time, change and submission of the old order to the new” (Frye, 1969: 50). But this time the heroes on the stage are not mythological heroes, but the homeless of Kharkov. As the inhabitants of a system ruin that has been rendered transparent by the collapse and destruction, these sick, wounded, dirty, miserable people transform their auto-destruction paradoxically into an auto-determination act throughout a kind of exhibitionistic performance with Mikhailov. After that, Bible by Matthew 5,3-5-7: “Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven... Blessed are the meek, for they will inherit the earth... Blessed are the merciful, for they will be shown mercy...

4.2 Winterreise of Luc Delahaye:

Luc Delahaye (1962) traveled from Moscow to Vladivostok in 1998-1999 winter. During his journey he photographed people who live in difficult environments full of loneliness, sorrow, pain and poverty. Then this work is published with the title “Winterreise” in 2000. The title associates Wilhelm Müller’s Winterreise lyrics (1824) and Franz Schubert’s Winterreise Lieds (1828). He displays the elegiac conditions of innocent people with a great compassion. Delahaye photographed everyone and everything without any extra aesthetical vanity effort. On one side, there is naked reality, on the other side, deep melancholy! This photo-project is not only a historical testimony or moral responsibility project of a photojournalist, it is also sign of an existential partnership between Luc Delahaye as wanderer and the people photographed within his journey. Thence, Russians and Delahaye share each other's fate. Everybody has his/her own Winterreise! In this concept, if we remember some verses from one of Winterreise’s song lyrics titled Frozen Tears:

*O tears, my tears,
are you so tepid then
that you turn to ice
like cold morning dew?*

*Yet you spring from your source
in my breast so burning hot
that you should melt
a whole winter’s ice!*

4.3 City of Shadows of Alexey Titarenko

Alexey Titarenko (1962) photographed Saint Petersburg in 1991 and 1994 for project of “City of Shadows”. This project published as an album in 2001. Titarenko

explains (2005) his project in his website: "The idea of the City of Shadows emerged quite unexpectedly and quite naturally during the collapse [of the Soviet Union] in the fall of 1991" In the winter of 1991-1992... I felt an intense desire to articulate these sufferings and grieving, to visualize them through my photographs, to awaken empathy and love for my native city's inhabitants, people who have been constantly victimized and ruined during the course of the 20th Century...A crowd of people flowing near the subway station ...were like shadows from the underworld, a world visited by Aeneas, Virgil's character... As a rule, Shostakovich's 2nd Cello Concerto and his 13th Symphony accompany the exhibit of this series".

Thus, this project has an intertextual structure. Photos of this series are auratic images that were taken by low shutter speed; then the time belongs to Aion in Titarenko's Saint Petersburg.

4.4 The Last Riot of AES+F:

AES+F is a contemporary art collective and its members are Tatiana Arzamasova, Lev Evzovich, Evgeny Svyatsky and Vladimir Fridkes. This group has signed many magnificent projects including *The Last Riot* (2005-2007). AES+F represents a postmodern mannerism and Baroque and explains (2010) this anachronist style in an interview with Art Radar Asia like this: "We feel that contemporary visual culture is very similar to that of the Baroque: everything is extremely expressive, figurative and very visual and founded on images and at the same time very decadent". Throughout exhibitions, their imagery of any project is displayed in multiplied way as digital photography, video projection-sometimes triptych-, sculptures, porcelain figurines, wunderkammers, textile variations etc. Thus, the same visual elements, the same figures, the same compositions are displayed simultaneously or consecutively using different art methods and materials.

The subject of "The Last Riot" is war. For the Wellington exhibition catalog, Abby Cunnane (2008) indicated two points: "*Last Riot's* battle royal occurs in an impossible, contrived, synthetic universe, which could be that of a computer game"...and this artificiality reflects also Brechtian alienation technique in video version of *The Last Riot* scenes.

In fact hyperrealist perfectionism of AES+F has at the same time an astonishing simplistic function. This illustrated fairy tale book aesthetic is ironical because terror, agony and dystopia became de-dramatic components of a pop/kitsch superficiality. On the other hand, the warriors are very young, very beautiful -sometimes androgen- and very cool- some time narcissistic- people; they have an equivalent beauty and innocence as victims and as perpetrators; they represent also crime and violence in the same way. There is no difference. They look like mythological heroes in a sterile, timeless environment.

They are also static performers of frozen *tableaux vivants* of several martial contents.

On their own website, edited by Craig Beaty, AES+F (2006) explains the work in this way: "The heroes of the new epoch have only one identity that of participants in the last riot... This world celebrates the end of ideology, history and ethics".

Thus we could say that "The Last Riot" is also a fantastic parody of William Golding's dystopian novel *Lord of the Flies* (1954) because of the existence of these very young warriors. As we know, within the novel, in a deserted island where there is no

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civilization, any social system or other people, the survivors/children discover the authoritarian rules and methods based on violence and fear.

AES+F observes by a demiurgic gaze, contemporary global situation full of cultural conflict, system crisis and political misery and creates grandeur projects that become new legends of Dasein for international society.

4.5 Space of the City of Georgy Pervov

Georgy Pervov (1972) develops an aesthetic theory called Total Realism, approximately since the beginning 2000's until today. He expresses his total realist opinions by manifestos and he maintains several photo-projects. In 2004, his album titled 'Space of the City' containing some of these total realist photos was published. He underlines the total realist approach in his Manifesto (March-June 2004) published on his own website: "Nonlinear non-equilibrium system, drastically changed, order arising from chaos. The process of permanent becoming. The personal project of completeness of individual experience developing in time in synergy with reality, comprehending the essence of which, a person at the same time approaches the understanding of his own being ... I declare a clear and simple message: the fundamental system of visual art is realism, the main direction is "total realism", technology is photography, and work is realistic photo-painting...".

We can divide Pervov's total realism into 3 categories:

1. He photographed urbanistic impressions with an alienated vision: very remote mass housing areas, barriers, building fragments from the lower angle,; indifferent people walking, waiting, smoking...on Moscow streets...By the way, his non-perfectionist realist style become a strategy of social criticism. In this context, Pervov's Moscow is a silent, pale, sometimes deserted city.
2. He photographed homeless people with a mad realism. Roland Barthes (2011), in his cult text, *Camera Lucida*, described this mad realism like this: "mad if this realism is absolute and, so to speak, original, obliging the loving and terrified consciousness to return to the very letter of Time: a strictly repulsive movement which reverses the course of the thing, and which I shall call, in conclusion, the photographic ecstasy" (p. 139).
3. He photographed countless details of everyday life, inside, outside, streets, public transports, walls, surfaces...everywhere, everything, everybody...Thus, Pervov's photo- activity becomes a conceptual- in vernacular way-accumulation act. Thence, he researches meaning of meaninglessness within the photo-quantities for all of us namely family of man. Pervov summarizes (2008) the concept of art as a winner of Kandinsky Prize: "The stability and vitality of the system are in need of the dialectic unity of two worlds, conventionally: the figuratively-realistic and imageless-formalistic.

Epilogue

The Russian avant-garde was born into the cultural conjuncture of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Same way Post-Soviet Era paved the way for free artistic creativity. The already classical values of Russian Formalism were once again updated in the futuristic environment of New Media. As a result, the contemporary Russian photography, like phoenix, was born from chaos, developing new romantic approaches. Chaos, as always, means both the end and the beginning.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

A bridge between online and offline mobilization: #Rezist Movement

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Abstract

The Romanian Movement from January-February 2017 initiated on Facebook under the name #Rezist represented the largest protest since the collapse of the communist regime in 1989. The present research is based on the premise that the online participation to political life influences offline participation and that social media, particularly Facebook, has a great power of democratization, in the case of #Rezist Movement. Previous papers submit opposite views on how the internet and social media influences real participation to political and civic life. Some researchers talk about the limited effect of Internet on mobilizing new participants (Boulianne, 2015, Christensen 2011), while other papers highlighted the positive influence of the internet on political participation (Lee, Chen and Huang 2013). Another approach is that social media platforms allow quick access to social or political information, citizens learn about it, which determines citizen participation (Gil de Zúñiga, Jung and Valenzuela, 2012). How the Romanian online environment managed to change the political events in a moment of high social pressure, especially by acting offline? Is, nowadays, social media a force for democratization? As we will see in #Rezist Movement case, social media may have the potential to become political mobilization arenas among groups that are traditionally left out of debate or less visible in political arenas (Segaard, 2015). Based on ten interviews as qualitative research method and on the analysis of two Facebook groups who supported the protests from 2017, the present paper argues that Facebook was not only an online instrument of socialization and interaction between individuals or groups with similar interests, but a catalyst for the mobilization of former silent groups to emerge from the online environment. The research also validates the mobilization thesis of social media, Facebook being particularly effective in promoting and defending a national cause, like the one of #Rezist Movement.

Keywords: *online political participation; digital democracy; #rezist Movement; Facebook; protests.*

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A bridge between online and offline mobilization: #Rezist Movement

Introduction

Nowadays the development of social media has brought its role to attract those who in other circumstances were not involved in the political or civic life, especially the young people. In Romania, the political power of Facebook emerged in the 2014 presidential elections when, Klaus Iohannis, won the Presidency after being supported by numerous Facebook groups who mobilized young people, especially from Diaspora, to vote him. Since then Facebook gained also respect and fear by Romanian politicians, due to its technical and social possibilities (Boicu, 2017: 96). Can social media be a force for democratization? For example, social media's pledge to be a democratization force can be feasible through instruments such as Facebook that allow a real dialogue between politicians and citizens and a stronger sense of political participation? As we will see in #Rezist Movement case, social media, unlike traditional media, may have the potential to become political mobilization arenas among groups that are traditionally left out of debate or less visible in political arenas (Segaard, 2015). In the Romanian case, on the #Rezist Facebook page one might identify characteristics of the people: wonderful, young, energetic people, without any prior political implications, most of them self-employed or in the private sector (mostly big corporations), with higher education and higher expectations (Ștefănel, 2017: 117). There is an increasing number of authors who speak about the new mobilization. For example, Cantijoch (2009) finds that the use of the Internet increases unconventional participation activities (such as protests or boycotts) and that this increase comes from both individuals who are Internet users and those who are not but who have traditionally participated in conventional activities and due to the effect of the Internet, now participate more in unconventional activities. (Borge and Cardenal, 2011). The political and social practices of the Internet invite us to question the possibility to reconfigure the various principles that structure democratic regimes (the principle of representation, of participation, of competition and limitation of powers) and the opportunities for citizens to make their voices heard (Wojcik, 2011: 17).

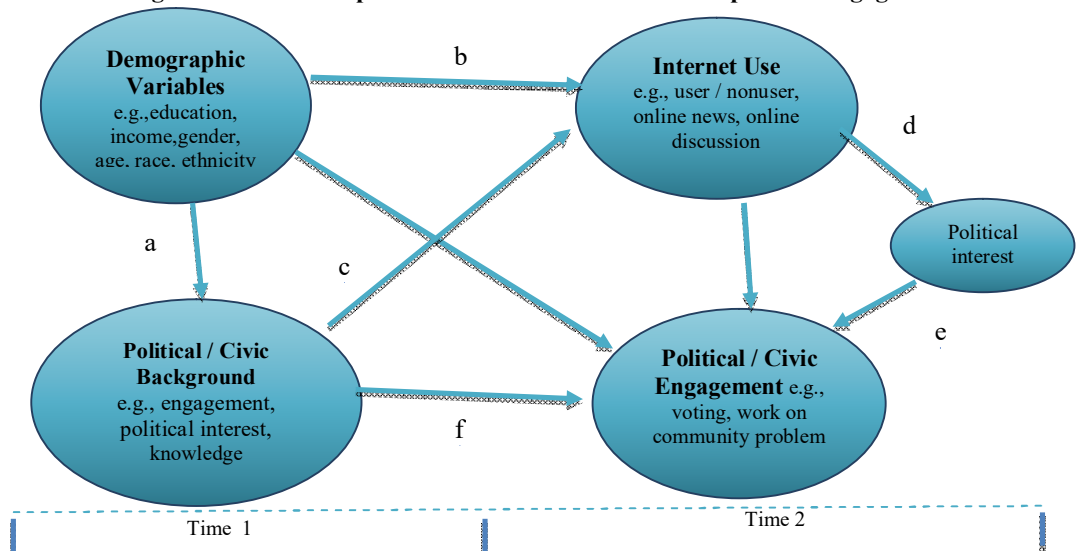
Digital democracy, political participation and social media

One of the most debated issues related to social media impact concerns civic and political participation of citizens, involvement in debating and solving local or national issues. *Digital democracy* involves connecting globally and sharing social experiences through the online environment with social actors in the furthest corners of the world. Thus, communication is direct, encouraged, accessible to a wide audience, exceeding the boundaries of time and space. In the age of new media, direct democracy takes different forms, from social media interactivity, to online expression, to group or interpersonal discussions, to content creation and sharing, and activities that generate civic empowerment. The optimists of social media participation are the enthusiasts of „Facebook revolutions, of social and political revolutions, of the democratization of totalitarian or authoritarian regimes, mending the appearance of online democracy" (Momoc, 2014: 151-155). In the age of internet, media consumers become information producers, social actors make their voice heard and defend their interests, "the emergence of a global village where an increasing number of people create, produce and share information" (Momoc, 2014: 154). The new media determines the political participation of citizens in several forms. Thus, access to public information, knowledge of political actors and political actions or social events is enhanced. Better knowledge does not automatically lead to an increased interest in politics, participation and debate, "access and knowledge may be the premises for a better political socialization of the

electorate" (Beciu, 2011: 286). The essential elements that transform social media into a mechanism of democratization are interactivity, connectivity and multiplicity, plus essential support for undermining political censorship. By linking technological development and the use of social media, Ulmanu (2011) investigates the "collective strength of intelligent mobs" that have the potential to generate social evolution and revolution, having in their pockets instruments with extraordinary communication and computational force, who give birth to new forms of action and interaction, social media being a "network of human networks" (Ulmanu, 2011: 66-69). The impact of social media on electoral campaigns around the world is indisputable. Social media have become indispensable for a modern political communication, with the increase in the number of users. Almost 2.62 billion people used social networks daily in 2018, globally, and the estimate number for 2019 is 2.77 billion (retrieved from <https://www.statista.com/statistics/278414/number-of-worldwide-social-network-users/>). Statista.com presents a prognosis of the evolution of the number of Internet users in Romania in the period 2015-2022. In 2022, the number of active monthly Internet users is estimated to reach 12.04 million people. This would represent an increase in new users of 1.1 million, respectively, from 10.94 million users in 2015 (retrieved from: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/567004/predicted-number-of-internet-users-in-romania/>).

Presidential campaigns of Barack Obama and Donald Tramp, or The Arab Spring have opened interest to study the relationship between social media use and citizens' participation in political life or the community. Comprehensive studies have provided evidence in support of the statement that new media has changed the way in which political campaigns are taking place and that they have an impact on users, but it is difficult to anticipate the uniformity of these effects, given different groups and social contexts. Overall, studies has shown a beneficial relationship between social media use and participation. An initial conclusion was that the use of the Internet had a positive, but minimal, effect on political commitment. (Boulianne, 2009: 205). Boulianne also outlined the scheme of positive theoretical effects the internet can have on political engagement.

Figure 1 Theoretical positive effects of Internet use and political engagement



Source: Boulianne, 2009: 194

A bridge between online and offline mobilization: #Rezist Movement

Based on the analysis of several studies considered statistically significant, it is suggested that the use of digital media has a limited effect on political participation. In the case of studies on young people, there is an increased civic engagement compared to studies using users of all ages (Boulianne, 2015: 524-538). To explain how political participation is influenced by social media use, there are the following detailed approaches by Boulianne (2015). First, there is a weak link approach, users are invited to participate in community life and are aware of the opportunities offered by digital networks (Gil de Zúñiga, Jung and Valenzuela, 2012: 319-336), social media being a public space originally used for collecting news and information about family, friends, or organizations (Boulianne, 2015: 524-538).

Another approach is that the information that users have learned from others can be used in new contexts and the information becomes in this way influential (Bode, 2012: 355-357). This study considers that Facebook, providing personalized information to users, creates community commitment that translates into participatory political behaviors and generates social capital. Social media platforms allow quick access to social or political information, citizens learn about it, which determines citizen participation (Gil de Zúñiga, Jung and Valenzuela, 2012).

Another study strengthens the idea of learning about social and political issues using social media, an activity that facilitates participation. (Loader, Vromen and Xenos, 2014: 143-150). Accidental exposure to news can influence users (Bode, 2012, Xenos, Vromen & Loader, 2014) and thus develops citizens' knowledge of social or political issues that subsequently generate civic and political participation.

Dimitrova and Bystrom (2017: 386-406) studies the relationship between internet use and political engagement demonstrating that participation is positively affected by the active use of social media, and passive use has a negative effect. The social media effects depend on several factors, including the type of channel examined (Twitter, Instagram, Facebook), the specific characteristics of the public (age, political interest, psychological factors), user motivations (relationship maintenance, campaign involvement) the use of social media (for informational or relational purposes) or context of the campaign as a whole (Dimitrova, Matthes, 2018: 337-342).

Social media is characterized by Larry Diamond as "liberation technology" that allow citizens "to report news, expose wrongdoing, express opinions, mobilize protest, monitor elections, scrutinize government, deepen participation, and expand the horizons of freedom". The author includes in the liberation technology any form of communication and information that extends political, social and economic freedom and concludes that "not just technology but political organization and strategy and deep-rooted normative, social, and economic forces will determine who "wins" the race" (Diamond, 2010: 69-83). Social media is an accelerator of events, but simple network communications cannot overturn governments, it requires online activity and participation (Drew, 2013).

The political protest is an opposition action to government policy, to some events or situations. Tajfel characterizes the collective protest based on some defining aspects: the protest involves actions by a group of individuals to solve a common problem, the protesters identify themselves as members of the group and their actions are not singular, they establish relations with other social groups pursuing the same purpose (Tajfel, 1981).

Controversies related to online political participation

Researchers analyze the role of the Internet as a monitoring, dissemination and mobilization tool that is increasingly important in the functioning of democracy, with controversy between **mobilization**, **normalization** and **substitution** paradigms.

The "**standardization or normalization**" thesis asserts that the internet allows the mobilization of people who are offline. People sort the information according to preexisting interest and tend to frequent online areas where they can chat with users who share the same opinion as they do. Thus, discussions in the online environment reinforce their previous, initial beliefs (Wojcik, 2011: 1). Sunstein argues that the Internet will not widen users' horizons in antithesis with many advantages, limited effect could arise due to the use of filtering software and the selection of information that is consistent with the user's predispositions and beliefs. Forming groups of people with the same visions will result in a polarization of the group (Sunstein, 2001, apud. Ulen, 2001). This polarization of opinions leads to "balkanization" of political discourse (Flichz, 2008: 159-185).

The authors Hirzalla, van Zoonen and de Ridder argue that the mobilization thesis tends to be validated by online manifestations in specific cases, while the normalization thesis is based on general situations of using the internet. To deepen the nature of internet use in political situations, the authors investigate the use of online voting on Dutch parliamentary elections in 2006, concluding that in the Dutch situation, the mobilization thesis is valid among young people and the normalization thesis is valid among older people (Hirzalla, van Zoonen and de Ridder, 2011).

The "**mobilization**" thesis argues that the internet includes new types of participants, being useful due to the low costs of usage and participation. Allows people with common interests to come into contact without being restricted to the individual social circle. Using the internet makes it possible for citizens to participate but does not guarantee effectiveness. The Internet would facilitate mobilization and be more effective in promoting common, global causes.

The positive influence of the internet on political participation was also highlighted by Lee et alii, who focused on attracting traditional participants to problem solving through e-democracy or e-petition. The study analyzed the citizens' experience and desire to participate in the referendum petition using the e-petition. The results showed the tendency to use petition on paper by older, less educated people and more strongly identified with a certain party. In addition, Internet use increases political participation, participation in e-petitions (Lee et alii, 2013). In the same sense, the use of the Internet, this participatory device, facilitates mobilization and is particularly effective in promoting and defending local or global causes, anti-war movements (Wojcik, 2011: 2).

Another thesis deals with the "social dynamics" generated by internet use. The study examines the forums proposed by the French municipalities to generate discussions. The exchanges on these forums, which seem to be conflicting places, have a controversial character, are generated more by an emotional reaction rather than by rational reaction, but are concerning the general interest. The influence of the forum in the local public space is indirectly manifested through this new media tool in the context of collective actions. Online activists have complex opportunities to engage in discussions or actions and invest less in classical political activities (meetings, leaflets). On the Internet they can express their ideological choices without restriction, they can become friends with a favorite candidate, can distribute content (Wojcik, 2005).

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The theory of substitution concludes that new media develops slow or soft activism, known as "slacktivism" or "clicktivism," referring to people who prefer their political activity to take place only in the on-line environment (e-petitions, groups in social media) avoiding the risks of offline activism (travel, public exposure, sometimes repression). Morozov talks about the democratizing power of the internet in relation to the political regime of the countries, making a parallel between western obsession in promoting democracy by digital means and the role of the Internet in totalitarian, authoritarian regimes (Morozov, 2011: 197-202).

The term "activism" refers generally to the practices of individuals who challenge the status quo to provoke social, political or economic changes. Harlow, S. and Guo, L, in the study on the reform of American immigration and how digital communications technologies are increasingly used to trigger protests has applied the qualitative method of focus groups. Enriching the criticism of Morozov's "slacktivism," focus group participants rhetorically asked, "*if a click on a link is enough to do activism, would anyone sacrifice some time and effort to join a protest or march?*" Thus, "slacktivism," or "clicktivism," which simply involves a mouse click on the computer, is likely to dilute "real" activism, and it takes time for Facebook's activists to turn into real activists, outside the digital space (Harlow and Guo, 2014: 463-478).

Methodological design

Case Study – Romanian #Rezist Movement

#Rezist Movement was born during the night of 31st of January 2017 when the Romanian Government secretly approved an ordinance modifying The Penal Code and The Penal Procedure Code in order to pardon certain committed crimes, like the abuse of power and the government corruption (Moga, 2017) In that evening, a spontaneous protest took place in Bucharest that gathered 25.000 people mobilized via Facebook. Protests continued in the next days in Bucharest and other cities in the country, the raising numbers of people reaching the peak on 5th of February when over 500.000 protesters registered across the country. During this time, the mobilization came from Facebook through people who shared each other information with the hashtag #Rezist, and from Facebook organized groups like *Coruptiaucide*, and days after the beginning, through the #Rezist group and #Rezistenta group. The government withdrew the contested ordinance and the Ministry of Justice resigned (Boicu, 2017).

The objective of this study was to prove that the online participation to political and civic life influences offline participation in the particular case of #Rezist Movement.

Therefore, the research questions of the present paper are, as follows:

- Q1.** Did people mobilized each other to participate at protests through Facebook?
- Q2.** Is Facebook an instrument of democratization?

To respond to these research questions, the author of this study used the interview as a qualitative research method to find out about the use of social media, especially Facebook, in connection to the protests from the mentioned period. Thus, 10 members of #Rezist and #Rezistenta groups, active members on Facebook, and participants at the protests from the winter of 2017 were interviewed. The interviewees were randomly selected following answers to the announcement made to the administrators of the two groups via Facebook Messenger. Using the research interview,

we obtain, through questions and answers, "verbal information from individuals and human groups to verify hypotheses or to describe scientifically the sociomedical phenomena". It has a first exploratory purpose that leads to the formulation of valid hypotheses and it is an essential tool for collecting "information to test hypotheses" (Chelcea, 2001: 122-125).

The interviewed used both closed questions (*Have you participated in the Victory Square protests?*) and open questions (*What were the results you expected from the #Rezist Protests?*), which provided the interviewees the freedom to express their views related to the researched events, adding also direct questions (*What made you to get out of the online environment in the street?*), by which they could describe their feelings and motives. The interview also covered clarification questions (*How did you learn about the anti-corruption protests in Victory Square generated by The Ministry of Justice announcement?*) and the amplification questions to develop the previous answer (*Did you mobilize other friends to protest? If yes, how did you do this via Facebook?*). This investigative approach can be labeled as "in-depth" or "comprehensive" (Krahn& Putnam, 2005, apud Popa, 2016: 18), encouraging interviewees to describe their own states and experiences. (Clinchy, 2003, apud Popa, 2016: 18).

The 10 respondents were selected after they agreed to offer interviews following the announcement about the research sent to the administrators of the two mentioned Facebook groups. The 10 respondents are aged between 27 and 52, 6 women and 4 men, with the following socio-demographic characteristics:

Table 1: Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

Nr	Name Initials	Age	Sex	Level of education	Profession
1	O.B.	36	Male	higher education	Journalist
2	C.A.	42	Female	higher education	Public relations specialist
3	R.O.	32	Female	higher education	Journalist
4	L. C.-S.	30	Female	higher education	Economist
5	N.F.	29	Male	higher education	IT specialist
6	C.C.	36	Female	higher education	Public relations specialist
7	M.I.	27	Female	higher education	Marketing specialist
8	B.S.	27	Male	higher education	Economist
9.	F.A.	52	Female	higher education	Writer
10.	D.B.	33	Male	higher education	Cadastre specialist

Source: Author's own compilation

Results

Regarding the most used social media channels, eight of the ten respondents named Facebook as their favorite social media channel, followed by Instagram, Pinterest, YouTube, LinkedIn, Whatsapp and Reddit. One respondent also mentioned the use of Odnoklassniki - a popular socialization channel in Russia and the former Soviet countries. As to why they prefer Facebook as a social platform, the respondents listed as the main reason the fact that it is the most popular social network in Romania, but also the fact that most of their friends use it and that it contains information in their area of interest. As an

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element of background, in 2016, the number of Facebook users in Romania was 9.6 million people, which represented 44.4% of the population, respectively 85.43% of the Internet users. (retrieved from: Facebrands.ro) In terms of time spent on Facebook daily, the average response was one hour and thirty minutes, and regarding the purpose of using the social media channel, 4 respondents out of 10 said they were using it to get information, 2 for job-related activities, 2 for the entertainment function and 2 to socialize with other people.

To complete the general information on how respondents use social media, the questionnaire also included the question "What types of information do you collect through Facebook?". Respondents placed first the news from Romanian society, followed by information about real and virtual friends, travel information or information about urban events.

Regarding how the respondents learned about Government's decision on the evening of January 31st, they named Facebook as the source of information, friends who also found out on Facebook, messages coming through Whatsapp or television and Facebook simultaneously. The fact that people were coming to Victory Square to protest was a piece of information that four of the ten respondents found on TV and Facebook simultaneously, four found out on Facebook and two found out from friends via messages on Facebook Messenger and Whatsapp.

Concerning effective participation in the protests, nine of the respondents were present in Victory Square the first evening and only one interviewee preferred to stay in the online environment both on the first night of protests and in the coming days. If we talk about the frequency of protest participation, the nine active offline interviewees said they had participated in all the protests by February 5th inclusive (the day with the largest number of protestors gathered in Victory Square) and later on from time to time, depending on how they mobilized each other with their friends.

Responding at the question "What caused you to leave the online environment in the street?" 70% of the interviewed people were determined by the government's decision, the way and context in which it was communicated, 40% were also determined by appeals from Facebook friends and described the motivation for participation as follows: "*The fact that I disagree with any legislative measure that would relax the regime of sanctioning corruption acts or acts assimilated to corruption.*"; "*The government's decision, but especially the manner and context in which it was made public - on the night of January 31st;*"; "*The fact that the government communicated the decision during the night - appeals on Facebook*" or feelings, psychological factors "*Anger, frustration and the need to do something*", but also the rapidity of the publication of the act in the Official Monitor - a respondent wonders rhetorically "*Does the procedure change overnight?*".

During the protests, most respondents said there was no need to look for information about the situation because stories about the protests quickly followed in their Facebook news feed, and the others either searched for information through the #rezist hashtag, in Facebook groups dedicated to the move, either searched for news on Facebook accounts of TV channels. In addition, five of ten interviewed people said they persuaded and mobilized other friends to join the protests, while the other five said there was no need for mobilization as their friends were already determined to come to Victory Square or they were already there.

Among the ways in which respondents mobilized their friends to protest, the study highlighted discussions on Facebook Messenger, inviting friends to be part of the

special social media groups created for the *Rezist* Movement and posting messages on their wall every time they were present in Victory Square to motivate others. At the question "What were the results you expected from #Rezist Protests?", 50% of the respondents said they wanted to immediately repeal Ordinance 13, 25% wanted the fall of the government and the decline of the Social Democratic Party and 25% wanted to mobilize the youth in order to have beneficial results in the next elections.

At the end of the interviews, the ten supporters of the *Rezist* Movement were asked to argue whether, in the context of the protest movement, Facebook can be considered a tool of democratization. 9 of 10 respondents answered yes to the question, most of the reasons being common to all participants in the study. So Facebook „can be an instrument of democratization in the sense of building and consolidating democracy, especially through the freedom of expression it allows and the ability to distribute information within extremely large communities of users." In the case of the protests from Romania, the democratizing force materialized in the fact that "the mass of protesters mobilized through Facebook (...) by sending extremely fast information and details about the protest (place, reason, time, etc.)". The idea of the rapidity of the transmission of information is complemented by another respondent by the fact that the citizens of Bucharest "surprised the relevant aspects in video and photos, made live broadcasts to directly transmit the effervescence of the protesters, succeeding to propagate in real time the information, both at national level and beyond the borders." Also, respondents point out that during the protests in the winter of 2017 "through Facebook we mobilized with food, accommodation, donations, sanitation actions of protest sites, we created unique moments like creating the Romanian flag" Another respondent completes the arguments with the fact that there is no censorship within Facebook. "It helps to spread information quickly, without censorship, (so the protests have attracted the attention of the international press); you can check from a number of sources if a rumor is a fake news reading several opinions, you start asking questions and even taking attitude."

Two of the respondents who have argued for Facebook's democratizing force have also found arguments for how this social media channel can be used anti-democratic: "especially because of the easiness with which, using AI technology, bots and trolls, infuses large masses of people, shapes opinions, imposes major impact perceptions, dominant on public opinion. Social networks are already instruments of political campaigns, but also instruments of fighting in the hybrid war." Also, in another respondent's opinion, Facebook can lead to "manipulation, misinformation or hate propaganda. The difference is the way each individual uses it. "" The only respondent who has not seen a democratization tool in Facebook said that people can only talk and set protest days and hours through Facebook, "no decisions can be made, nothing can be changed just because is being discussed on Facebook."

Conclusions

Using the qualitative method of the interview, this research concludes that social media, in general, and Facebook, in particular, have been sources of information and mobilization, being decisive in how citizens have taken individual decisions regarding their participation to protests.

By using social media during protests, this paper confirms the theory of learning about social and political issues (Loader et alii, 2014, Gil de Zúñiga, Jung and Valenzuela, 2012). People learned about protests through interpersonal communication

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using Facebook, information became influential (Bode, 2012) and increased the chances for respondents to participate in protests from the first day - *"I was part of several groups created on Facebook, I had access to real-time information."*

Of those interviewed, 80% produced and disseminated written or video information during protests, especially through Facebook, and 30% were dissatisfied with *"blocking the internet. The only information point in the Square, for a short period of time, were reporters pro-demonstration"*. Thus, not only technology, but also political organization and strategy determines who wins the race. (Diamond, 2010)

Respondents identified themselves with #Rezist Movement and established relationships with other groups that pursued the same goal, were convinced of the legitimacy of the action, they felt the democratic future threatened and considered that free justice is in real danger, believed in collective and political effectiveness, these being the determinants of protest actions (Tajfel, 1981, Cojocaru, 2016). They came out to protest from *"the desire to be with all those who went out into the street trying to change something"*, determined by *"the general emulation and the main opposition to the anti-European actions of the government"*, believing in the efficiency of the action *"I thought that it is good to come out to protest, that it is the only chance to change something, those laws of justice not to be approve."*

The motivation for the protest was the desire to democratize and change the society, and Facebook, through its interactivity, connectivity and multiplicity proved to be an instrument of "online democracy", essential in undermining political censorship and linking protests to the democratic world. Links or exhortations have become very important. (Beciu, 2011, Momoc, 2014, Săvulescu, Vițelar, 2012, Ulmanu, 2011) *"On the evening of the adoption of Ordinance 13/2017, I was in Brussels. I showed my indignation in several Facebook posts, then I went to the street the following evening, when a protest was held in Brussels, in front of the headquarters of the Permanent Representation of Romania to the European Union". (O.B., journalist)*

The thesis of a weak link between the use of social media and political commitment, of a positive but minimal effect, is invalidated (Bouliane, 2015) by the present research. It is validated the approach that the participation is positively affected by the active use of social media, the characteristics and motivations of the participants, age, political interest, psychological factors (Dimitrova, Matthes, 2018). Thus, most respondents are young, have a high level of education, all are social media users, spending an average of 1.5 hours a day on social media platforms. The thesis of standardization or normalization is partly validated by the fact that online discussions reinforced previous, initial beliefs and mobilized those who were already active online (Wojcik, 2011), led to the formation of groups of people with the same visions.

The present empirical research validates the thesis of mobilization because, through social media, people with common interests have come into contact, without being limited to a certain social circle of individuals. Social media facilitated the mobilization and it is particularly effective in promoting and defending national causes, social dynamics (Wojcik, 2005, 2011, Lee, et alii, 2013). Social media users were more likely to be contacted by friends, groups and organizations, and they were suggested to participate at protests (Boulianne 2017), Facebook becoming a „network of human networks” (Ulmanu, 2011): *"I posted every time I went to the Square and I urged my virtual friends to join us. And I know some people have listened to me."* (interviewee). Facebook mobilization is not only about protesting, but also about other actions during this time, as another respondent said: *"through Facebook we mobilized*

with food, accommodation, donations, sanitation actions of protest sites, we created unique moments like creating the Romanian flag".

Also, the research answers at the question: Is Facebook a force of democratization? The interviews showed other characteristics of Facebook as a tool of democratization: the freedom of expression, the ability to distribute information within extremely large communities, the possibility to send information extremely fast and in real time, a space without censorship. Of course, this thesis should not ignore the possibility that Facebook may be used for undemocratic purposes, as some of the respondents said.

Romanian social media in January-February 2017, in particular Facebook, was not only an online instrument of socialization and interaction between individuals or groups with similar interests but a catalyst for the mobilization of former silent groups to emerge from the online environment and to argue their beliefs in the offline environment. #Rezist Movement pointed out the democratizing force of social media by bringing in offline environment activists who previously expressed their opinions mainly on the internet, who were not interested in the real political arena.

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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.

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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
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- Social changes, political history and collective memory
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- Revolution and political history;
- Political culture and citizen participation
- Law, legal studies and justice reform;
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- Constitution(s), legality & political reforms;
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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/>

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More information, photos and other details about the previous editions of the Conference and CEPOS Workshops, Internships, and other official events organized in 2012-2019 are available on:

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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>).

CEPOS CONFERENCE 2020 FEES AND REGISTRATION DESK

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

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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)
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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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[title/index.php?katalog=STABI_BERLIN&url=http%3A%2F%2Fstabikat.de%2FDB%3D1%2FCHARSET%3DISO-8859-](http://kvk.bibliothek.kit.edu/view-title/index.php?katalog=STABI_BERLIN&url=http%3A%2F%2Fstabikat.de%2FDB%3D1%2FCHARSET%3DISO-8859-1%2FIMPLAND%3DY%2FLNG%3DDU%2FSRT%3DYOP%2FTTL%3D1%2FSID%3D8dda05f3-1%2FSET%3D1%2FSHW%3FFRST%3D1&signature=eBtSKEx2BuW-HASpUsCT39FB3vQpIm6cGAajCH-kz44&showCoverImg=1)

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[title/index.php?katalog=VERBUND_BELGIEN&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.unicat.be%2FuniCat%3Ffunc%3Dsearch%26query%3Dsysid%3A7330250&signature=Dxe-vFWjMO1W4HpEAWW_ERyKR4oiGWXLGFinWk8fNU&showCoverImg=1](http://kvk.bibliothek.kit.edu/view-title/index.php?katalog=VERBUND_BELGIEN&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.unicat.be%2FuniCat%3Ffunc%3Dsearch%26query%3Dsysid%3A7330250&signature=Dxe-vFWjMO1W4HpEAWW_ERyKR4oiGWXLGFinWk8fNU&showCoverImg=1)

The National Library of Israel

http://merhav.nli.org.il/primo-explore/fulldisplay?vid=ULI&docid=NNL-Journals003477656&context=L&lang=en_US

Verbundkatalog GBV

[http://kvk.bibliothek.kit.edu/view-](http://kvk.bibliothek.kit.edu/view-title/index.php?katalog=GBV&url=http%3A%2F%2Fgso.gbv.de%2FDB%3D2.1%2FCHARSET%3DUTF-8%2FIMPLAND%3DY%2FLNG%3DDU%2FSRT%3DYOP%2FTTL%3D1%2FCOOKIE%3DD2.1%2CE900d94f2-d%2CIO%2CB9000%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2CSY%2CA%2CH6-11%2C%2C16-17%2C%2C21%2C%2C30%2C%2C50%2C%2C60-61%2C%2C73-75%2C%2C77%2C%2C88-90%2CNKVK%2BWEBZUGANG%2CR129.13.130.211%2CFN%2FSET%3D1%2FPPNSET%3FPPN%3D590280090&signature=Omwa_NLtwvdaOmmyeo7SUOCEYuDRGtoZqGXIK-vTY1o&showCoverImg=1)

[title/index.php?katalog=GBV&url=http%3A%2F%2Fgso.gbv.de%2FDB%3D2.1%2FCHARSET%3DUTF-](http://kvk.bibliothek.kit.edu/view-title/index.php?katalog=GBV&url=http%3A%2F%2Fgso.gbv.de%2FDB%3D2.1%2FCHARSET%3DUTF-8%2FIMPLAND%3DY%2FLNG%3DDU%2FSRT%3DYOP%2FTTL%3D1%2FCOOKIE%3DD2.1%2CE900d94f2-d%2CIO%2CB9000%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2CSY%2CA%2CH6-11%2C%2C16-17%2C%2C21%2C%2C30%2C%2C50%2C%2C60-61%2C%2C73-75%2C%2C77%2C%2C88-90%2CNKVK%2BWEBZUGANG%2CR129.13.130.211%2CFN%2FSET%3D1%2FPPNSET%3FPPN%3D590280090&signature=Omwa_NLtwvdaOmmyeo7SUOCEYuDRGtoZqGXIK-vTY1o&showCoverImg=1)

[8%2FIMPLAND%3DY%2FLNG%3DDU%2FSRT%3DYOP%2FTTL%3D1%2FCOOKIE%3DD2.1%2CE900d94f2-](http://kvk.bibliothek.kit.edu/view-title/index.php?katalog=GBV&url=http%3A%2F%2Fgso.gbv.de%2FDB%3D2.1%2FCHARSET%3DUTF-8%2FIMPLAND%3DY%2FLNG%3DDU%2FSRT%3DYOP%2FTTL%3D1%2FCOOKIE%3DD2.1%2CE900d94f2-d%2CIO%2CB9000%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2CSY%2CA%2CH6-11%2C%2C16-17%2C%2C21%2C%2C30%2C%2C50%2C%2C60-61%2C%2C73-75%2C%2C77%2C%2C88-90%2CNKVK%2BWEBZUGANG%2CR129.13.130.211%2CFN%2FSET%3D1%2FPPNSET%3FPPN%3D590280090&signature=Omwa_NLtwvdaOmmyeo7SUOCEYuDRGtoZqGXIK-vTY1o&showCoverImg=1)

[d%2CIO%2CB9000%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2CSY%2CA%2CH6-11%2C%2C16-](http://kvk.bibliothek.kit.edu/view-title/index.php?katalog=GBV&url=http%3A%2F%2Fgso.gbv.de%2FDB%3D2.1%2FCHARSET%3DUTF-8%2FIMPLAND%3DY%2FLNG%3DDU%2FSRT%3DYOP%2FTTL%3D1%2FCOOKIE%3DD2.1%2CE900d94f2-d%2CIO%2CB9000%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2CSY%2CA%2CH6-11%2C%2C16-17%2C%2C21%2C%2C30%2C%2C50%2C%2C60-61%2C%2C73-75%2C%2C77%2C%2C88-90%2CNKVK%2BWEBZUGANG%2CR129.13.130.211%2CFN%2FSET%3D1%2FPPNSET%3FPPN%3D590280090&signature=Omwa_NLtwvdaOmmyeo7SUOCEYuDRGtoZqGXIK-vTY1o&showCoverImg=1)

[17%2C%2C21%2C%2C30%2C%2C50%2C%2C60-61%2C%2C73-](http://kvk.bibliothek.kit.edu/view-title/index.php?katalog=GBV&url=http%3A%2F%2Fgso.gbv.de%2FDB%3D2.1%2FCHARSET%3DUTF-8%2FIMPLAND%3DY%2FLNG%3DDU%2FSRT%3DYOP%2FTTL%3D1%2FCOOKIE%3DD2.1%2CE900d94f2-d%2CIO%2CB9000%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2CSY%2CA%2CH6-11%2C%2C16-17%2C%2C21%2C%2C30%2C%2C50%2C%2C60-61%2C%2C73-75%2C%2C77%2C%2C88-90%2CNKVK%2BWEBZUGANG%2CR129.13.130.211%2CFN%2FSET%3D1%2FPPNSET%3FPPN%3D590280090&signature=Omwa_NLtwvdaOmmyeo7SUOCEYuDRGtoZqGXIK-vTY1o&showCoverImg=1)

[75%2C%2C77%2C%2C88-](http://kvk.bibliothek.kit.edu/view-title/index.php?katalog=GBV&url=http%3A%2F%2Fgso.gbv.de%2FDB%3D2.1%2FCHARSET%3DUTF-8%2FIMPLAND%3DY%2FLNG%3DDU%2FSRT%3DYOP%2FTTL%3D1%2FCOOKIE%3DD2.1%2CE900d94f2-d%2CIO%2CB9000%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2CSY%2CA%2CH6-11%2C%2C16-17%2C%2C21%2C%2C30%2C%2C50%2C%2C60-61%2C%2C73-75%2C%2C77%2C%2C88-90%2CNKVK%2BWEBZUGANG%2CR129.13.130.211%2CFN%2FSET%3D1%2FPPNSET%3FPPN%3D590280090&signature=Omwa_NLtwvdaOmmyeo7SUOCEYuDRGtoZqGXIK-vTY1o&showCoverImg=1)

[90%2CNKVK%2BWEBZUGANG%2CR129.13.130.211%2CFN%2FSET%3D1%2FPPNSET%3FPPN%3D590280090&signature=Omwa_NLtwvdaOmmyeo7SUOCEYuDRGtoZqGXIK-vTY1o&showCoverImg=1](http://kvk.bibliothek.kit.edu/view-title/index.php?katalog=GBV&url=http%3A%2F%2Fgso.gbv.de%2FDB%3D2.1%2FCHARSET%3DUTF-8%2FIMPLAND%3DY%2FLNG%3DDU%2FSRT%3DYOP%2FTTL%3D1%2FCOOKIE%3DD2.1%2CE900d94f2-d%2CIO%2CB9000%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2B%2CSY%2CA%2CH6-11%2C%2C16-17%2C%2C21%2C%2C30%2C%2C50%2C%2C60-61%2C%2C73-75%2C%2C77%2C%2C88-90%2CNKVK%2BWEBZUGANG%2CR129.13.130.211%2CFN%2FSET%3D1%2FPPNSET%3FPPN%3D590280090&signature=Omwa_NLtwvdaOmmyeo7SUOCEYuDRGtoZqGXIK-vTY1o&showCoverImg=1)

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[explore/fulldisplay?vid=BIBNET&docid=SFX_LOCAL100000000726583&context=L](https://a-z.lu/primo-explore/fulldisplay?vid=BIBNET&docid=SFX_LOCAL100000000726583&context=L)

National Library of Sweden

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[2004&url_ctx_fmt=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&ctx_enc=info:ofi/enc:UTF-8&ctx_ver=Z39.88-](http://sfx.lib.byu.edu/sfxlcl3?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.holdings=yes&svc.fulltext=yes](http://sfx.lib.byu.edu/sfxlcl3?url_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.holdings=yes&svc.fulltext=yes)

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[https://beluga.sub.uni-](https://beluga.sub.uni-hamburg.de/vufind/Search/Results?submit=Suchen&library=GBV_ILN_22&lookfor=1584-224x)

[hamburg.de/vufind/Search/Results?submit=Suchen&library=GBV_ILN_22&lookfor=1584-224x](https://beluga.sub.uni-hamburg.de/vufind/Search/Results?submit=Suchen&library=GBV_ILN_22&lookfor=1584-224x)

Edith Cowan Australia

<https://ecu.on.worldcat.org/search?databaseList=&queryString=1584-224X>

University College Cork, Ireland

[https://ucc.summon.serialssolutions.com/?q=1584-](https://ucc.summon.serialssolutions.com/?q=1584-224X#!/search?ho=t&jt=Revista%20de%20Stiinte%20Politice&l=en-UK&q=)

[224X#!/search?ho=t&jt=Revista%20de%20Stiinte%20Politice&l=en-UK&q=](https://ucc.summon.serialssolutions.com/?q=1584-224X#!/search?ho=t&jt=Revista%20de%20Stiinte%20Politice&l=en-UK&q=)

York University Library, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

<https://www.library.yorku.ca/find/Record/muler82857>

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[224X&searchscope=1&SORT=D&extended=0&SUBMIT=Search&searchlimits=&searchorigarg=i1583-9583](http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/search~S1/?searchtype=i&searcharg=1584-224X&searchscope=1&SORT=D&extended=0&SUBMIT=Search&searchlimits=&searchorigarg=i1583-9583)

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[hamburg.de/ezb/detail.phtml?bibid=GIGA&colors=7&lang=en&flavour=classic&jour_id=111736](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>

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[westernsem.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma99100122541104770&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=alma99100122541104770&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

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Vanderbilt Library

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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)

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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)

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The University of Hong Kong Libraries

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[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)

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EKP Publications

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

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Impact Factor Poland

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

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Universität Passau

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

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[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>

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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>

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

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University of California Library Catalog

<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>

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

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Science Research Association-
<http://www.scirea.org/conferenceinfo?conferenceId=35290>
Science Social Community-<https://www.science-community.org/ru/node/174892>

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-

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http://www.gconference.net/eng/conference_view.html?no=47485&catalog=1&ata=018&co_kind=&co_type=&pageno=1&conf_cata=01
CONFERENCE BIOXBIO-<http://conference.bioxbio.com/location/romania>
10 TIMES-<http://10times.com/romania>
CONFERENCE 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_IISES/
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 Politicas y

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Sociologia, futuro Consejo Nacional de Colegios Profesionales, Madrid,
<http://colpolsocmadrid.org/agenda/>.



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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.

Olimid, A. P. (2009b). *Politica românească după 1989*, Craiova: Aius Publishing.

For chapters in edited books

Goodin, R. E. (2011). The State of the Discipline, the Discipline of the State. In Goodin, R. E. (editor), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 19-39.

For journal Articles

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.

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

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