

REVISTA DE COMUNICARE ȘI MARKETING
COMMUNICATION AND MARKETING JOURNAL

Anul IV, nr. 6, martie 2013

4th Year, No 6, March 2013

I.S.S.N. 2069 - 0304

Cuprins

Contents

SECTION I

THE FUTURE OF MASS MEDIA INDUSTRY

Media adaptation to technology - challenges and trends..... 5
Cristian MOROZAN

Television and the social effects on adolescents..... 17
Nicoleta CIACU, Alina BRATU

SECTION II

TRADITIONAL MASS MEDIA: EVOLUTION

**Ecouri ale rolului și activității ASTRA
surprinsе în caricaturile revistei satirice *Gura Satului*.....31**
Claudia BUCURA

**The transition from analogue to digital television in Europe.
Challenges and difficulties for Romania.....45**
Rodica Melinda ȘUȚU

SECTION III

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION IN MEDIA AGE

Political discourse and ideology promoting.....61
Cristina ARITON-GELAN

**The effects of the external policy of the great powers
on the Romanian Principalities in 1829-1862.....79**
Gabriel MICU

**The Reform of the Russian Federation Navy Force
to regain political influence in the world 87**
Marian ZIDARU, Ștefan GEORGESCU



U.A.S.

Revista de Comunicare și Marketing, anul IV, numărul 6, martie 2013

I.S.S.N. 2069-0304

Pag. 5-16

Abstract

The economic and social development of countries and groups of countries is making more and more media institutions to complement and enhance the traditional forms of presentation through the use of electronic systems which have the advantage of being more flexible, can have parts reserved for internal users or opened to the public, and updating is very easy. Thus, it becomes possible for the current media to care about a stronger presence on the Internet, social media and mobile networks, as long as cyberspace becomes increasingly used for business, information and entertainment. This trend is encouraged by worldwide media transformation which alienates a lot of the traditional readers.

Keywords: *information, mass-media, technology, mobile, social media, virtual environment, publisher.*

***MEDIA ADAPTATION
TO TECHNOLOGY
- CHALLENGES AND
TRENDS***

Cristian MOROZAN

“Constantin Brâncoveanu” University
of Pitești,

Faculty of Administrative and
Communication Sciences Brăila

1. Introduction

Given the existing restrictions and the attempt to minimize their influence, the new technologies have brought new forms of information distribution. In this context, the editors are trying various sales strategies to approach the advertising agencies. Thus, they are encouraged to maximize the sale of advertising models in the digital space on the assumption that its development will be accelerated. Moreover, publishers are trying to connect the traditional departments with the online ones in order to reach new agreements with the agencies, to sell space for online as well as printed publications, and to be ahead of television, which has not been massively present on the web yet. As we can already notice, the digital editions of newspapers benefit from the increase of access rate and profits all over the world.

In turn, advertisers have difficulties in coordinating and sharing the budget among many marketing departments - for messages on mobile phones, online and print publications, and television – and, likewise, in finding experts capable of doing comprehensive studies on the need of including digital instruments in the organizational communication.

The average media supported by users as producers of audio, video or text content will have an increasingly important role while the Internet provides platforms that will lie at the foundation of the transformation of business models in the field. The new Internet culture is a content creation of the consumer, consisting of items such as tens of millions of current blog sites or photos available on Flickr.com. Thus, the audience (an estimation of over one billion users) creates a new kind of media - the social one.

2. The Context of Media Involvement in the Virtual Environment

While traditional media is based on “broadcasting”, the new media are oriented to “podcasting”, a term conceived to refer to the transmission of information via RSS (Really Simple Syndication) – a special format designed for the distribution of up-to-the-minute news or broadcasts. Thus, users can choose the web sites they want to watch, and by means of a small program (“aggregator”) they can receive red alerts whenever something new is being published. Consequently, “podcasting” means creating content for a certain category of the public which can decide for themselves when to watch it. Basically, this is the main difference from broadcasting which

requires monitoring the content according to a schedule announced in advance by a transmitter.

Moreover, any media user can access vast fields of information; they can process them and, then, offer them under a new form to the readers, listeners or viewers. This phenomenon leads to the development of multimedia support for the current Internet, such as YouTube, Flickr and MySpace, three of the sites with the highest growth rates. Daily, they display millions of mostly viewer made videos which become public and are indexed under different categories. It becomes obvious that these contents can be subsequently downloaded and used in an article, on a blog or on your own website.

On the other hand, most TV channels are relying more and more on advertising as a mean of making an income able to support the expenses regarding content, marketing and operational expenses. Television is becoming a more and more personalized medium, allowing the extraction of accurate data about consumer preferences. The main reason for the TV channels to broaden their horizons, if they want to remain relevant for the advertisers, is the possibility offered to consumers to be able to increasingly choose what they want to watch, when they want to do this as well as the device to run the selected program. In this case, IPTV is the perfect environment because operators can offer a different content in certain regions and even to heterogeneous groups of subscribers.

Another example of the technology involvement in the media is provided by the creation of the “mashup” sites and “filters”. Thus, mash-ups are web sites that mix and match the common parts of other sites (e.g. Trulia - website working in real estates which collaborates with Google Maps). On the other hand, according to some criteria, the filters represent sites that choose information from the huge amounts available to users, thus operating like search engines (e.g. Technorati - for blogs, Wink - for persons).

In their turn, providers of online telephone services convert voice calls into data packets which are afterwards sent over the Internet. In order to perform its work, a company in this field needs only powerful computers running specialized software. This trend could be noticed in the case of the already existing great companies (Apple, Google, Microsoft or Yahoo) which add voice options for computer applications and for the specialized companies already on the market, such as Skype.

3. The Increasing Influence of the Electronic Media. Benefits and Risks

Besides the things that have been mentioned above, the current period has already experienced the public's reorientation towards the online medium, a trend supported by the expansion of the Internet, the mobile services (based on the increasingly performing broadband, wireless and mobile connections), the smartphones and the tablets for both information and entertainment.

According to the report on worldwide data traffic and the mobile market conducted by the Ericsson company on a large sample of active networks covering all regions of the world, until 2016-2017, 85% of the world population will have 3G coverage, 50% will have 4G coverage, there will be 3 billion smartphone users while the number of mobile subscribers will grow from the 6 billion people registered at the end of 2011 to about 9 billion subscribers and worldwide data traffic will increase 15 times on the basis of the increase of the video demand. Likewise, the report stipulates that in only a few years, most people will access the internet exclusively by phone (retrieved from *Ericsson: 85% of the world population will have high speed mobile Internet until 2017, 2012*). It will focus on mobility due to the increased number of users who want a permanent connection to the Internet in order to receive video content and external data storage services (cloud computing) any time they want.

In order to have a bird's-eye view upon what the Internet and its related services will mean we have accessed the annual study Cisco Visual Networking Index (VNI) Forecast (2011-2016), in which we have discovered some interesting predictions about the evolution of this field: in 2016 there will be about 18.9 billion network connections compared to 10.3 billion in 2011, there will be 3.4 billion Internet users (approximately 45% of the world's future population, according to the United Nations estimates) due to the proliferation of tablets, mobile phones and other smart devices as well as the device-to-device connections which are stimulating the connectivity demand; approximately 1.2 million minutes of video will be produced and more than half of the global Internet traffic will have been via Wi-Fi connection (retrieved from *Conform previziunilor Cisco VNI Forecast, internetul va fi de patru ori mai mare în 2016, 2012*).

The same report indicates another aspect regarding the production of video content for individual consumers who will

become one of the most important sources of the increase of the global Internet traffic: globally, in 2016, there will be 1.5 billion users of Internet video, an increase of nearly 800 million users of video on the internet in 2011. Likewise, TV sets will summarize approximately 6% of the Internet traffic of the individual consumers and 18% of the Internet video traffic, a thing which shows the increasing role of smart TVs that inherently include web access. Moreover, mobile video will have a significant increase from the point of view of the individual consumers, being estimated that their number will be of approximately 1.6 billion users in 2016 (retrieved from *Conform previziunilor Cisco VNI Forecast, internetul va fi de patru ori mai mare în 2016*, 2012).

The traditional media industry could not be indifferent to all these environmental changes and reorientations, especially because, for example, one can identify a clear trend of reducing print budgets among the advertising agencies. A 2012 report made by MagnaGlobal research company shows that the newspapers' revenues have globally fallen by 4.5% in comparison with the previous year due to the reduced demand for printed publications and the increasing demand for information in the digital environment at very low costs. Almost half of the European newspapers revenues come from print advertising (Popescu, 2012).

Against such a challenge, the editors have taken various decisions more or less radical. Thus, to optimize costs the famous Newsweek magazine gave up the print edition (which was issued since 1933) and moved to a fully digital format starting January 2013. The digital edition called Global Newsweek will be launched at the beginning of 2013, when the reader will be required a paid subscription (Petrescu, 2013).

A less pleasant situation is one in which certain publications cancel their presence in the media due to the major decrease of the readers' interest for the printed editions. We can mention the German edition of the Financial Times (owned by the Bertelsmann group) closed at the end of 2012 after the edition was permanently restricted, a thing which has determined the reduction of the advertising revenues (retrieved from *La fundul sacului: Financial Times de Germania se inchide*, 2012). The case is not singular, the news agency DAPD – which collaborates with Associated Press for Germany, demanded protection from creditors under the bankruptcy law in October 2012, and a month later Frankfurter Rundschau became insolvent. El Pais (the largest newspaper in Spain) reduced the number of its employees

by a third ever since October 2012, and France Soir was closed, whereas the British newspapers The Independent and London Evening Standard were in a difficult situation too.

On the other hand, the major players in the sector of the digital providers are facing the situation of introducing some modest charges for providing online video services. This is the case of YouTube which is seeking to launch a subscription-based service for individual video channels, on the one hand to motivate the content producers to upload it on the platform (cable networks and specialized companies which can diversify their offers by providing content on the Internet) and, on the other hand to provide space for banner ads as a source of additional income (Goagă, 2013). Likewise, YouTube aims at providing pay-per-view subscriptions required to watch certain live broadcasts, given the fact that it already has competitors like Netflix, Hulu or Amazon.

The change of communication strategies from the extensive use of traditional media to the use of the virtual environment is obvious in the case of politicians, too. Before leaving her position, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton offered the various interested television stations the opportunity to virtually meet at a conference on the Internet as part of a series of press conferences and interviews. The satellite interview with journalists and foreign students was based on questions submitted on Twitter by Internet users from different corners of the world (retrieved from *Hillary Clinton, într-un ultim turneu mondial virtual*, 2013).

Using a piece of information from the electronic portal of the TIME magazine, Ion Petrescu - member of the Professional Journalists Union of Romania - brings forward the possibility of using computer-animation in the news production. Basically, an event can be displayed resorting to cartoons, even if the producer's imagination intervenes on the basis of the sources that he could appeal to. Suggestive images with animated figures can be introduced and the scenario is transmitted to the entertainers who are concerned with rapid reconstitution. One can have access to examples of such "illustrated" news which refer to the fire extinguishing procedure in a company or to Sarah Palin's campaign against Barack Obama. As a matter of fact, the business director of a company specialized in the cartoon illustration of news (Next Media Animation) said he succeeded to get contracts from major TV channels such as BBC, CNN and FOX News: "*The future is clear: if you don't have video*

animation, you'll be like a website without video or a newspaper without color photos." (Petrescu, 2013).

An important motivation to use such a method is that of the costs which can be reduced when instead of sending a team on the scene, they are relying on animation to produce the news. Such scenarios based on animated simulations are used in the production of documentaries which refer to ancient times too. It surely becomes important that the respective animation should faithfully reflect reality without misinterpreting the actual facts.

4. Challenges and Reorientations of the Media in our Country

For the mass-media in Romania this year is characterized by the attempt of some media institutions to preserve at least the same level as in 2012 given the fact that the influx will be mostly covered by the hosted advertising and the shift towards new ways of content broadcasting, especially in the online environment. Such targeting is encouraged by the new technologies which are rapidly being adopted by consumers, especially by the young ones.

From the point of view of those who can provide media funding by purchasing advertising space, Alexandra Iavorschi (managing director of Starcom MediaVest) argues that this year the budget of the interested companies will be around 280-300 million euros, at the same level as in 2012, thus reflecting a general attitude of caution. Under the circumstances, the money will go to television and the digital media, as it happened last year too when approximately 300 million euros were invested in advertising, 190 million went to TV channels, 41 million to Internet, 30 million to street billboards, commercials in elevators, restrooms, parking lots, waiting rooms and only 23 million euros were invested in the print press and 18 million on the radio (Negraru, 2013).

On the other side, for the dynamic companies the clear trend is to move towards the online since they have resources and influence without neglecting the traditional environment they will further exploit at least in terms of content popularity and the prestige they enjoy.

However, the general framework is not without threats, one of them coming from Google which will be expanding more and more in our country and another coming from what the mobile products development means. Taking into account the fact that about 3 to 3.5 million mobile phones (of which about one million are smartphones)

will be sold in Romania this year in addition to the approximately 23.4 million phones already on the market, the demand for mobile internet and implicitly for dedicated applications and content will increase (Negraru, 2012). In fact, it seems that the mobile phone is able to replace a lot of the current media thus becoming important in the communication mix. Therefore, marketing agencies have already been established in order to exploit such a market mobile, the most popular and active of them being Syscom Digital, Mobile Works and Breeze Mobile (Pandelea, 2012).

Moreover, Sorina Mihai (managing partner Nicola Porter Novelli) said for wall-street.ro that this year the concept of “brand journalism” will expand, each company being interested in using its own staff to develop content and news around its brands, which includes the use of tools for transmitting information in the digital and social media to support direct and relevant communication with the consumer. Thus, one can notice the opportunity for the messages broadcasted about the brand at an event to be received, reviewed and shared with others and even by those who were not present (Negraru, 2012).

Under the circumstances, the media are “invited” and, even, forced to adapt if they want to survive at least the newspapers and the audio-TV media being interested to adopt the new means of transmitting the information starting from the content of their own sites and continuing with live broadcasts and even with the presence in the social media. There will be many challenges, novelties and risks to be assumed because of competition and the desire of improvement.

For example, the general manager of the specialized channel in film broadcasting - HBO, Carmen Harabagiu, believes that the main trend of the market will be providing content across multiple platforms such as legal streaming sites, online video on demand or smart TV. Consumers have more opportunities to choose the source and content of the information due to current technology, which determines especially large companies in the media industry to exploit the online market potential and to create platforms for the dissemination of content (Negraru, 2013).

Somehow related to television we can mention the situation of the home entertainment segment (sales and rentals of DVD movies and sales of music CDs) which is not pleasing, revenues being in decline from year to year so that this year they will reach about 21 million lei, according to ProVideo, the largest distributor of home

entertainment content in Romania. Since 2011-2012 the platforms offering video content on demand have extended as well, resulting in the focus of consumption in the digital space. Entertainment on physical support is on a downward trend (similarly to what happens on the global scale) due to piracy and streaming and torrents sites (Negraru, 2013).

5. Conclusions

In the current period, the significant changes of consumer behavior are determined by the new technologies and tools that enable the creation of content and sometimes exceed the highest expectations. The result of such changes is reflected in the media by the structure of the income sources – whereas traditional media consumers are increasingly asking for free information, the profits from advertising are targeting alternative sources of content, based on the Internet, social media and mobile communication.

The reality confirms the increase of the consumer control over mass media and this will have an important influence on the emergence of niche media channels – from interactive television to the mobile and social networks transmissions. These comfortable and (still) cheap alternatives of receiving the content, alongside the customized media, will attract more and more advertising which will significantly reduce the income sources of traditional television and print media. Nevertheless, their response is not to be long in coming, the proof being their orientation towards the new technologies under the restriction of financial resources and interest for rating. This overview should not exclude the mobile service companies which are already implementing 4G networks with a higher speed of data transfer for an improved access to the Internet and with possibilities of interconnection with wireless networks and digital video systems.

6. References

1. Goagă, A. (2013). *YouTube ar putea introduce canale cu plată primăvara aceasta. Cum ți se pare mișcarea?*, retrieved from <http://www.wall-street.ro/articol/New-Media/143481/youtube-canale-cu-plata-primavara-aceasta-cum-ti-se-pare-miscarea.html> on 30 ianuarie 2013.
2. Negraru, C. (2012). *Agențiile de relații publice: PR-ul va crește și în 2013. De unde?*, retrieved from <http://www.wall->

- street.ro/slideshow/Marketing-PR/141888/pr-in-2013.html on 23 decembrie 2012.
3. Negraru, C. (2012). *Balotescu, Media Investment: În 2013 vor avea un cuvânt greu de spus jucătorii offline care au influență pe internet*", retrieved from <http://www.wall-street.ro/articol/Marketing-PR/141715/dan-balotescu-media-investment-in-2013-vor-avea-un-cuvant-greu-de-spus-jucatorii-offline-care-au-influenta-pe-internet.html> on 18 decembrie 2012.
 4. Negraru, C. (2012). *ProVideo: Piața de home entertainment va scădea cu 35% in 2013*, retrieved from <http://www.wall-street.ro/articol/Marketing-PR/142369/provideo-piata-de-home-entertainment-va-scadea-cu-35-in-2013.html> on 9 ianuarie 2013.
 5. Negraru, C. (2012). *Șefa HBO Romania: Principala tendință a pieței TV va fi furnizarea de conținut pe mai multe platforme*, retrieved from <http://www.wall-street.ro/articol/Marketing-PR/142178/sefa-hbo-romania-principala-tendinta-a-pietei-tv-va-fi-furnizarea-de-continut-pe-mai-multe-platforme.html> on 5 ianuarie 2013.
 6. Negraru, C. (2013). *Iavorschi, Starcom: În 2013, mai important decât orice tendință, va fi o atitudine generală de precauție*, retrieved from <http://www.wall-street.ro/articol/Marketing-PR/142772/iavorschi-starcom-in-2013-mai-important-decat-orice-tendinta-va-fi-o-atitudine-general-a-de-precautie.html> on 18 ianuarie 2013.
 7. Pandelea, A. (2012). *Grupul Leo Burnett lansează încă o companie: Breeze Mobile*, retrieved from <http://www.capital.ro/detalii-articole/stiri/grupul-leo-burnett-lanseaza-inca-o-companie-breeze-mobile-173452.html> on 30 octombrie 2012.
 8. Petrescu, I. (2013). *Adio Newsweek, dar rămân cu tine...*, retrieved from <http://uzp.org.ro/adio-newsweek-dar-raman-cu-tine> on 25 ianuarie 2013.
 9. Petrescu, I. (2013). *Animația: viitorul jurnalismului?*, retrieved from <http://uzp.org.ro/animatia-viitorul-jurnalismului> on 25 ianuarie 2013.
 10. Popescu, V. (2012). *Financial Times Deutschland se închide după 12 ani de pierderi*, retrieved from <http://www.mediafax.ro/cultura-media/financial-times-deutschland-se-inchide-dupa-12-ani-de-pierderi-10377635> on 7 decembrie 2012.

REVISTA DE COMUNICARE ȘI MARKETING

11. *** (2012). *Conform previziunilor Cisco VNI Forecast, internetul va fi de patru ori mai mare în 2016*, retrieved from <http://www.cisco.com/web/RO/news/2012/120531.html> on 31 mai 2012.
12. *** (2012). *Ericsson: 85% din populația lumii va avea Internet mobil de mare viteză până în 2017*, retrieved from <http://www.agora.ro/stire/ericsson-85-din-popula-ia-lumii-va-avea-internet-mobil-de-mare-viteza-pana-2017> on 7 iunie 2012.
13. *** (2012). *La fundul sacului: Financial Times de Germania se închide*, retrieved from <http://www.wall-street.ro/articol/Marketing-PR/141255/financial-times-deutschland-se-inchide-vineri-a-aparut-ultima-editie.html> on 8 decembrie 2012.
14. *** (2013). *Hillary Clinton, într-un ultim turneu mondial virtual*, retrieved from <http://www.agerpres.ro/media/index.php/international/item/172762-Hillary-Clinton-intrun-ultim-turneu-mondial-virtual.html> on 30 ianuarie 2013.



U.A.S.

Revista de Comunicare și Marketing, anul IV, numărul 6, martie 2013

I.S.S.N. 2069-0304

Pag. 17-30

Abstract

This paper aims to present the place occupied by television in the life of teenagers and to emphasize the importance of television in shaping the opinions and behavior modeling. Television offers often some behavioral models which demonstrate how to achieve goals regarded as legitimate one through illegal means such as the use of violence. The research that we realized it was based on a quantitative methodology focused on identifying the social effects of television on adolescents. The qualitative methods used allowed us to identify student attitudes after watching some movies with violent content and determine the type of student behavior in situations that replicate the causal diagrams from films followed.

Keywords: *television, adolescents, social effects, movies, violence*

**TELEVISION
AND THE SOCIAL
EFFECTS
ON ADOLESCENTS**

Nicoleta CIACU

„Constantin Brâncoveanu” University
of Pitești
Faculty of Administrative and
Communication Sciences Brăila

Alina BRATU

Master Degree of the Faculty of
Communication and Public Relations
“David Ogilvy”,
National School of Political and
Administrative Studies of Bucharest

1. Context of the research

The social effects of television on young people made the subject of dozens of research in the last 70 years. In one of such study, the authors talk about television as being linked to "the death of childhood". "The television, with its programs is seen as an outsider, an uninvited guest in the protective home that brings harsh reality of the outside world in the living room and feed children's minds with sex and violence".

In the United States, with the advent of the cinema, was born also the question regarding the possible relationship between violent content of films and the delinquency. An unequivocal explanation has not been given ever: there is no scientist to claim that there is a virtual causality. Rather the question is whether the media contribute to the cause or exacerbate the antisocial behavior of individuals. Moreover the research is continually hampered by the difficulty we face in measuring the effects because they have no means to delineate the empirical phenomenon. However, beyond these obstacles, the theoretical papers devoted to violence, to violent behavior attributed to the media, are very numerous.

Therefore we propose grouping them according to five fundamental axes:

a. The Cathartic approach

From this perspective, everyday life, the individuals face a number of frustrating situations that may degenerate into aggressive scenes. The catharsis is the "ease" of this kind of frustration, through imagined participation in aggressive scene. The television thus serves as a means of alleviating aggressive individuals. Contrary to the success in the '60s, the theory does not really persuade the scientists.

b Analyses made in terms of aggressive stimuli.

Berkovitz (1962), being the opposite of the Cathartic thesis sees in the media a source of aggressive indices, able to amplify the aggressive phenomenon. The exposure to aggressive stimuli enhances the emotional tension of the individual, and this can cause the aggressive behavior. How to make an aggressive stage is a crucial variable for the viewer reaction (Ferréol, Neculau, 2003). If the aggressive act is presented as "justified", then it will increase the likelihood of an aggressive response from the viewer. This thesis aimed at the short-term effects, is widespread among psychologists.

c “Apprenticeship” by observation.

Proposed by two psychologists, Bandura and Walters (1963), the approach is based on demonstrations where children - scenes noting aggressive media easily learn such behaviors and contextual get to practice. The researchers do not automatically invoke here an imitation of violent behaviors, but a true "apprenticeship" that produce long-term effects in a favorable situation.

Psychologists insist on the concept of “apprenticeship”, which means that - depending on the reward or punishment model seen on TV is more or less adopted by the child.

D. The strengthening

This thesis suggests that aggression shown by the media reinforces the natural aggressiveness of individuals. According to Klapper (1960), one of the supporters of the idea, media violence does not contribute directly to increased aggression, but enables the individual predisposition (something already there).

This approach shares with the others the emphasis on individual differences. However, if the followers of the Cathartic thesis and those of the effect of “apprenticeship” through observation carried only just a few social variables in their statements, the supporters of the idea of “curing” focus mainly on teaching social and social relations between individuals. On the one hand, they claim that individuals from similar social groups tend to share the same values, attitudes and behaviors and, secondly, that individuals whose social relations are stable not change their responses (aggressive) by the viewed scenes. This would mean that violent shows acts only on the behavior of individuals less balanced, unstable, poorly integrated into society.

e. Culture of violence

This thesis, developed by George Gerbner team in the Annenberg School of Communication, University of Pennsylvania, proposes a different approach. Its origin being determined by the sociologists, the emphasis is rather on the social dimension of the audience and not the psychological one (Sterian, 2010). The attention is directed exclusively toward the TV, as this means of mass communication became “the gun culture” of the American society that generated a kind of “symbolic cultural environment”.

The phenomenon reflects very negatively on young viewers in search of patterns and with a tendency to perceive the world as is presented on the small screen. Contrary to other theses, which focus

on violent behavior, here the emphasis is mainly on emotions such as fear and anxiety generated by the television programs. The more concerns towards the “symbolic world”, increases the trend of individuals to perceive the world through “tv glasses”, which in time will lead to a number of social implications of his behavior. The social factors - gender, race, profession, residence, education level are involved decisively in this approach.

The cultivation theory launched by Gerbner, claims that media and especially television became “a family member or monopolizing the communication with the outside world, or accumulating other information sources. Due to almost constant exposure to media messages, people get addicted to it, so through knowledge of the environment in which they live as well as the incorporation of a certain way of thinking the world around. It's about the effect of “cultivation”, which leads to setting a common vision of a world of common roles and common ”values”. Gerbner divides those who are watching television in people looking for more than four hours / day (“heavy viewers”) and those who watch less television (“light viewers”), and demonstrated that those who watch more on TV have a world view “grown”, dependent of the concept distributed by television.

The leading effect of watching TV is according to Gerbner's view, the following: the loyal viewers describe the world through the distorted image provided by television. The secondary effect, less tangibly can be seen, Gerbner says in the consequences of intensely watching television which is expressed by specific attitudes, such as for law, order or personal safety rather than through the general belief that television provides an accurate reflection of the degree of violence the world.

Following this brief historical journey, we see that there is no sentence to establish a direct and undeniable causal link between the violent behavior and media. But all recognize that the media is one of the triggers of the aggressive behavior.

A general conclusion of all these studies is clear that television influences children's behavior. What is worse is that the level and intensity of violence on TV is growing. As children are desensitized the scenes must be more shocking and terrible. Many forms of violence shown on television are acts that few ever think of committing them. However, the imitation phenomenon proves that

these inconceivable acts of barbarism influence the behavior in our society to alarming levels.

2. Objectives

The main objective of the research was to identify the social effects of television on adolescents. The secondary objectives that we considered were:

- determine the frequency with which the adolescents watching television programs and the number of hours spent daily in front of the TV;
- investigating the preferences for certain programs broadcast by television;
- assessing the influence of television on personal opinions and attitudes of the pupils;
- assessing how the mass media and the messages they induced elements in our attitudes and values among adolescents;
- identifying of student's attitudes after watching some violent movies and determination of the students behavior in situations that replicate the causal diagrams of the films.

3. Hypotheses

Hypotheses on the effects of television on high school students were:

1. Preferences for certain shows or movies, differ according to sex, age, and number of hours spent watching TV;
2. There is a direct link between media consumption and the attitudes of adolescents;
3. The television programs create new attitudes, perceptions and behavior patterns among teenagers.

4. Methodology

The research methods used to reach that goal are both quantitative and qualitative and consisted of applying different questionnaires among teenagers from one of the famous high schools in Brăila. In an attempt to discover something about today's adolescent personality and perception and how much is it influenced by the television programs we designed a survey based on different questionnaire techniques.

To measure the variables considered representative for assessing the influence of television on young we used both

quantitative research tools related to, namely the questionnaire and some qualitative research methods such as tests Berkley.

The research methods and their associated tools used in this study were subject to the specific theme. We considered defining characteristics of adolescent personality structure: introversion/extraversion, creativity factors, perceptibility images, attitudes and emotional reactions and style features.

As a result of the use of television we have selected as representative: the attitude towards certain types of films, the solutions offered by the subjects in certain conflicting scenarios, affective-attitudinal turnaround time of the televisual content of messages, such as fear of crime.

Identifying and evaluating the relationships between these aspects asked the combination of specific research methods of psychology, both emotional and social ones.

5. The researched community

The analyzed community was made up of pupils from the Economic College "Ion Ghica" in Brăila. This community was defined by the number of those who were willing to answer at the questionnaires. Thus, the questionnaires were completed by students from all years of study, the sample being randomly.

The sampling was nonprobabilistic, the only selection criterion of the respondents' being the quality of pupils at the economic specializations of the Economic College "Ion Ghica".

The sample was comprised of a total of 100 subjects, which were selected according to sex, a total of 50 boys and 50 girls. The selected subjects are aged between 14 and 16 years. We believe that the gender and age structure of the sample is representative and the objective of this study.

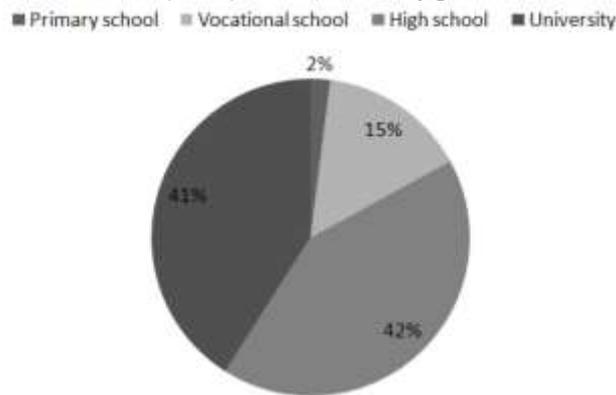
6. The research results

The research was conducted from October 1 to November 1, 2011, and the questionnaires were applied by the operator in educational counseling classes.

To discover more about the family and the viewing habits of the respondents we have some questions on a questionnaire that included identification interrogations concerning: the education level of parents, the number of hours spent watching television, the frequency of tracking certain programs.

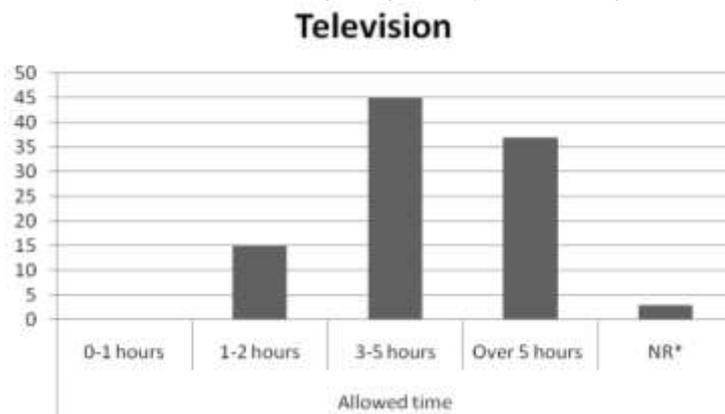
We summarized the answers to these questions so we got following categories: subjects whose parents only completed elementary school, subjects whose parents graduated from a vocational school, parents who finished high school and university-educated parents.

Figure no. 1.
The distribution of subjects by level of parent's education



Another direction in our research was to identify the time spent by teenagers in front of the TV. Thus, 45% of the respondents said they spend between 3 and 5 hours daily watching TV, 37% over 5 hours and 15% between one and two hours. To this question we recorded also 3 non-answers, from people who for various reasons could not specify time spent watching TV, but the percentage of 3% does not affect substantially the results of the research.

Figure no. 2. The distribution of subjects by number of watched hours



*They did not want to answer.

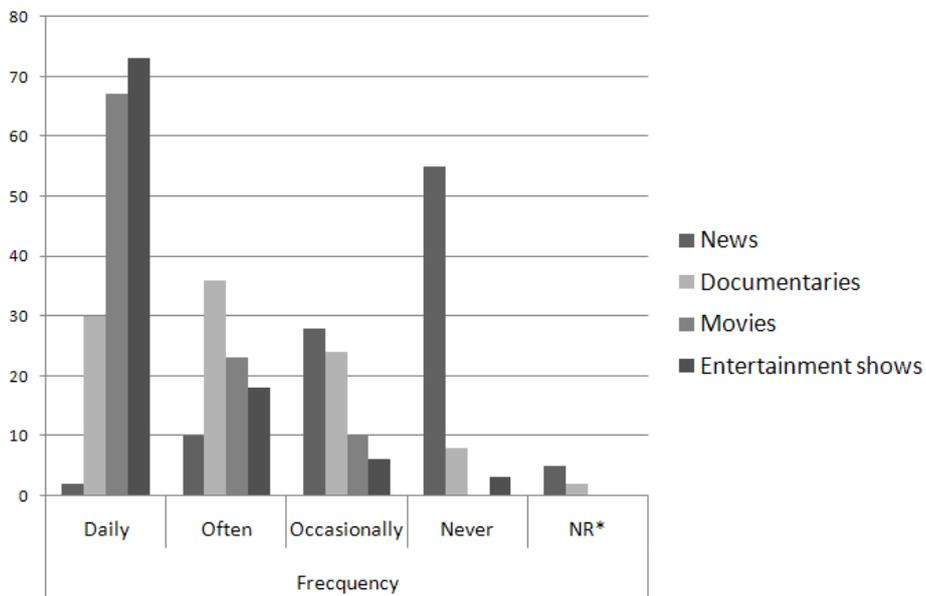
The identifying of adolescents favorite TV programs was another objective of the research. We built this item offering to the subjects four categories of TV programs and variables for frequency (daily, often, occasionally, never). By far, the student's preferences are for shows and feature films.

The entertainment shows are watched daily by 73% of the respondents, only 3% stating that they never look at such programs. The favorite TV shows for young people are usually the tabloid one, which are based on entertainment, shocking statements or material type paparazzo.

Movies ranks the second position in the ranking of young people favorite TV programs, 67% are watching movies broadcast on television daily. The percentage is indicative to support the objective mentioned at the beginning of the research.

The documentaries movies ranks third, 36% of the respondents often look such programs and 30% watch daily documentaries submitted by the niche television. 55% of pupils don't ever watch the news was another result of research that draws attention to the parts value of the young. Only 2% of all respondents follow the news daily, fixed option or other family members or the interests of students.

Figure no. 3. Distribution of subjects by type of program pursued



The evaluation program included monitoring the following sequences: watching movies, presenting some conflicting scenarios, the application of some questionnaires to measure subjective attitude towards the movies. The subjects were asked to watch four different series of films. And at the end of viewing, the subjects were applied "Questionnaire on attributes of watched movies."

Margin of a day watching the last film of the four series, the subjects went through the next stage of research, called "A conflict research", where they were shown a series of conflicts extracted from the movies. To mask the true purpose of the research, the scenarios were presented as various legal cases or criminal trials. Students were asked to evaluate the effectiveness of violent or non-violent solutions of conflicts specified.

The films presented were:

1. In the category Movies "without violence": "The Last Emperor", "Memoirs of a Geisha", "The Red Violin", "The Legend of 1900".
2. In the category of classic violence: "Firewall", "Pride and Glory", "Mr. Brooke", "The Departed".
3. In the category of superviolent Movies: "I Saw", "Hostel I", "Domino", "Die Hard 4".
4. In the horror category "Silent Hill", "The Grudge I", "Wrong Turn", "Mirrors".

The set of conflicting scenarios

Subjects were presented a booklet containing the next six hypothetical scenarios:

1. There is an almost perfect family, a father who has achieved all the goals and is leading a multinational and a wonderful wife too. But he is unhappy with his life and his full routine so he creates a dangerous alter ego, proving to be one of the most feared serial killers.
2. A person finds himself being captured along with some foreign characters. The only way to escape from there is to renounce humanity and to kill in cold blood.
3. Due to financial and emotional hardship, the husband / the wife is cheating with the greatest enemy of the partner and is plotting to kill him.
4. A family is taken hostage in exchange for burglary a protection performance bank system.
5. A computer virus threatens the world's resources and one policeman has to solve the problem at the cost of his daughter.

6. Police declare war on mafia and is determined to catch the big boss at all costs. A lot of innocent victims fall prey to police intervention.

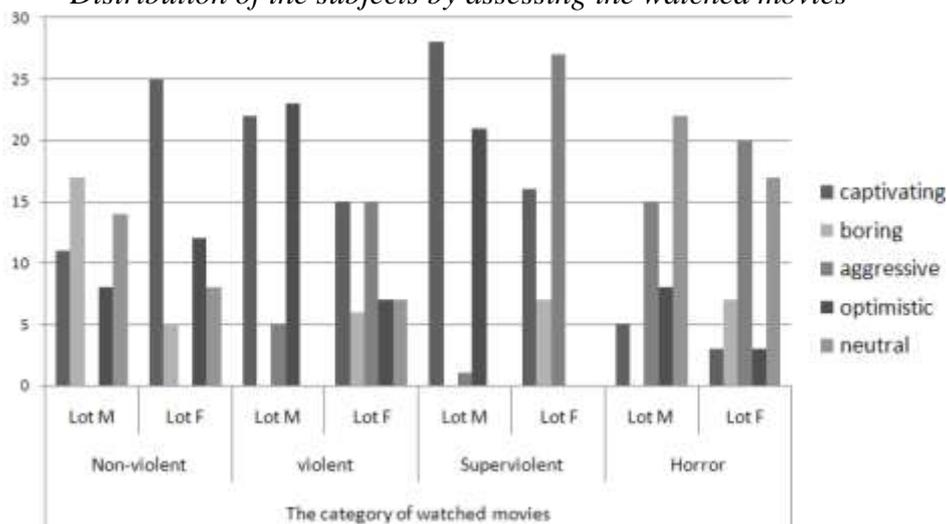
Each scenario has three possible solutions for actions and answer according to own opinion. Subjects were asked to analyze each solution separately and indicate their preference by circling a letter representing a set choice for that scenario. The solutions chosen were subsequently classified into: nonviolent, violent and neutral towards the violence.

We included a list of five adjectives: exciting, boring, aggressive, optimistic, neutral subjects that was presented immediately to students after viewing each film category. Subjects were asked to tick in the list presented those adjectives expressing their mental disposal induced by that movie category on a scale of 0 to 11. The attitudes expressed by the adjectives were grouped into 3 categories namely: positive attitude towards each of the 4 categories of films (7-11 points), negative attitude towards each of the 4 categories of movies (0-3 point) and neutral attitude towards each of the 4 categories of movies (4-6 point).

The attitude towards films

After watching the four film categories described above, the distribution of subjects as how they appreciate every genre of film is the one in the table below.

Figure no. 4.
Distribution of the subjects by assessing the watched movies

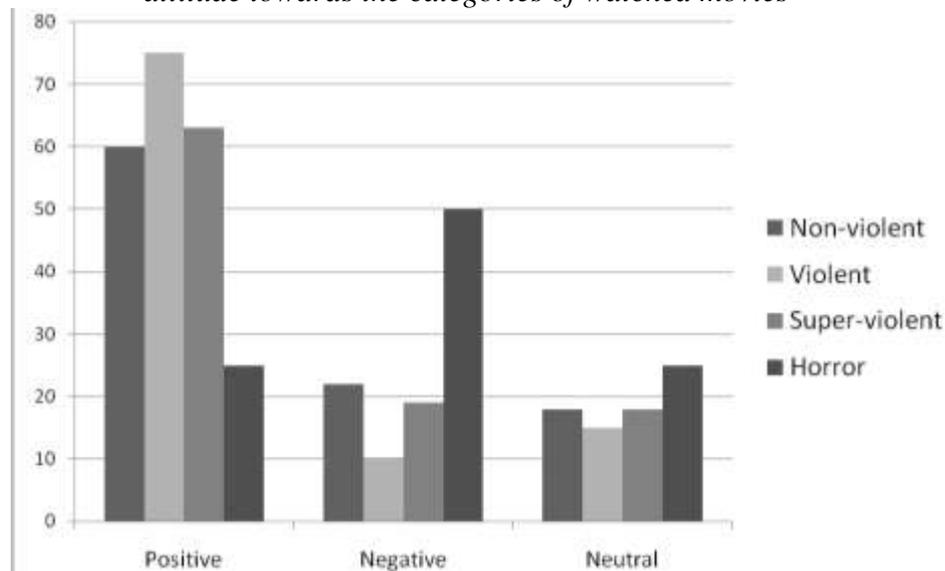


For efficiency was considered the adjectives used to express film appreciation to these three basic attitudes: acceptance (favorable, positive) fail (unfavorable, negative) and indifference (neutral).

It was found that the subjects who appreciate the films as optimistic and exciting have an attitude of acceptance of that category of films (positive attitude). Those who appreciate them as boring and aggressive have an attitude of rejection towards that category of films, and those who catalog them as neutral are indifferent to these movies.

If we made a hierarchy of the preferences by the categories of film, the whole lot, the first place is taken by the violent movies (75%) and the last place by the horror movies (25%). If we sum up the number of acceptances for violent and super-violent movies (130), we conclude that some of the subjects expressed their positive attitude, both for violent films and for the super-violent one. The horror films have met the highest number of refusals (50 per the entire lot investigated).

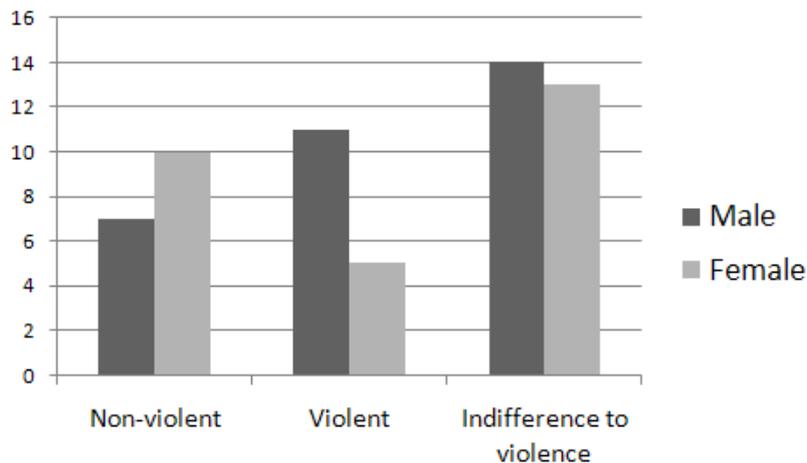
Figure no. 5. Distribution of the subjects of the entire sample by the attitude towards the categories of watched movies



As you can watch in Table 6, the types of solutions offered at the conflicting scenarios presented after the movies were: non-violent solutions, violent solutions and solutions that indicate indifference to violence. Distribution of subjects in the total group and type of

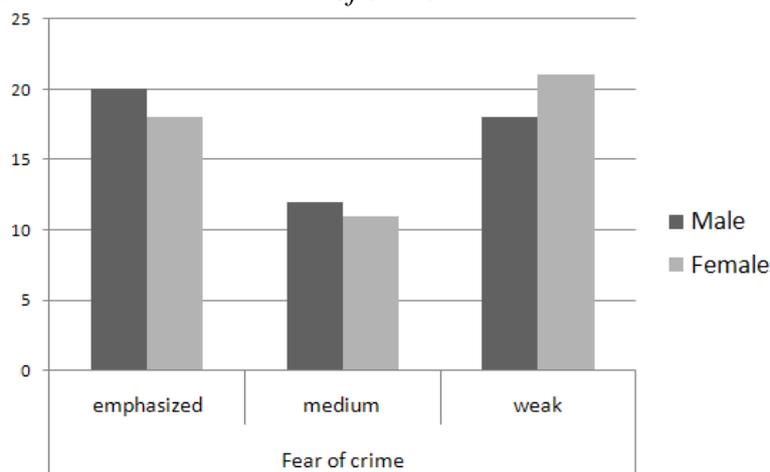
solution shows that more girls than boys choose for non-violent while the violent solutions are chosen much more by the boys than the girls.

Figure no. 6. Distribution of subjects according to the type of solutions offered to conflict scenarios presented after the movies



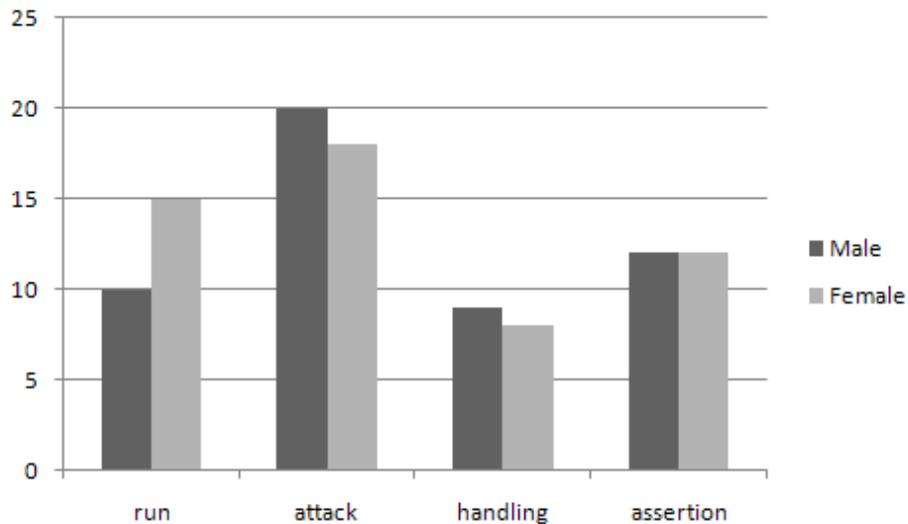
Another aspect of the profile of investigated subjects was the intensity of fear of crime. Female subjects know a fear of crime comparable to the male subjects group, *at* all levels of intensity, with a slight difference to extreme levels. We notice fewer female with a strong fear of crime and fewer male subjects in the group that have a lower fear of crime.

Figure no. 7. Distribution of subjects by the intensity of the fear of crime



Not least, the test of self-awareness of attitudes revealed the response of subjects in different unforeseen situations. So, we found that all the subjects respond with aggression against unforeseen situations no matter how simple it is.

Figure no. 8. Distribution of subjects by self-knowledge test attitudes



Conclusions

After applying this comprehensive study, we were able to reach an edifying result for the age of television in which we live. The first part of the research showed the time spent by pupils watching TV and the types of favorite TV program. Thus, 45% of respondents said they spend between 3 and 5 hours daily watching TV. We also found that pupils preferred TV programs are the entertainment programs indicated by 73% of respondents, 67% preferred the feature films and the documentary films were chosen by 36% of the pupils. Another result of the research that draws attention to the parts value refers to the percentage of young people, 55% of the students who argued that they never looks at the news.

The second part of the research was to reveal how pupils perceive the movies. After watching some films pupils were shown a series of conflicts extracted from the movies. Then the pupils were evaluated the effectiveness of the violent or non-violent solutions for each conflict set. The results showed that most girls would prefer the

non-violent solutions for the conflict resolution while the boys consider most appropriate the violent solutions for the same situations.

We found several aspects following the research which have highlighted the references and changes of the subjects in their behavior during the study. Thus, the results achieved the research objectives and validated the theories presented in the first part of the paper. Also, the hypothesis of the research were confirmed, so that after testing the attitudes, the gender differences were shown to be characteristic for typical reaction scheme that simulates conflicts cases presented in the movies.

Therefore, from investigations conducted, we found that in Romania, the televised violence may influence the behavior of teenagers and sometimes even has the potential to cause violence in interpersonal relationships that they establish.

References

1. Bandura A. & Walters R. H. (1963). *Social Learning and personality development*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
2. Berkowitz L. (1962). *Aggression: a social psychological analysis*, New York: Ed. McGraw-Hill.
3. Ferréol G.& Neculau A. (2003). *Violența - aspecte psihosociale*. Iași: Polirom.
4. Klapper J. (1960). *The effects of Mass Communication*, Glencoe: Free Press.
5. Sterian M. (2010). *Agresivitatea mediatică și personalitatea*. București: Paideia.



U.A.S.

Revista de Comunicare și Marketing, anul IV, numărul 6, martie 2013

I.S.S.N. 2069-0304

Pag. 31-44

Abstract

The present paper aims at highlighting the way in which the XIXth century Transylvanian satirical press, through one of its exponents, Gura Satului magazine, approaches the existence and the activity of the Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and Romanian People's Culture (ASTRA). Known by its satirical articles and cartoons on social, political or cultural themes, Gura Satului magazine captures, through three of its satirical illustrations, the positive role of this association in the life of the Transylvanian people during the dualist regime. The article analyses these cartoons in terms of both artistic and technical details but also in terms of the significance of their message which is that of the struggle of the Transylvanian Romanians to preserve their language and national identity at times of bleak domination.

Keywords: *Gura Satului, ASTRA, Transylvania, satirical press, cartoon*

**ECOURI ALE
ROLULUI ȘI
ACTIVITĂȚII ASTRA
SURPRINSE ÎN
CARICATURILE
REVISTEI SATIRICE
GURA SATULUI**

Claudia BUCURA

“Dimitrie Cantemir” University
of Bucharest,
Faculty of Tourism Geography, Sibiu

Cea de-a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea s-a impus în istoria Transilvaniei drept o perioadă extrem de îmbibată de evenimente cruciale care au decis hotărâtor soarta poporului român. Evenimente istorice majore în viața națiunii române din Transilvania precum revoluția de la 1848–1849, încheierea acordului austro-ungar privind crearea statului dualist Austro-Ungaria la 1867, înființarea Asociațiunii Transilvane pentru Literatura Română și Cultura Poporului Român (ASTRA) la 1861, constituirea Partidului Național Român în 1881, alcătuirea „Memorandumului” din 1892, precum și alte evenimente de importanță politică, culturală, religioasă sau economică stau mărturie efervescenței ultimelor decenii ale secolului al XIX-lea și creionează profilul complex al unui secol de referință în istoria Transilvaniei.

Lupta politică etalată de românii transilvăneni în toată această perioadă a fost însuflețită și secondată cu succes de evenimente de importanță socială și culturală care au consemnat o evoluție a societății românești transilvănene în ceea ce privește cultura, învățământul, arta, științele etc. Cu siguranță, acest progres nu ar fi putut avea loc fără aportul incontestabil al culturii datorat puternicei dorințe a transilvănenilor de a evolua, înainte de orice, pe plan intelectual.

Așadar, peisajul cultural transilvănean al celei de-a doua jumătăți a secolului al XIX-lea primește o distincție de onoare prin apariția pe fundalul său a unei asociațiuni care, prin rolul jucat în societatea, cultura și, mai presus de toate, istoria întregului popor român, a reprezentat „o sinteză superioară a tuturor aspirațiilor românești de emancipare, simbolizând însăși unitatea socială, națională, culturală și politică întruchipată în alcătuirea și idealurile ei” (Grecu, 1987, p. 6). Denumită Asociațiunea Transilvană pentru Literatura Română și Cultura Poporului Român, această creație făurită din inițiativa unor minți luminate precum Ioan Pușcariu, Andrei Șaguna, George Barițiu (Fig. 1), Timotei Cipariu (Fig. 2), lua naștere la Sibiu, pe 23 octombrie / 4 noiembrie 1861, reușind „să impună dreptul poporului român de a-și făuri o cultură proprie, de a-și construi și pune în valoare identitatea” (Macavei, 2011, p. 11). Asociațiunea și-a desfășurat activitatea timp de aproape un secol, până la 1951 iar suflul său cultural a fost reînviat în anul 1990, funcționând neîntrerupt până la momentul prezent. Odată cu înființarea ASTREI la Sibiu,

acest oraș devine un centru cultural foarte important al românilor din Transilvania. Întemeierea ei „era un eveniment ce avea să revoluționeze întreaga viață spirituală a românilor transilvăneni, ca de altfel a tuturor românilor, întreaga mișcare culturală și națională din acea vreme”. (Grecu, 1987, p. 5). Români zilelor noastre au posibilitatea de a studia Fondul documentar arhivistic al ASTREI care se află în prezent spre păstrare la Direcția Județeană a Arhivelor Naționale Sibiu.

Cuvintele lui Iacob Bologa, figură reprezentativă a ASTREI, legate de sămânța nașterii acestei asociațiuni sunt demne de luat în considerare. El spunea: „Idea înființării Asociațiunii trebuie să o considerăm ca o inspirație divină, purceasă din îngrijirea părintească de a nu da pieirei un popor ales.” Iar parcursul existențial al acesteia a susținut negreșit aceste înțelepte cuvinte.

Deși prin programul său inițial ASTRA își propunea să nu aibă nici o implicare politică, ea a susținut prin ferma sa activitate, o luptă curajoasă împotriva puternicelor și constantelor încercări de desnaționalizare a românilor, dat fiind faptul că perioada înființării ei surprindea Transilvania sub dominație habsburgică și era totodată premergătoare și mai aprigei dominații austro-ungare. În fapt, ea „a exercitat, mai bine de o jumătate de secol, prerogativele unui adevărat guvern, ale unui parlament românesc, devenind un bastion al luptei pentru emancipare și unitate culturală, pentru libertate și unitate națională” (Grecu, 1987, p. 6).

Deoarece activitatea acestei asociațiuni a avut un rol hotărâtor în conturarea profilului cultural, social dar și politic al Transilvaniei celei de-a doua jumătăți a secolului al XIX-lea, ea a fost, nu de puține ori, surprinsă în paginile presei vremii. Presa, oglinda tuturor evenimentelor trăite de o societate într-o anumită perioadă de timp, a reflectat, prin urmare, activitatea neobosită a ASTREI în articolele sale, fie ele bucăți literare, reportaje sau chiar scrieri satirico-umoristice.

Una din exponentele de bază ale presei satirice transilvănene din cea de-a doua jumătate a veacului al XIX-lea, revista satirică *Gura Satului*, abordează în paginile sale subiecte importante și dintre cele mai variate ale vremii, atât politice cât și sociale și culturale. Acest „diurnalu glumetiu sociale-politicu-tocu” se remarcă în peisajul presei transilvănene din perioada dualismului austro-ungar atât prin articolele sale umoristice cât și prin caricaturile sale extrem de acide care fac din el o publicație ilustrată de un real succes. Existența

ASTREI și evenimentele legate de activitatea acestei asociațiuni nu reușesc să scape de penița caricaturiştilor anonimi ai aceste reviste satirice, putând fi surprinse în trei dintre caricaturile acesteia.

Prin urmare, intitulată „Caletori’a Gurei Satului la Siomcut’a pe velocipedu” (fig. 3), seria de șase caricaturi ilustrată în Numărul 26 din 25 iulie (6 august) 1869 etalează ipostaze comice ale unui binecunoscut personaj al revistei, Gura Satului, din timpul călătoriei sale spre Adunarea de la Șomcuta Mare din aceeași perioadă. Întocmai ca o poveste, cele șase imagini se completează reciproc în a forma aventurile tragi-comice ale personajului care dorea cu ardoare să participe la această importantă adunare a Asociațiunii Astra care urmărea apropierea activității acestei Asociațiuni de popor (Acu, 2011, p. 26), cunoscut fiind faptul că rolul acesteia a fost acela de a fi „contribuit la realizarea unității spirituale a românilor din toate provinciile țării și din afara granițelor” (Grecu, 1987, p. 5) reprezentând „un adevărat stindard al rezistenței prin cultură față de politica de deznaționalizare a autorităților maghiare” (Grecu, 1987, p. 5). În prima imagine, Gura Satului își ia rămas bun de la consătenii săi, salutându-se cu pălăriile ridicate și pornind pe velociped într-o călătorie ce avea să fie una cu peripeții. Astfel, imaginea următoare îl ilustrează pe acesta fugărit de câinii unei turme de oi în trecerea sa cu velocipedul peste un deal. Apoi, ajungând la un lac, personajul este nevoit să îl traverseze cu velocipedul în spate. Cea de-a patra caricatură îl înfățișează pe Gura Satului urmărit de oamenii unui sat prin care acesta trecea și care, văzându-l pe această ciudată bicicletă, se înarmară pentru a-l goni pe „necuratu”. În caricatura următoare Gura Satului face o coborâre primejdioasă de pe un deal, lucru sugerat atât de pletele și de mustățile sale zburate de vânt dar și de ochii săi băgați în cap în semn de mare temere. Ultima imagine îl surprinde pe personajul nostru ajungând la Șomcuta, însă nu pe velociped ci călare, atât el cât și vehiculul cu două roți, epuizat după o astfel de călătorie, după cum specifică și explicația aferentă imaginii („In fine sdrobitu si subtîrelu ajunse calare la Siomcut’a”). În toate cele șase imagini caricaturale, Gura Satului apare în costumul său popular tradițional, cu ie, ȋtari, șerpar, opinci și pălărie neagră cu borul întors iar disproporția fizică dintre capul său mare și corpul și picioarele sale mici merge în paralel cu disproporția dintre roțile velocipedului cu care acesta se deplasează construind o imagine pe cât de disproporționată la o primă vedere, pe atât de echilibrată în ansamblu. Această serie de mici desene caricaturale a intenționat, probabil, să delecteze publicul cititor

dar, de asemenea, să le reamintească învățătura străveche conform căreia, drumul spre realizarea unui lucru important este adesea anevoios și plin de primejdii și obstacole. Iar prezența Gurii Satului, reprezentantul poporului român transilvănean, la o adunare de o asemenea însemnătate cum a fost cea de la Șomcuta, semnifică, fără îndoială, realizarea obiectivului însuși al acestei adunări de însemnătate istorică.

Cea de-a doua caricatură care amintește de activitatea asociațiunii este intitulată „Te omóra cu omeni'a” (fig. 4) și aparține Numărului 12 din 19 / 31 martie 1870. Ea este o mostră de încercare a maghiarilor de a-i deștrădăcina sufletește pe românii transilvăneni, de a-i desnaționaliza și de a-i face să îmbrace crezul politic unguresc. Se știe bine că, în perioada dualismului, maghiarii luptau intens pentru ca românii să se distanțeze treptat de tot ceea ce însemna pentru ei limbă, tradiții, religie sau cultură națională. În acest desen caricatural, un politician maghiar iese în calea a trei tinere românce reprezentând trei dintre regiunile importante ale Transilvaniei - Lugojul, Oradea și Gherla - care au jucat în permanență un rol important în menținerea vie a conștiinței naționale, invitându-le cu vorbe lingușitoare să participe la congresul maghiarilor de la Pesta, motivând că acolo sunt săli „mai comode”. Prin aceasta el dorește să sugereze faptul că, congresul lor deține o capacitate suficientă de a coopta și alți adepți, din rândurile românilor, la politica lor. Transilvănențele, însă, îl refuză politicos pe ungur, demonstrându-și verticalitatea în menținerea drumului lor comun, acela înspre Blaj și sugerând astfel hotărârea lor de nestrămutat de a-și menține apartenența la națiunea și crezul politic românesc („Multiamimu de omenia, dar inchepe-vomu noi si la Blasiu!”). Nu întâmplător este Blajul locul de întâlnire a drumurilor celor trei deoarece cel mai puternic instrument de luptă pentru menținerea vie a conștiinței naționale a românilor în vremuri atât de potrivnice acestei năzuințe a fost constituit de existența și activitatea temerară a Asociațiunii Astra care, în anul 1870, a înființat printre alte Despărțăminte, și pe acela al Blajului (Grecu, 1987, p. 26). Faptul că româncele acționează la unison este relevant și de faptul că poartă toate trei costumul tradițional transilvănean, cu ie, fustă, cătrințe și năframă albă pe cap. Ele umblă desculțe, însă, acest lucru fiind sugestiv pentru starea materială precară a poporului român din Transilvania în timpul dualismului, dar nici acest lucru nu le influențează spre a se lăsa pradă invitației cuceritoare a maghiarului, îmbrăcat elegant, cu pantaloni, tunică și papion care, prin evocarea comodității sălilor de congres de

la Pesta, le sugerează femeilor posibilitatea schimbării calității vieții lor materiale. Fără ezitare, acestea nu cedează și, îndreptându-se înspre acest loc de adunare, cele trei românce din Transilvania, exprimă, o dată în plus, ideea unității în cuget și simțire a românilor aflați sub dominație străină și dorința lor puternică de a lua parte la adunări care îi învățau cum să răzbată ca entitate națională în fața presiunii maghiare continue.

Cele patru imagini conexe care alcătuiesc grafica ultimei pagini a Numărului 31 din 3 / 15 septembrie 1869 sub titlul „Ce aru fi doritu unele foi unguresci să se vorbească in Adunarea de la Siomcut'a ” (fig. 5) fac referire, din nou, la Adunarea Generală a Astei din august 1869, de la Șomcuta Mare. După cum este bine cunoscut, Astra a reprezentat cea mai puternică formă de a menține vie cultura poporului român prin inițiere de studii și editări de publicații literare, științifice și artistice, înființare și susținere de biblioteci populare în fiecare comună sau biblioteci regionale în fiecare centru de despărțământ prin intermediul cărora s-a luptat cu îndârjire pentru vorbirea limbii române, perpetuarea tradițiilor românești și a idealului de unitate națională. Desfășurată la Șomcuta Mare, această adunare hotărăște înființarea de despărțăminte în ținuturile Transilvaniei, lucru care implica deci accentuarea acestei activități fervente a Asociațiunii în slujba poporului român. Publicațiile ungurești, însă, refractare la îndârjirea românilor transilvăneni de a-și menține vie limba și națiunea, ar fi dorit ca Adunarea de la Șomcuta să fi luptat pentru alte deziderate, ilustrate în cele patru caricaturi. În fiecare dintre ele este înfățișat un vorbitor ungar care prezintă auditoriului o pleiadă de argumente în favoarea ungarilor și a limbii maghiare. Prima dintre ele se referă la recunoașterea maghiarilor ca o națiune cu merite deosebite căreia trebuie să i se aducă profunde omagii pentru toate facilitățile oferite poporului român alături de care trăiesc („Tot ce avem, ni le-au dat unгурii. Să trăiască dară unгурii!”). Cea de-a doua caricatură aduce în discuție dorința ungarilor de a impune limba maghiară ca limbă unică pe teritoriul Transilvaniei, acest lucru pornind încă de la educația pe care mamele o dau copiilor lor cu care ar trebui să vorbească doar în maghiară („Vorbind despre educațiunea femeilor, am să spun din capul locului, că detorintia mamelor este a vorbi cu copiii ungresce.”) Insistând asupra vorbirii limbii maghiare, a treia imagine îl prezintă pe vorbitorul de la pupitru descriind această limbă ca pe una divină („Și angerii in ceriuri vorbescu ungresce. Se vorbimu dar

și noi toți unguresce!”). Ultimul desen încheie apoteotic neîmplinitele năzuințe ungurești care vorbesc despre acea mult dorită maghiarizare în masă („Totu omulu se fia omu și unguru!”). Gestica vorbitorilor maghiari este una dominatoare a mulțimii din adunare, în fiecare dintre caricaturi aceștia ridicând mâinile în aer în încercarea de a-și convinge auditoriul de adevărul îndemnurilor lor. Așadar, în numai patru reprezentări grafice, autorul reușește să comprime, deosebit de sugestiv, politica de desnaționalizare pe care maghiarii au dorit să o impună românilor transilvăneni în perioada dualismului austro-ungar.

Aceste caricaturi extrem de sugestive care fac referiri directe la importanța activității ASTREI în menținerea vie a identității naționale a românilor transilvăneni în grelele vremuri dualiste doresc să evidențieze rolul de necontestat al acestei asociațiuni în perpetuarea conștiinței de neam și a necesității efortului de a menține vie limba română și, de asemenea, faptul că ASTRA a reprezentat cel mai puternic instrument de ridicare a poporului român din întunericul unor vremuri de dominație prin intermediul culturii.

ASTRA a însemnat și continuă să semnifice pentru acest popor „instituția unui neam, a unei istorii și a spiritualității românești” (Streza, 2012), lucru dovedit și prin evocarea activității sale în paginile revistei transilvănene *Gura Satului*.

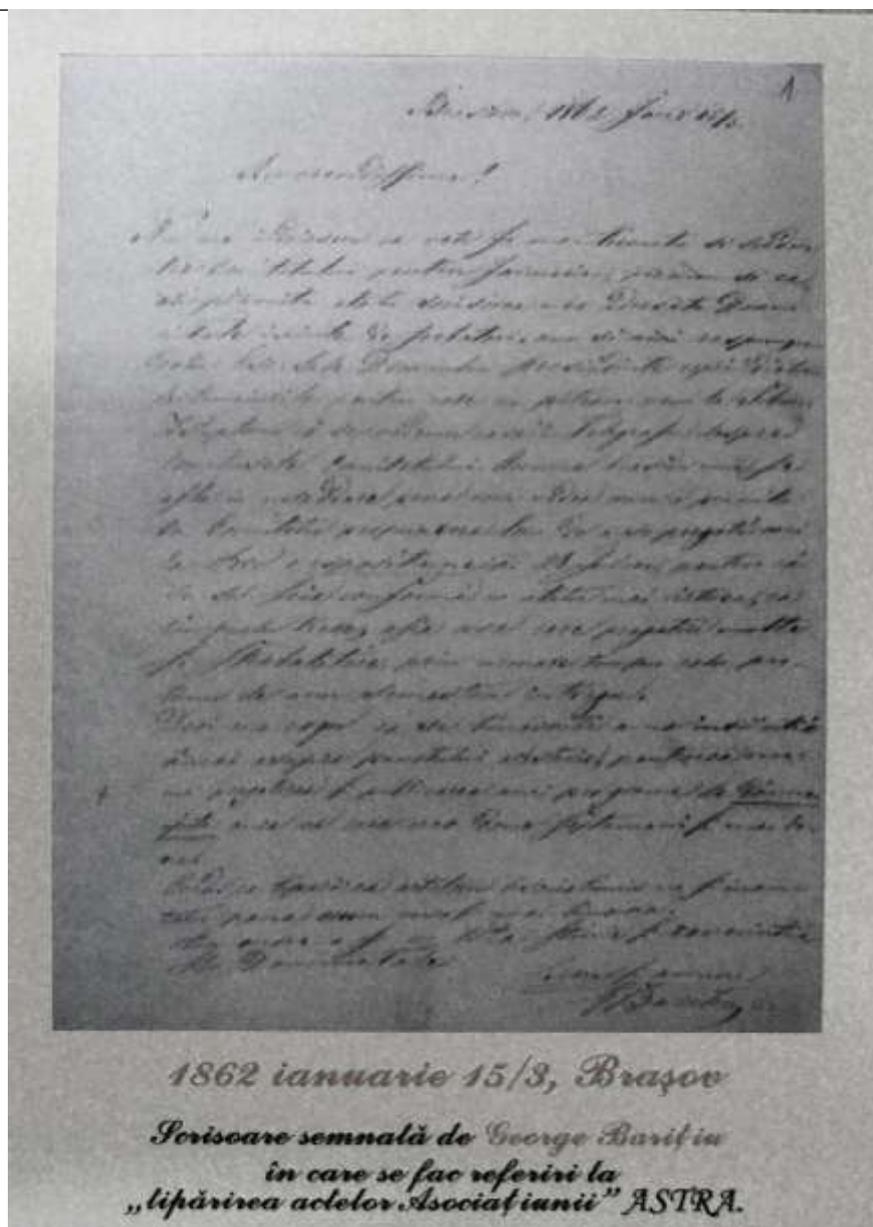


Fig. 1. Document din Fondul Asociației ASTRA, *Tezaur arhivistic sibian*, Direcția Județeană Sibiu a Arhivelor Naționale, Sibiu, Techno Media, 2006. Scrioare semnată de George Barițiu (ianuarie 1862) în care se fac referiri la tipărirea actelor Asociației ASTRA – document ilustratoriu al neobositei activități a cărturarului transilvănean în slujba asociației.

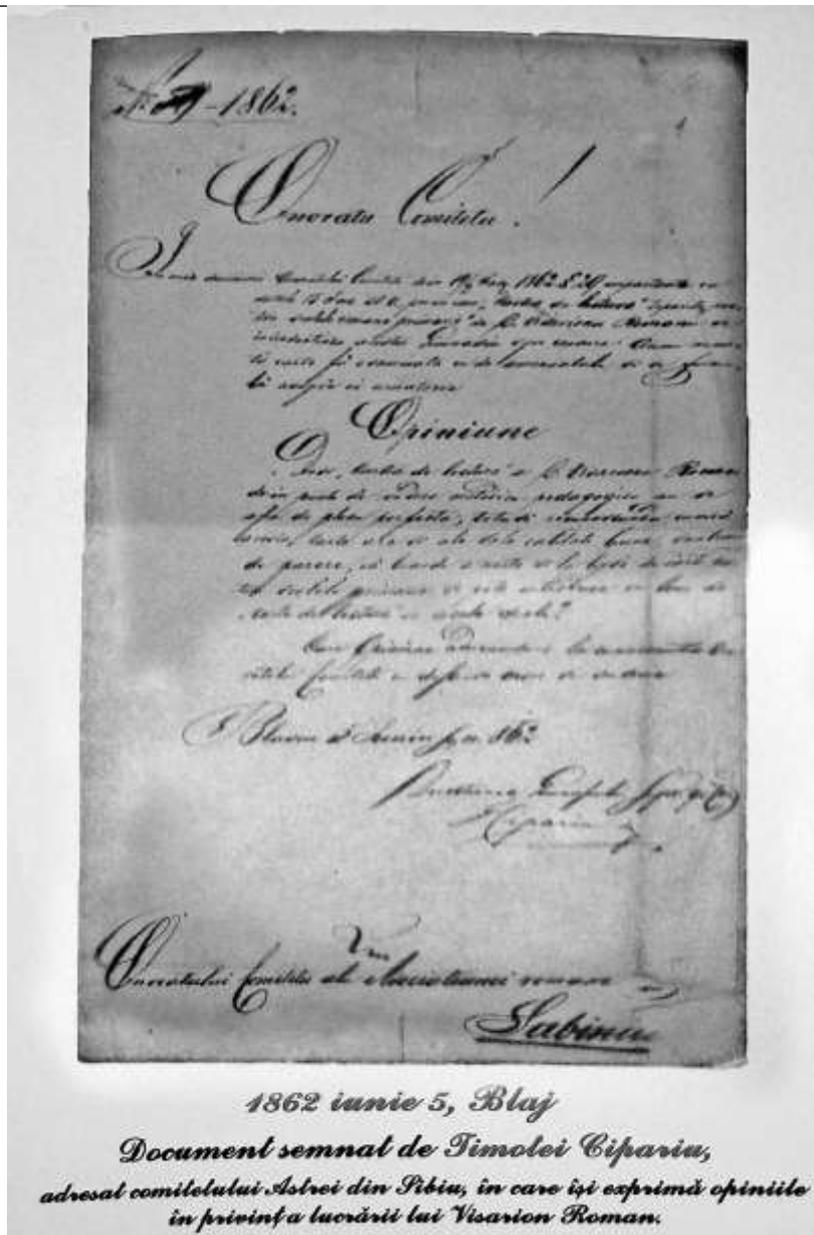


Fig 2. Document din Fondul Asociației ASTRA, *Tezaur arhivistic sibian*, Direcția Județeană Sibiu a Arhivelor Naționale, Sibiu, Techno Media, 2006. Document semnat de Timotei Cipariu în iunie 1862, adresat comitetului Astrei din Sibiu, în care își exprimă opiniile în privința lucrării lui Visarion Roman.



Fig. 3. Caletori'a Gurei Satului la Siomcut'a pe velocipedu - Caricatură din *Gura Satului*, Numărul 26 din 25 iulie (6 august) 1869.



Fig. 4. *Te omóra cu omeni'a* - Caricatură din *Gura Satului*, Numărul 12 din 19 / 31 martie 1870.



Fig. 5. *Ce aru fi doritu unele foi unguresci să se vorbească in Adunarea de la Siomcut'a* - Caricatură din *Gura Satului*, Numărul 31 din 3 / 15 septembrie 1869.

BIBLIOGRAFIE

1. ***. (1972). *Istoria României în Date*. București: Editura Enciclopedică Română.
2. ***. (2006). *Tezaur arhivistic sibian. Direcția Județeană Sibiu a Arhivelor Naționale*. Sibiu: Techno Media.
3. ***. (2011). *ASTRA, Revista Asociațiunii Transilvane pentru Literatura Română și Cultura Poporului Român*. Despărțământul Central Sibiu, Anul III, numărul 9.
4. Acu, D. (2011). *Asociațiunea Astra – 150 de ani. Repere cronologice 1861-2011*. Sibiu: Editura Asociațiunii ASTRA.
5. Ardelean, T. (2011). *Asociațiunea ASTRA și limba română*. Sibiu: Editura Asociațiunii Astra.
6. Badea, M. (2004). *Scurtă istorie a presei românești*. București: Editura Economică.
7. Bărbulescu, M., Deletant, D., Hitchins, K., Papacostea, Ș, Teodor, P. (2005). *Istoria României*. București: Corint.
8. Berindei, D. (1994). *Istoria României : pagini transilvane*. Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Fundația Culturală Română.
9. Bucura, C. (2012). „*Presa satirică și rolul ei în viața românilor transilvăneni la granița dintre secolele XIX-XX, prin intermediul revistei “Gura Satului” (1867-1881; 1901-1903)*”, în „*Gând Românesc*”. Revistă lunară de cultură, știință și artă, Anul V, Nr. 1,2,3 (40, 41, 42).
10. Bucura, C. (2012). „*Rolul presei satirice în reflectarea realităților social-istorice transilvănene din cea de-a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*”. Transilvania, Nr. 7 / 2012, p. 71-74.
11. Bucura, C. *Satira, umorul, ironia în presă – modalități de oglindire a adevărului social-istoric în Volumul Adunării Generale Omagiale „Asociațiunea ASTRA – 150 de ani (1861-2011)”* (Volum sub tipar).
12. Grecu, V.V. (1987), *ASTRA în lupta pentru făurirea statului național unitar român*, Sibiu.
13. Grecu, V.V. (2011). *ASTRA, Vocația perenității românilor*, București: Editura Academiei Române.
14. Hangiu, I. (2009). *Presa românească de la începuturi până în prezent: dicționar cronologic 1790-2007*, Vol. 1-4, București, Ed. Comunicare.ro.

15. Hitchins, K. (1970). *Studii privind istoria modernă a Transilvaniei*. Cluj-Napoca: Dacia.
16. Hitchins, K. (1972). *Cultură și naționalitate în Transilvania*. Cluj: Editura Dacia.
17. Lupaș-Vlasiu, M. (1945). *Aspecte din Istoria Transilvaniei*. Sibiu: Institutul de Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană".
18. Macavei, E. (2007). *Umorul în publicații astriste*. Sibiu: Ed. Asociațiunii Astra.
19. Macavei, E. (2011). *Asociațiunea ASTRA și ctitoriile*. Sibiu: Editura Asociațiunii ASTRA.
20. Matei, P. (1986). *Asociațiunea transilvană pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român (ASTRA) și rolul ei în cultura națională 1861-1950*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia.
21. Matei, P. (2005). *Asociațiunea în lumina documentelor (1861-1950): Noi contribuții*. Sibiu: Editura Universității "Lucian Blaga".
22. Moga, V. (2003). *Astra și societatea 1918-1930*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Presa Universitară.
23. Neamțu, G. (2001). *George Barițiu: gazetele și procesele sale politice*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Argonaut.
24. Petcu, M. (2002). *Istoria presei române*. București: Editura Tritonic.
25. Popa, M. (200). *Presa și ideea națională*. Alba Iulia: Univ. "1 Decembrie 1918".
26. Tatay, A. E. (2008). „O privire de ansamblu asupra revistei „Gura satului” (1867-1881). Studiu de caz asupra caricaturilor „Gurii satului” din perioada pestană – ianuarie 1869 – martie 1871”. Școala Ardeleană, Nr. 3/2008.



U.A.S.

Revista de Comunicare și Marketing, anul IV, numărul 6, martie 2013

I.S.S.N. 2069-0304

Pag. 45-60

Abstract

European countries have started (and some already ended) the process of replacing analogue with digital television. Romania is involved in the process of transition from analogue to digital terrestrial television set to finish initially in 2012 and postponed to 2015. Pointing out the importance of adopting digital terrestrial broadcasting standards for the media industry, the article analyses the different stages of transition from analogue to digital technology, in the European context. The purpose of the study is to critically approach the main problems the Romanian transition encountered, and identify potential solutions to respect the new deadline and the European standards.

Keywords: *digital television, analogue television, European standards, digital broadcasting terrestrial, media industry*

***THE TRANSITION
FROM ANALOGUE
TO DIGITAL
TELEVISION
IN EUROPE.
CHALLENGES AND
DIFFICULTIES
FOR ROMANIA***

Rodica Melinda ȘUȚU
University of Bucharest,
School of Journalism and Mass
Communication Studies

1. Introduction

The pressures from the European Union to comply with the standards set in 2006 at Geneva for all the Union, as well as the growing interest of the Romanian citizens in the developing digital technology, forced Romania to start the transition from analog to digital terrestrial television. The end of the process, set by the representatives of the European Union for January 2012, was moved to 2015. The Romanian authorities failed to comply with the necessary standards several times and decided, on August 2010, to delay the end of the process to January 2015, the date when all the analog transmissions must end.

The main argument for the Romanian authorities' decision to delay the process was the incapacity of the citizens to pay for the digital receiving set during crisis, and therefore the Government decided to look for the necessary funds for subsidies. Another reason to delay the end of the digital transition to January 2015 was to give the broadcasters and digital platforms providers enough time to adjust their systems and buy new equipment (MCSI, 2012).

The article will explain the importance of adopting digital terrestrial television in the European countries, mapping the differences and similarities between countries adopting the digital video broadcasting standards. In the case of Romania, the study will analyze the manner the stages of digitalization were adopted and respected, pointing out the main problems the transition encountered.

2. Why digital television?

Digital television is the transmission of audio and video by digitally processed and multiplexed signal, in contrast to the totally analogue and channel separated signals used by analogue television. It is an innovative service that represents a significant evolution in television technology since color television in the 1950s. Many countries have been replacing broadcast analogue with digital television to allow other uses of the television spectrum. Several regions of the world are in different stages of adaptation and are implementing different broadcasting standards. This article will approach the European countries, which are in different stages of adoption of digital technologies.

Digital has several advantages over analogue television. May be the most significant would that digital channels take up less bandwidth, and the bandwidth needs are continuously variable, at a corresponding reduction in image quality depending on the level of compression as well as the resolution of the transmitted image. Thanks to multiplexing, more than one program is transmitted through the same channel, which decreases significantly broadcasting costs. This means that digital broadcasters can provide more digital channels in the same space and also provide high-definition digital television or multimedia service (Hartwig, 2005).

Digital television offers users electronic program guides and additional languages (spoken or subtitled). Interactivity is an essential feature of the digital television technology, as it allows the users to buy products advertised on TV, vote or take part in a television show, all with the help of a single remote control. The digital technology also allows the users to record, through their personal video recorder, their favorite programs, which are stocked on the hard drive. Users of digital television can also access Pay-per-View and Video-on-Demand facilities.

The sale of non-television services may provide an additional revenue source. With digital television, the audio and video must be synchronized digitally, so reception of the digital signal must be very nearly complete; otherwise, neither audio nor video will be usable. Short of this complete failure, "blocky" video is seen when the digital signal experiences interference.

However, the transition from analogue to digital encounters several difficulties, inherent to any change that entails economic, social and technological change. From the economic point of view, the provider of digital platforms encounters significant costs for the acquisition and transmission of the digital information: computers, software, satellites and so on. There is still need for public investments in order to accomplish the transition to digital gradually, by the replacement of the old systems of communications and gear. The financial level of the consumers is an important element the public authorities in each country involved on the process of digitalization must take into account. In some cases, the costs of the consumer provided equipment (set up boxes, routers, local access networks, antennas, decoders) could rise above the price the average consumer is willing to pay and subsidies are taken into consideration (Humphreys & Lang, 1998).

There are a number of different ways to receive digital television. One of the oldest means of receiving DTV (and TV in general) is using an antenna or *aerial* in some countries. This way is known as digital terrestrial television (DTT). With DTT, viewers are limited to whatever channels the antenna picks up and signal quality might vary. Other ways have been devised to receive digital television, such as cable and satellite. Different standards, such as digital multimedia broadcasting have been devised to allow handheld devices to receive TV signals. Another way is IPTV, which is receiving TV via Internet Protocol, relying on digital subscriber line or optical cable line. Finally, an alternative way is to receive digital TV signals via the open Internet. For example, there is P2P (peer-to-peer) Internet television software that can be used to watch TV on a computer.

3. Digital video broadcasting terrestrial in Europe

The focus of this article is on the terrestrial digital video broadcasting, as the standard chosen by the European Union countries to replace the analog standard. Digital video broadcasting terrestrial or **DVB-T** is the European-based consortium standard for the broadcast transmission of digital terrestrial television that was first published in 1997 and first broadcast in the United Kingdom in 1998. This system transmits compressed digital video and audio and other data using coded orthogonal frequency-division multiplexing (OFDM) modulation.

OFDM works by splitting the digital data stream into a large number of slower digital streams, each of which digitally modulate a set of closely spaced adjacent carrier frequencies

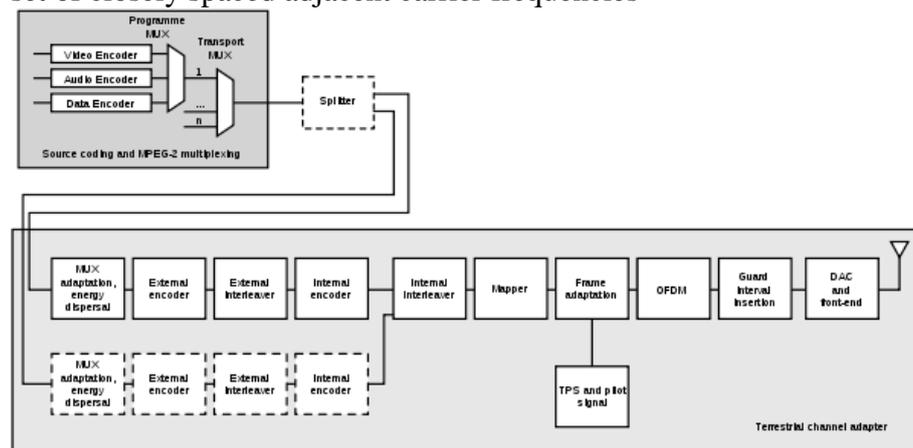


Fig 1. Scheme of DVB-T transmission system

The European governments support the free access to information, meaning that all the citizens must be offered access to television service, no matter if they live in highly populated cities or remote rural areas. Among all digital technologies (DVB-T, DVB-C, DVB-S), only the terrestrial and satellite standards are able to fulfill the requirements as not all the areas are cable connected due to the significant costs of the networks.

On the other hand, the necessity of giving citizens equal access to information and to national and regional interest programs is a factor of significant importance for choosing the DBV-T standard. Only the digital video broadcasting terrestrial can fulfill the above criteria. It is essential to note that the programs of national and regional interest must be delivered is a free to air package, meaning that the citizens are not required to pay for this service provided through digital video broadcasting terrestrial technology (Hartwig, 2005).

Television stations rely on advertising as the main source of revenue, therefore their main aim is to cover a large area of audience. Therefore, when approaching DVB-T, one must not forget that costs and profit still play the decisive role. In that respect, the costs of transmission for the digital terrestrial broadcasting are lowered by using the existing network of transmitters and frequencies from the analog infrastructure. The digital broadcasting terrestrial technology makes optimal use of the radio spectrum by multiplexing different digital services on the same frequency, in order to create conditions for profit raise.

For the media industry, a new market is created by packaging and transmitting through the digital terrestrial infrastructure of free to air programs together with pay television, video on demand and other interactive services. Another advantage of the digital video broadcasting terrestrial standard which comes handy for the digital platforms in the European countries as well as for the individual consumers is the mobile reception of the signal in a car, train or bus.

4. Strategies for transition from analogue to digital

In June 2005, the European Commission issued a resolution referring to the acceleration of transition from analogue to digital broadcasting, in order to encourage member states to advance a date for ending analogue transmission. The Commission urged the member

states to coordinate a mutual effort in order to make digital broadcasting available in all the European countries.

The address comes in competition of the 2003 European Commission resolution, referring to the transition from analogue to digital transmission, which emphasized the advantages of the latter and rightfully initiated the European digitalization policy. The resolutions included essential information such as the duty of the member states to regulate the adoption of digital technology, to inform and actively involve the citizens and companies in the management of the radio spectrum.

At the same time, the authorities in each member state had to make sure that the digitalization process is based on objective, transparent and non discriminatory criteria, to grant universal access to the new technology, to ensure pluralism, to provide informative and relevant content and keep the social mission for public radio and television services.

The digitalization strategy is an active component of the The eEurope 2005 Action Plan, launched at the Seville European Council in June 2002 and endorsed by the Council of Ministers in the eEurope Resolution of January 2003. It aimed to develop modern public services and a dynamic environment for e-business through widespread availability of broadband access at competitive prices and a secure information infrastructure (eEurope, 2005).

The eEurope 2005 Action Plan was continued in 2010 with European Information Society initiative, i2010, which provides an integrated approach to information society and audio-visual policies in the EU, covering regulation, research, and deployment and promoting cultural diversity. It looks for fast and visible results, building on the optimistic outlook for industries and markets. The i2010 aims to encourage fast growth built around the convergence at the levels of networks, services and devices. Its objective is to ensure that Europe's citizens, businesses and governments make the best use of communication technologies in order to improve industrial competitiveness, support growth and the creation of jobs and to help address key societal challenges (Digital Agenda, 2010).

However, the most important resolution for the development of the digital terrestrial broadcasting in Europe was the Geneva treaty, signed in June 2005 at the Regional Radio Communication Conference. The standards, legislation, deadlines and stages of

digitalization process of each country were established in the treaty signed by the participants at the Conference.

More than 1000 delegates representing 104 countries from Europe, Africa, Middle East and Iran adopted the New Digital Plan, which adopted the standards known as T-DAB for sound (digital terrestrial audio broadcasting) and DVB-T for television (digital terrestrial video broadcasting). The treaty agreement replaced the analogue broadcasting plan set in 1961 in Stockholm for Europe and the 1989 treaty set in Geneva for Africa (ITU, 2005).

The agreement reached at the Regional Radio Communication Conference in 2005 paved the way for utilizing the full potential of information and communication technologies to achieve the internationally recognized development goals. The date of transition to digital terrestrial broadcasting in the year 2015 was intended to coincide with the targets set by the Millennium Development Goals.

The main aim of the digital **switch over** mentioned in the treaty is to leapfrog existing technologies to connect the households and citizens in underserved and remote communities and close the digital divide. Delegates at the Geneva Conference in 2005 stated that the new digital Plan provides not only new possibilities for structured development of digital terrestrial broadcasting but also sufficient flexibilities for adaptation to the changing telecommunication environment (Uzumi, 2005). The major challenge still remains to find ways for digital and analogue broadcasting to co-exist on the radio-frequency spectrum during the transition period w in underserved and remote communities and close the digital divide.

5. The evolution of digitalization in Europe

The concepts ‘analogue switch-off’ and ‘digital switchover’ are currently high on the agenda of European policy makers because of the 2012 deadline that sets the termination of analogue terrestrial television. Nevertheless, some clarification about the difference between the two concepts is necessary. The European Commission defines ‘switch-off’ as “terminating the terrestrial transmission of analogue television”, and ‘switchover’ as “the transition from analogue to digital broadcasting of all types of broadcasting” (EC, 2005, p. 3; Iosifidis, 2006, p. 250).

This digital switchover is seen as a logic consequence of the technological evolution, generating several advantages for citizens and broadcast companies: First, more choice and quality for viewers (more

channels, high-definition television, better image, etc.); Second, lower distribution costs and the possibility of transmitting more channels or services at the same cost; Third, greater efficiency in spectrum use (the creation of new services because more data can be transmitted through the same bandwidth); And finally the ability to send data that allows interactivity, personalization, etc. (d'Haenens&Bink, 2001, p. 125; Iosifidis, 2007, p. 7).

According to the European digitalization standards, the freedom of initiative to allocate the frequencies was given to each country. There are two possibilities to give a certain frequency to a digital platform provider: either to each television channel, or at a multiplex level. Regardless of the manner of frequency allocation, the conditions of access to digital capacity are established by the national regulatory authority of each member state. Therefore, European countries chose different modalities to allocate the digital capacity. In *Germany, Great Britain, Netherlands, Italy, Spain, Austria, Ireland, Lithuania*, the frequencies are allocated to one or more providers/multiplexes. In *Sweden, Finland, France*, the capacity is allocated directly to the television channels.

Specialists argue that, when evaluating the regulatory patterns, it is more important to assess how the access is regulated rather than whom the beneficiary is (Marinescu, 2009). If we analyze different examples of countries both with multiplex and channel allocation patterns, we observe that in *Finland, Germany, Sweden and France* the channels were selected by the regulatory authorities following a procedure similar to analog. In *Italy, Great Britain and Norway* the capacity is managed by the multiplex operator, free to select the television channels to air. In this case, the national authority regulator must compel the providers to accept certain limitations and rules in order to make sure informative and public interest content is delivered.

Since the beginning of the transition from analog to digital, European countries have encountered various technical difficulties and challenges (Hancock, 1998). In *Great Britain*, the main problem was the limited broadcasting capacity, in order to protect the still existing analog transmissions. A significant growth of the digital broadcasting capacity was not possible until the switch over, meaning the end of all analog broadcasting. In *Germany*, the transition from analog to digital terrestrial broadcasting is slowed due to the fact that only 50 percent of the population used terrestrial reception. In *Italy*,

because of frequency scarcity and chaos in the broadcasting spectrum, radical measures were called to reduce by 30 percent the analog allocated spectrum.

The first country to end all analog transmission was *Netherlands*, at the end of November 2006. As a matter of fact, most European states have finished the transition from analog to digital: *Luxemburg, Finland, Sweden, Germany* and *Belgium*. *Austria, Estonia, Denmark, Spain, Malta* and *Slovenia* followed and adopted digital terrestrial video broadcasting technology on their territory (EC, 2012). In *Romania* and *Poland*, the switch off, meaning the end of all digital transmission was postponed from 2012 to 2015.

Romania ranks 30 among the 35 European countries subject to monitoring by the companies interested to invest in the process of digitalization. The digital rate in Romania is 42%, followed by Lithuania (39%), Bosnia (36%), Ukraine (29%), Serbia (24%) and Belarus (16%), according to research conducted by SES, a company that operates 50 de satellites internationally. Finland and Netherlands are the countries where the penetration of digital technology reached 100 percent before the digital switch over, in 2012 (money.ro, 2012).

The first television programs transmitted in the digital video broadcasting terrestrial standards were in Great Britain and Sweden in 1998. Nevertheless, the first switch off in Europe was accomplished in Berlin and surrounding areas in Germany, in 2003. The most recent switch off was expected at the end of 2012 in Ireland, Italy, Austria, Slovakia, Norway ((Biszok, 2010).

6. Romanian transition to digital

Romania was one of the participants at the Regional Radio Communication Conference in Geneva, 2005, when the treaty setting the standards, dates and rules of the digitalization process in Europe was signed. Romanian authorities' engagement was to accomplish the full analogue switch off (termination of all analogue terrestrial transmission) by 2012. At the conference in Geneva, the two dates when the European countries agreed to end their analogue transmissions, were 2008 and 2012, chose according to the level technical development, economic situation and regulatory context of each state (ITU, 2006).

According to the treaty Romania signed in June 2005 in Geneva, the allocation of multiplexes was the following: eight national digital terrestrial television networks and two national digital terrestrial radio

networks. The two stages of transition from analogue to digital television are the **switch over** and the **switch off**, each of them entailing distinct technical, regulatory, and economic levels.

In the stage of **switch over**, the necessary steps are:

- a. Allocation of two national multiplexes, compelled to transmit the public television programs, as well as private televisions with relevant content, significant audience ratings and national coverage
- b. Allocation of other four digital multiplexes able to transmit the selected commercial television channels after January
- c. Coverage of minimum 60 percent of population and 50 percent of national territory for the national and regional/local multiplexes.
- d. Coverage of minimum 80 percent of population and 70 percent of the national territory for national and regional/local multiplexes.
- e. Coverage of minimum 90 percent of the population and 80 percent of the national territory for national and regional/local multiplexes.

For the level of **switch off**, the compulsory steps are:

- a. The end of all analogue transmission, meaning that no analogue transmitter will broadcast on the Romanian territory.
- b. Over 95 percent of the Romanian population will have national terrestrial digital service, mainly content from the public television station.

In the spring of 2010, the economic, technical and regulatory circumstances were far from favorable to indicate a smooth **switch over**; the Romanian authorities decided that the transition deadline would not be able to meet in January 2012, as promised. Therefore, in August 2010, by Government decision, the **switch off** was postpone to January 2015. (HG 833/2010).

The main argument for the Government's decision to delay the process of digitalization was the incapacity of the citizens to pay for the digital receiving set during crisis. In that respect, the Government decided to look for the necessary funds for subsidies. Another reason to delay the end of the digital transition to January 2015 was to give the broadcasters and digital multiplexes providers enough time to adjust their systems and buy necessary equipment (MCSI, 2012).

Although the decision of postponing the deadline for analogue **switch off** was motivated by buying more time, money, resources and time were wasted as the National Authority for Telecommunication had to cancel the auction for digital licenses. Under the supervision of the National Authority for Telecommunications, the procedure for allocating the first two licenses for digital multiplexing operation had

already started. As a consequence, the Romanian authorities had to pay back the companies that had already started the acquisitions for the digital multiplexes: RCS&RDS, Romtelecom, TDF SAS, National Society of Radio communications, Media Sat, Österreichische Rundfunk sender GmbH&Co KG and General Satellite Sofia (jurnalul.ro, 2010).

One potential solution to assure a smooth transition to terrestrial digital broadcasting is to strictly follow some simple but necessary stages other countries took: issuing the supporting legislation, adopting a national strategy of transition from analogue to digital technology, and a national strategy of providing relevant content.

The strategy of transition from analogue to digital must outline fundamental decisions for the media industry such as the pace of replacement of analogue by digital. Another pertinent question is how many of the eight designated multiplexes are to be allocated to the television services and how many are kept for other types of media services, such as mobile television or multimedia services. It is also important to know if all the available frequencies will be open for auction at once, which will close the media market for a long time, or if some spare frequencies will be kept aside, to allow a dynamic growth of the digital television market, in trend with the evolution of the media industry.

At the same time, the national strategy of providing digital content must take into account the access of the majority of the population to a growing number of relevant programs. When outlining and then implementing the digital transition strategies, the national authorities are responsible to insure a steady balance between national, regional and local interest programs.

As the statistics issued at the end of 2012 by the MCIT (Ministry of Communications and Information Technology) three multiplexes (MUX) provide the digital broadcasting: MUX 1 provides the transmission of TVR 2, TVR Cultural, Antena 3, B1 TV, Kanal D, Prima TV, Transilvania Look, Nasul TV, 1 Music Channel. MUX 2 provides the transmission of TVR HD, TVR 1, TVR 2, TVR Info, while MUX 3 is the provider of PRO TV HD, sport.ro HD.

Anul IV, nr. 6, martie 2013

No.	Name	Channel UHF	Frequency	Media	Provider	Area	Format
1	ProTV HD	30	546MHz	Media Pro	MediaSat	București	16:9 1080i
2	sport.ro HD	30	546MHz	Media Pro	MediaSat	București	16:9 1080i
3	TVR HD	54	738MHz	SRTV	SNR	București, Sibiu	16:9 1080i
4	TVR 1	54	738MHz	SRTV	SNR	București, Sibiu	4:3 576i
5	TVR 2	54	738MHz	SRTV	SNR	București, Sibiu	4:3 576i
6	TVR News	54	738MHz	SRTV	SNR	București, Sibiu	4:3 576i
7	TVR 3	59	778MHz	SRTV	SNR	București, Sibiu	4:3 576i
8	Antena 3	59	778MHz	Intact Media Group	SNR	București, Sibiu	4:3 576i
9	Kanal D	59	778MHz	Doğan Holding	SNR	București, Sibiu	4:3 576i
10	Prima Tv	59	778MHz	SBS Broadcasting	SNR	București, Sibiu	4:3 576i
11	Transilvania Look	59	778MHz	Transilvania Media Group	SNR	București, Sibiu	4:3 576i
12	Nașul TV	59	778MHz	-	SNR	București, Sibiu	4:3 576i
13	1 Music Channel	59	778MHz	-	SNR	București, Sibiu	4:3 576i
14	Money.ro	59	778MHz	Radio TV Global Network	SNR	București, Sibiu	16:9 576i

7. Conclusions

As the experience of the previous years before 2012 demonstrated, Romania was not able to respect the deadline the national authorities signed for at the Geneva conference in 2005. The insufficient preparation of the necessary stages of digitalization, the incapacity to foresee the potential technical and economic impediments, gave powerful signals that the Romanian authorities should take a significantly different approach if they want to accomplish a successful switch over in 2015.

The process of digitalization entails massive investments in the production and transmission infrastructure and increased costs for the users. Therefore, the lack of funds tends to become a pressing problem.

A lot of experts in television and communication technology in Romania are reluctant to the success of implementing terrestrial digital video technology by January 2015. Their legitimate argument is that the entire process requires substantial investments and must be preceded by extensive information campaigns and consistent public debates. In order to make a positive contribution to the smoothness of the **switch over**, all the interested parties must participate: television companies, regulatory offices, Government authorities, relevant NGOs.

Nevertheless, there are groups of communication specialists which are optimistic that the growth and speeding expansion of the new technologies, along with the receptivity of Romanian media market to novelty and innovation, will make a significant contribution to the success of the digital transition.

8. References

Books:

1. d'Haenens, L. (2001). *European public television in search of a mission in an era of economic and technological change*. In: L. d'Haenens & S. Saeys (2001). *Western broadcasting at the dawn of the 21st century* (pp. 109-124). Mouton de Gruyter: Berlin.
8. European Commission. (2003). *Communication on Digital Switchover – Transition From Analogue to Digital Broadcasting, From Digital Switchover to Analogue Switch-Off*, COM(2003)541.
9. European Commission. (2005a). *Communication on Accelerating the Transition from Analogue to Digital Broadcasting*, COM (2005) 204 final; 24 May. Brussels: European Commission.
10. European Commission (2005a). *i2010 – a European Information Society for growth and employment*, COM (2005) 229 Final; 1 June. Brussels: European Commission.
11. Hancock, D. (1998). *Digital Television: A European Perspective*. In Steemers, J. (coord.), *Changing Channels: the prospectus for television in a digital world*. Luton: University of Luton Press.
12. Hartwig, R., L. (2005). *Basic TV technology: digital and analog*, 4th edition. Oxford: Focal Press.
13. Humphreys, P. & Lang, M. (1998). *Digital Television between Economy and Pluralism*. In Steemers, J. (coord.), *Changing Channels: the prospectus for television in a digital world*. Luton: University of Luton Press.
14. Iosifidis, P. (2006). *Digital switchover in Europe*. „The International Communication Gazette”, vol. 68 (3), pp. 249-268. London: Thousand Oaks & New Delhi.
15. Iosifidis, P. (2007). *Digital TV, digital switchover and public service broadcasting in Europe*. *Javnost - The public*, Vol. 14, No.1.

Online:

1. Asociația Română de Comunicații Audiovizuale (2012). *MCSI – Strategie de Televiziune digitală*, Retrieved on November 13th from <http://audiovizual.ro/ro/mcsi-strategie-televiziune-digitala/>.
2. Biszok, B. (2010). *România nu mai trece la televiziunea digitală în 2012, ci în 2015*. Retrieved on February 10th

- from <http://www.capital.ro/detalii-articole/stiri/romania-nu-mai-trece-la-televiziunea-digitala-in-2012-ci-in-2015-138654.html>.
3. eEurope (2005), *An information society for all*. Retrieved on December 15th, 2012 from http://ec.europa.eu/information_society/eeurope/2005/index_en.htm.
 4. Hotărârea de Guvern 833/2010 (2010), Retrieved on January 11th 2013 from [http://legestart.ro/Hotararea-833-2010-modificarea-Strategiei-tranzitia-televiziunea-analogica-terestra-cea-digitala-terestra-implementarea-serviciilor-multimedia-digitale-nivel-national-ap-\(MzU5NDk0\).htm](http://legestart.ro/Hotararea-833-2010-modificarea-Strategiei-tranzitia-televiziunea-analogica-terestra-cea-digitala-terestra-implementarea-serviciilor-multimedia-digitale-nivel-national-ap-(MzU5NDk0).htm).
 5. International Telecommunication Union, (2006), *Digital broadcasting set to transform communication landscape by 2015*. Retrieved on September 14th, 2008, from http://www.itu.int/newsroom/press_releases/2006/11.html. Jurnalul.ro. (2010). Ancom Restituie Banii Platite pe Caietul de Sarcini al Licitatiei TV
 6. Digitală. Retrieved on January 22nd from <http://jurnalul.ro/stire-it/ancom-restituie-banii-platiti-pe-caietul-de-sarcini-al-licitatiei-tv-digitala-553226.html>.
 7. Marinescu, C. (2009). Televiziunea terestră: de la analogic la digital. Retrieved on May 2nd 2010 from http://www.ancom.org.ro/uploads/links_files/2009.07.14%20televiziune%20digitala%20ft.pdf.
 8. Money.ro (2010). *Finlanda este singura țară din Europa complet digitalizată*. Retrieved on November 11th, 2012 from http://www.money.ro/finlanda-este-singura-tara-din-europa-complet-digitalizata_1220743.html.
 9. Utumi, Y. (2006). Speech at the Regional Radio communications Conference, Geneva Retrieved on September 14th, 2008, from http://www.itu.int/newsroom/press_releases/2006/11.html.



U.A.S.

Revista de Comunicare și Marketing, anul IV, numărul 6, martie 2013

I.S.S.N. 2069-0304

Pag. 61-78

Abstract

A communication situation is influenced by power structures that conventional speakers are placed or not. Early '70s recognizes the role of language in structuring social relations of power. Language ideology mediates a variety of social institutions, ideology can be seen as an important part in establishing and maintaining unequal power relations. Effects of power and ideology in the production of meaning are not always obvious, which is why we talk about de-mystification of speech by deciphering ideologies.

Keywords: *ideology, power relations, de-mystification, consensus*

***POLITICAL
DISCOURSE
AND IDEOLOGY
PROMOTING***

Cristina ARITON-GELAN

„Andrei Șaguna” University of Constanța,

Faculty of Communication
and Political Sciences

1. Introduction

This paper proposes an analysis of Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, manifestations of the ideologies and discursive strategies determined by the power of language. Power of language is not only a force able to introduce ban to be accepted, but it can build awareness, conveying knowledge, „constructing” realities, „producing” things in different contexts, inducing pleasure. Thus, the discursive power to trigger the entire office gear and not just negative instance whose function is repression. Three concepts are inextricably linked to the Critical Discourse Analysis: the concept of power, the concept of history and the concept of ideology, for discourse to be understood in terms of two types of relationships: discourse as social practice, as an instrument of power and control and discourse in effect foucaultian as a representation of social practices, as a form of knowledge, as an instrument of social construction of reality.

Topic covered in this research area is part of political communication, interdisciplinary research area (the subject of sociological research, political science, language and communication sciences) dating from the '50s and studies initiated by Walter Lippman. Approach achieved at the boundary between the field of political communication and epistemic approach, wants to be one theoretical and analytical, based on shared views of authors such as Paul Ricoeur (in terms of epistemic analysis of ideological issues), Michel Meyer (of the problem of distance between subjects measure discourse), Roland Barthes (in terms of discursive analysis processes and types of rhetoric), Michel Foucault (on the power of speech).

2. Ideologies and discursive strategies

To understand the intent or thought must exceed the actual contents of statements and to interpret them in light of the social situation which they express. This interpretation is made by ideology and „the ideology”, it is understood that „false consciousness”, distorted interpretation of (conscious or unconscious) of reality, because of interest sparked by a particular social position. This interpretation distorts the reality of two-way, or presents a false or a present unilaterally only in terms of a certain social situations. It still looks like a social reality, a whole, and knowing they should be made so.

For French sociology, *ideology* is a science idea that can be deduced from feeling, a way of explaining ideas. For Karl Marx, *ideology* is what is explained, the subject to be studied from a new viewpoint. Ideology is joined by a set of ideas that is organically attached to a particular historical period, from a company, without self-consciousness to bear this coalition, sometimes ignoring it, sometimes even rejecting it. It is a specific kind of reflection of social reality, which gets its own characteristics due to its dependence to the structure of society.

Karl Mannheim's conception, understood *ideology* by all systems of ideas, interests subordinated to a class or a nation. K. Mannheim distinguishes between a *particular ideology* and a *total ideology* (Mannheim, 1956, pp. 42 – 47). Common to both types of ideologies is that ideas are seen only in light of the social positions that make them. Ideas expressed by the subject are interpreted as functions of its existence. The opinions, assertions, ideas, systems are considered only in terms of their apparent value, but are interpreted in light of the conditions of their existence express.

In its interpretive aspect, ideology tries to explain as fully as social status on which he intends to act. Ideology is thus based on a general explanation to formulate goals and means of action. It can not escape from the influence of the social situation of a particular group, because its task is to act to maintain or change that. Each social group has its own collective experience as the foundation on which to build knowledge, hopes, ideals and goals to achieve. Man lives in groups, social classes or communities, in specific cases and established an independent and outside his will and knowledge society is achieved through these social frameworks established themselves by different collective experiences.

An ideology, as a set of political doctrines, legal, religious, moral, is an elaborate system of ideas and principles which are ordered around a single principle, inspiring and reflecting a general conception of the world. This idea is rooted social world and is the manifestation of strong convictions, those who develop and adopt are convinced that it is universal and brings happiness to all. This is because the ideas and doctrines which represents only a partial aspect of reality, lived and experienced by a small group, at a certain stage of historical development, are presented as universal and valid for all times (or societies).

The work of *From text to action*, Paul Ricoeur develops three understandings of ideology: the first sense, that of ideology as „distortion – conceal” analysis assumes that ideology is formed ideas of the human spirit, understanding what was popularized by Karl Marx during his youth and borrowed from French philosophers, who were heirs called ideologues and Condillac (Ricoeur, 1999, pp. 358 – 365).

To explain what we mean by ideology, K. Marx used the metaphor rollover image in a dark room. Thus, ideology is given a production function inverted image of reality. The idea comes from L. Feuerbach, which *The essence of Christianity* treats religion as a distortion the reality.

Marx’s application is that it sees first real life people is their praxis site. Then there is a reflection of the lives in their imagination, and it is ideology. General process whereby ideology is the process of his life’s praxis, is falsified representation of imaginary people and do about it. This will be better understood, considered P. Ricoeur, if praxis discriminate the structure of a symbolic environment that can be distorted, producing a picture of life, plus an inverted image. For, in reality arises that a false image that keeps the action is shaped by the imagination.

A second sense proposed by P. Ricoeur, is the „justified” ideology. And such concerns Marx ideology, namely, when the ruling class says ideas come to require that universal ideas. Any rule would be justified and do this using the concepts able to masquerade as universal, and one year of conviction based on a rhetoric of public discourse. The rhetoric of public discourse becomes an ideology when put into service process legitimate authorities. Most relevant expression on this seems to be the Platonic, „that no tyranny without a sophist” (Ricoeur, 1999, pp. 358 – 365). Likewise, the work *Economy and Society*, Max Weber pointed out that any system of social control is based on an ideological operation designed to legitimize the claim of authority.

The third understanding of ideology envisages „integration” function. This can be illustrated through commemorative ceremonies, which make some updates community events that we are somehow considered to be founding her identity. The commemoration of an event, a community maintains a connection with its own roots, the event founder. The role of ideology is to spread the belief that these events constitute the memory of founding social and community

identity. Ideological function is to link the collective memory of that founding event, so the latter becomes the object of faith of the group.

Any group maintains consistency and becomes a permanent, stable and sustainable image through which he offers himself, image expressing the deepest level of ideology phenomenon. Mobilizing ideology retains the power to become justification for authority that allows the community to speak as an individual. Extending the integration process of legitimating, ideology becomes an artificial and authoritarian reading grid of how to live in a group and place that it occupies in history. Will contaminate the supporting function, in turn, ethics, religion, science, politics.

Regarding the plan of politics, ideology is reflected by discursive strategies which will show the political class in political communication. As an agent of political communication, political class will maintain a discursive practice, which not infrequently will make use of manipulative rhetoric, expressed in language of wood or pathological forms of communication, expressions of power relations in the political communication required. For, we must not forget that communication between political actors is always a power relationship, for political communication is to ensure a flow of information from the power to population and political class use communication to create favorable opinions, and thus to earn as much as voters.

3. Strategies and discursive practice

3.1. Argumentation and discursive strategies

Politics is a universe of discourse and communication, and ways of reasoning provide opportunities for interpretation of ideologies in the universe formed and maintained. Argument is an operation which is based on an agreed statement (*argument*) to achieve a statement placed on a certain scale of acceptability (*conclusion*). The argument ultimately reduces to a speaker to address an argument (*an argument right*) to make it to accept a conclusion and to determine appropriate behaviors to adopt it.

Argumentation theory can be defined as the study of discursive techniques of practical reasoning by which an individual seeks to establish or enhance adherence to certain ideas or other opinions of his.

Term *argument* covers conceptual a field located at the intersection of rhetoric and logic language. In terms of logic,

reasoning is a process of logical justification of a sentence. In other words, the argument establishes a relationship between sentences and a conclusion. Argumentation not to be confused with logical demonstration of the truth of a statement or validity of reasoning, since reasoning process mechanisms are natural languages, while those belonging to the demonstration of logic.

From the perspective of linguistics, argumentation is a verbal activity, intellectual and social nature, which may make the justification or rejection of views. This can be interpreted in terms of pragmatics. Thus, by formulating a set (consistent) the statements, the broadcaster a message seeking the consent of one or more interlocutors, suggesting that the argument is motivated by a genuine disagreement, probable or possible between interlocutors.

Argument is also a set of techniques to legitimate beliefs and behaviors. It seeks to influence, transform or reinforce beliefs or behaviors.

Understanding discourse as a set of strategies by which the broadcaster is trying to influence the interim gives any discursive forms an inherent argumentative force. Thus, the argument is par excellence the mark statements dialogue, chaining speeches, debates, which does not exclude its importance in the context monologue (what we call *internal deliberation*).

Recent trends in integrates study findings argument pragmatics, in particular the theory of speech acts. The argument can be defined so that independent variable predicative function, indicating the objects and people that depend on the properties and relationships (*predicates*).

Beyond the theoretical perspective that is considered the argument, which builds the discourse must adapt to the public. There is an argument - type for a given subject or argument schemes legitimacy status able to convince everyone, addressing someone in particular. Therefore, the template will be a decisive argument in relation to speaker - auditor or writer - readers.

An argument is an assertion that is light, a rationale, justification or explanation of other assertions. Achievements of the arguments used primarily deduction and analogy. In some classifications, the arguments are divided into three subgroups or families: arguments about the ethos, pathos arguments and arguments of the speech.

Ethos arguments are arguments of emotional and moral nature (attitudes which need to take a speaker to inspire confidence in its audience). Speaker can choose different strategies, such as the good sense of sincerity and goodwill, etc.

The pathos arguments are purely emotional arguments designed to arouse emotions, passions and feelings, to be so adapted psychological profile of the target public.

Arguments of reason and speech addressing include: deductive (based on logical implication, reciprocity, cause-effect relationships) or analog (etymological, causal, opposition).

3.2. Practical uses of language in discourse

Ubiquity of speech is a normal, whereas none of the fields of human activity can not exist and operate outside the discursive practice. Looking bright ads, street posters, traffic signs, language code, the gestures, etc., then we realize that the sign is an undeniable reality of our world. We move into an empire of signs, and our survival depends on learning and cultural interpretation. Acceptance of our world is not a rational world Cartesian sense, but rather a world loaded with meaning: man lives in a world significant. For him, the problem does not make sense, meaning there is evidence requires, that „sense of understanding” naturally.

Translation the world, its objects and signs of human ability give meaning because language can accomplish. Man is his language, because culture is nothing more than the system of sign systems.

For U. Eco semiotics is the theory of production codes conjugation theory of signs, it has a dual structure: semiotics signify and semiotics communication. Therefore, semiotics is to study cultural processes as processes of communication and each of these processes seems to subsist only because they are beyond establishes the of meaning system based on a discursive practice.

A discursive practice involves interaction, and language is a tool of social interaction with a communicative purpose. I. Cerghit believe that language is power human to form structures having a very reliable basis for understanding the content and symbolization of concepts included in cognitive contexts. In the same context, Ch. Morris develop a classification of structural types of language, using two criteria: how signify (designativ language, appreciative, prescriptive, formative) and how to use (language information, evaluative, incentive).

Vision report language - thinking is developed by M. Devitt, who argues that the central role of language is to express thoughts. Therefore, language has two main functions: to explain behavior and to inform the world.

Fundamental new direction in the conceptualization of language is the pragmatic theory of *meaning*, stating that when we speak we do not only reflect but also realize and actions.

3.3. *The role of rhetoric in political discourse*

In a study devoted to the issue of argumentation, rhetoric Michel Meyer considered as „meeting the people and language differences and identities in their presentation. They assert identity through language to be found, to reject, to find a moment of communication or, alternatively, to find a „wall” that separates them” (Meyer, 1993, pp. 22 - 23).

As a discourse on identity (affirmation of individual identity and community), rhetoric actually means, „negotiating the distance between subjects measure discourse” (Meyer, 1993, pp. 22 - 23). The relationship between self (*ethos*) and others (*path*) is mediated by *speech* (*logos*) and language is the essence of the main models, which were represented in antiquity to the present day as follows:

MODEL	EGO	(Speech)	Other
Aristotel	Ethos	LOGOS	Pathos
Bühler	expression	DENOTATIVE	persuasion
Jakobson	broadcaster	MESSAGE	receiver
Austin	illocutionary	LOCUTIONAR	perlocutionar

The history of the relationship between the three components (*ethos*, *logos* and *pathos*) there were moments of hegemony of *Logos* (logic and Cartesian vision of language), dominance *pathos* (manipulative rhetoric - propaganda) or overbid of *ethos* (role of matter, his moral problem). Thus, the argument that rises is what separates rational interlocutors and should be opposed to rhetoric, which presents problems which is distorted and manipulative. For example, Plato as poets and the sophists located in the same camp, for their efforts to make it appear true or even credible, speeches untrue.

Looking deeper exchange discursive rationality, rationality does not exclude size figure, the argument itself enriches the meaning of human freedom: “But an argument that there is neither binding nor

shall arbitrary sense of human freedom, a prerequisite for the exercise of reasonable choices” (Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1958, p. 673). Instead, rhetoric - *ars bene dicendi* - acting on the speaker, language training is basically action, entertainment and its impresionare: *docere / delectare / movere*.

Traditional rhetoric distinguishes three situations where the topic category three types of communication or rhetorical genres. The first scenario was legal, producing a speech delivered before an audience composed in court: the court will judge the act and the person who committed it, and the author of speech to defend or prosecute such person. The legal position is not limited to court, we can meet whenever the receiver occupies a position of authority in relation to the transmitter (child before parents or pupils in the educator).

In the second kind, deliberative or persuasive discourse par excellence, the message the author tries to determine the public to think or act like him and to inculcate a particular opinion or decision, any major political speeches or religious ideology. Finally, the third scenario is epideictic – demonstrative. It confirms the values upheld by both the transmitter and receiver (birthday, obituary or encomium).

Roland Barthes uses the concept of *black rhetoric* this falsifying strategy, manipulative rhetorical discourse and *white rhetoric*, where the critical, discursive processes lucid (Barthes, 1985).

The real problem arises in communication society is to know (and counter) why people leave perfectly sometimes deliberately manipulated (the consumer who knows that the product has the qualities with which it equips advertising, voter who knows that his welfare is the main desire of the politician); ultimate purpose of any disclosure will be „white rhetoric” stratagems to educate resistance to accepting more or less conscious manipulation.

When certain forms of media and growing technocracy monologue at the expense of dialogue, the new rhetoric tries to restore dialogue, controversy, debate, the balance between discipline and freedom, between adhesion and critical, between stability and progress, preparing „communication session” (Jacques, 1979), cooperative conversation (Parret, 1970, pp. 83 - 70).

In terms of the orator, primarily what matters is the variety of „rhetorical” forms of persuading the audience: manipulation, seduction, propaganda. Propaganda is a mental violence („rape of the crowd” in the memorable Serge Tckakontine formulation), grooming

subliminal persuasion works as „illegal persuasion” (Vance Packard), and seduction is based on direct contact with target audience (the famous „bains de foule” of politicians).

In terms of audience, what matters most is deciphering the intentions of the speaker, the meaning derived from the meaning imposed exposed argumentative orientation induced.

Lastly, *the message* itself is based on linguistic meaning and pragmatic conditions in use, the discursive genres used (typological variant: newspaper discourse vs. the media vs. literary and structural variables: narrative discourse vs. prescriptive discourse).

3.4. Wooden language and manipulative discourse

Michel Foucault assess speech as an entity possessing a dangerous power, a source of anxiety generated by intuition „in this work - the background gray and the everyday - the powers and dangers which we can hardly imagine” (Foucault, 1998, p. 15).

By reference to the prospect of dealing with speech problems can highlight aspects of speech that are based on language use wood. In this context argued that the language of discourse is essentially a manipulative wooden language and implicitly, a liar, in the most obscure own alternatives, as demonstrated both syntactic and semantic levels, but especially for the pragmatic level.

When you invoke the common good or public interest, politicians hide the fact that their public actions as a major wireless fulfillment of personal or group interests. Ideological discourse is concealed, because the substrate serves to obscure „mystical” politics: the struggle to gain and exercise power.

Due to its hidden, and a significant ideological discourse is rational dimension. Designed as a preferable alternative to coercive means, ideological discourse must have a force of attraction based on elements of order not only emotionally but also on logical arguments, plausible. Finally, should not lose sight of the fact that ideological discourse is called to serve political power, whatever it is hypostasis under: military, economic, technocratic, informational and bureaucratic.

Despite appearances, political discourse is primarily a means of exercising political power (to meet some private interests) and only secondly an information tool or training of citizens.

Intersubjectivity consensus is obtained for any ideology based not so advanced propositional truth, but because of pressure from

media propaganda: repetition and conditioning, polarized orientation, schematic stereotypical cliché or slogan to, and reducing its stigma position contrary to a caricature physical and psychological threat. Relying on a mental representation is a crushing ideological fantasy that projected in the absolute decrease and a limited representation. Thus, the force of a political ideology lies, is mainly the elimination of any alternative conception of psycho-social field in which people evolve.

Through propaganda, ideology translated into terms of personal and group experience becomes social representation. Thanks to S. Moscovici explicit theorizing and public dissemination of scientific theories as social representation, ideological concepts are subject to the same processes. In defining the concept, remember that social representation is an organized body of knowledge consisting of concepts, values and practices related to objects, aspects mentions of the social environment. Social representation is also the result of any activity through which people play physical and social intelligible reality, is inserted in a group or a daily trading report, releasing the power of their imagination. As a means of reflection, projection of phenomena in our minds or external events, social representations shall be without prejudice incessantly perception in cognitive organization of environmental and human behavior, achieving a functional value.

In relation to ideology, social representations can be defined as mental images of social reality that meet group consensus. Social representations are a form of „psychological organization” (Moscovici, 1997) specific knowledge of our society, irreducible to any other. The formation of social representations due to the ideology, and insisting on achieving an intention, the translation of meanings from one plane to another, thereby creating a double of perceived reality. This transposition is possible through propaganda.

The role of vehicle and component also contributes to the propaganda of social representations: a) strengthening social participation - is distinguished by its social organization involved borders and design group members on a particular issue acquires unit, b) production of stereotypes, c) the behaviors (actions) appropriate. Thus, we highlight two important functions of propaganda: the ordering function, which translates into the assertion and attempts to restore the identity of the group and organizing function involving an adequate development of communications content. Social

representation through propaganda becomes what is called an „instrument of action”.

To shift from expression - representation to representation - instrument of action is made by cognitive processes represented by language. Anchoring process itself is a social representation of verbal elaboration of mediators without which representation can not develop or retain. Consequently, the study of social representation analysis means and its language.

T. Slama - Cazacu describes „wood language” as „a language subsystem designating particular lexical items, but phraseological units, nature of fixed expressions, the blocks froze, with effect determined in the context of a specific „authority” largely used stereotype - dogmatic, as expressions of an ideology” (Slama-Cazacu, 2000). Real mission of this language is to require the authority to prevent other way of thinking, by means of lies and masks the true reality.

Frequency shift of referential generic terms, such as *freedom, democracy, market economy, transition, European integration* facilitates quick and compelling expression of undeniable truths and lies conceptual as supported by the values enshrined. Author political deceit has the advantage of knowing beforehand what the audience wants to hear, and lie is much more enticing for this reason than the reality. Concealment is used for ideological and political level by political parties and organizations wishing perpetuate their interests and justify their existence in the political field.

The mechanism works so lies in democratic societies and the totalitarian, as a necessary element of social cohesion, knob-and-reproduction-it is, involving more or less effective political power of decision maker. In democratic societies, recourse to borrowing from other languages, and especially the transformation of their own language, which make the meaning of words to be uncertain. Thus, political discourse in general and abstract words the ambiguity of ideas arises.

If lies and semiotic possibilities decryption mechanisms supporting this construct must be addressed in parallel in a double articulated perspective: pragmatic and semantic. In terms of the pragmatics of speech situation considered in determining correlates with enunciation status approach, namely to accept or not accept what the assumption means Moeschler and Reboul designated by „*the assumption of autonomy enunciation*” (1994, p. 196), introduced in

equation integrated pragmatics perspective that an analysis summers conditionality statement is irrelevant. Opposite premise, that we are interested, preserve aspects under which the speaker produces a false statement is considered false just by reporting the truth conditions of that statement, preserved at the semantic level. In connection with this phenomenon, which ultimately is an interpretive process, U. Eco say that „to explain the semiotic load of lies, is to understand why and how a lie (a false statement) is relevant in terms of semiotic regardless of the truth or falsity of the assertion itself” (Eco, 1982, p. 87).

3.5. Speaker's intention to practice in political communication

If a referential usability, observant of language, speaker intention is a theoretical understanding of cognitive targeting as an end in itself. Speaker intends only capture meaning, accession to the world through language referent, the speaker, and his membership in one way or another, in the words.

When use of performative speech, speaker's intention is not theoretical, but a practical one, namely that of action influence, „world party psycho-behavioral”, and thereby the real world outside. At this time, understanding of what was said by the interlocutor is not an end in itself but a means to influence and transform each other, and with it, the real world. Understanding is a necessary but intermediate in the performative discursive usage, listener reaction does not occur only after understanding what was said.

Therefore, the referential is always present in the performative use of language by meaning dimension (understanding meaning), but not always a true accession to the referent world. Speaker may use a series of „language games” or so „meaningless games” that prove to be just pure „speculation language” unrelated to reality solid but noticeable effects on the receiver. Lying, as discursive trick manipulator has both sense and reference, but its value is false referential. The speaker is a good artist to present his speech as one credible, the more difficult to detect and avoided the harmful effects of handling.

A performative discursive intervention does not necessarily take the statement, circulated to be true. Because of the importance given to the action, influence, effects, some speakers not only waive this amount, but sometimes even contrary to its use, such as lying (which is a false statement) or empty of any content referential

language. Consequently, the practical effect is that the precedence effect theory, cognitive being mostly just an adjunct.

4. Discursive practice and communication pathologies

4.1. *Sophistry - expressions of speech pathology manifested in discursive practices*

Sophistry acts of reasoning errors, the errors that occur in a relationship with a partner discursive nature, relationship by trying to induce the latter to adopt an opinion (belief, consider, think undecided, finding) about the truth of that sentence be debated.

That pathological expressions, manifested in discursive practice, can be grouped sophistry: sophism of authority, sophism of hasty generalization, sophism of populist argument, sophism of analogy irrelevant, sophism of circular argument, sophism of biased data, mixed data sophism views and assessments, sophism of in claimed implication, sophism of argument irrelevant.

Sophism appeal to authority (authority sophism) involves forcing the party in connection with the acceptance of a particular argument by appealing to a widely recognized authority such as an author, a text or a common expression. In this case, the argument is missing, being replaced by an indication of a famous quote or a classic author.

Sophism of hasty generalization jump signals a general conclusion without the necessary arguments. In this case, the author presents some observations credible message, then expresses an opinion as if it were based on previous observations, although this relationship was not demonstrated.

Sophism mixing data views and assessments is a fallacy which consists in the insertion of opinions or assessments including data or facts. The screenings of opinion among the descriptive data, the author of the message is intended as interlocutor to accept that opinion as a given that can not be questioned.

Sophism data is biased presentation of those data or arguments to support their author's opinion, deliberately ignoring things that might contradict his position.

Sophism of circular argument is used as an argument's conclusion. Its author does not provide any foundation before it, and not merely express the same idea in different ways.

Sophism of analogy irrelevant message appears when the author uses arguments or illustrations that appear to be equivalent to a

fact. Since in some cases it can be a conclusion, the author tries to convince his interlocutor that in another case might a similar conclusion.

Sophism of in claimed implication arises when the author provides a message that something will need to produce another, without being able to make arguments in this respect.

Sophism argument is irrelevant when the author supports his conclusion on an argument that has no connection with the conclusion. Although ideas are offered as explanation does not refer to the ideas of conclusion, the author hopes that providing a simple outline of argument to be sufficient to his view.

Sophism of populist argument occurs when the author appeals to approve a large number of people or theories to support an opinion. Instead of arguments to support the conclusion, the author concludes by supporting the large number of testimonials stating that conclusion. All these types of errors contribute to acts of reasoning, their presence in political discourse, the maintenance of ideologies, leading to the establishment of a certain type of power relationship between actors in political communication.

4.2. Speech situation - power reflex relationship

Since the 1970s recognize the role of language in structuring social relations of power. Each instance of communication is influenced by power structures that conventional speakers are placed or not. Language ideology mediates a variety of social institutions, ideology can be seen as an important part in establishing and maintaining unequal power relations. Effects of power and ideology in the production of meaning are not always obvious, which is why sometimes we talk about de-mystification of speech by deciphering ideologies.

In any text/statement, discursive differences are negotiated, are governed by power differentials, which in turn are partly encrypted and determined speech and gender. So texts/statements are often different fields struggle between discourses and ideologies that want to ensure dominance.

Power is essential in social life it refers to relations of difference and their effect on social structures. An important role language plays in “creating” power. Language creates power, it expresses, is involved wherever there is a power struggle. Although the power does not derive from language, language can be used to

cause, to undermine or change the distribution of power on long or short. In this respect, it is important to study ways in which linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power.

Power is indicated not only by grammatical forms included in the text/statement, but by genre and style of functioning of the text/statement. Often a social situation may be related to the exercise of power or struggle for power is assigned certain types of text.

Power of language can be manifested through nonverbal means: facial expression (frown, air cool, quiet smirk), gestures (body movements or hand: signs, aggressive or distance, approval or disapproval, encouragement or intimidation), position, orientation and proximity of the body (standing, sitting, facing or behind the speaker, the distance from it), eye contact and body (direct or divert the listener gaze, touch, pat on the back and shoulders after taking party), attitude (relaxed, tense) and appearance (clothes, appearance). By all these means, the speaker is required, shall be heard, may give more weight to words spoken.

Issues power discourse was analyzed by Tatiana Slama-Cazacu as psycholinguistic perspective. In its view, the power of the words and using words to a „Power”, for handling mass belong to the category called „distortions of communication in society”. Defined as one of the „psychological influences on interpersonal communicative act”, the power of words is analyzed in terms of positive (for „cooperation”, „training” in social contact for information, negotiation, role of „politeness formulas”, etc.) and negative among the latter: “misuse of words”, by „changing the communication diversion known meanings of certain words, to conceal or disguise reality by using certain words or seduction of their ignorance, to deviate or even to shade thinking „addressee” („receivers”), force them to conduct the direction that they are not aware, manipulate, force a person to be „receiver” against his will or intention” (Slama-Cazacu, 1999, pp. 577 – 579).

5. Conclusions

Given that starting point that any discourse is structured by relations of dominance of a certain type of ideology and that any discourse is produced and interpreted in a historical context, time and space very well established, our analytical approach sent to an analysis of possible pressure can be exerted on the speech, while at the same time and opportunities to counter unequal power relations that

occur at the social level, as a result of social conventions. Combining elements of rhetoric, functionalism, textual linguistics and sociolinguistics, highlight the arguments made by building interpretive and explanatory in the context of discursive strategies, concepts such as *ideology, power, hierarchy*, they can be understood as sociological variables. Hence, field research area could be extended to issues of racism, gender, individual identity, media discourse, all fields by providing new directions of approach.

Power is essential in social life and ideology can be seen as an important part in establishing and maintaining unequal power relations. Effects of power and ideology are on the production of meaning but not always obvious. A problem that requires this is evidenced in the de-mystification about the speech by deciphering ideologies. This problem requires an interdisciplinary approach for interdisciplinary is essential to the understanding of language functions in situations such as: establishment and transmission of knowledge, organization of social institutions or exercise. In this sense, the speech becomes a battlefield between the various ideologies that want to ensure dominance.

6. References

1. Barthes, R. (1985). *L'aventure sémiologique*. Paris: Seuil, 1985.
2. Eco, U. (1982). *Tratat de semiotică generală*. București: Editura Științifică și Pedagogică.
3. Foucault, M. (1998). *Ordinea discursului*. București: Editura „Eurosong & Book”.
4. Jacques, Fr. (1979). *Dialogiques*. Paris: PUF.
5. Mannheim, K. (1956). *Ideologie et utopie*. Paris: Librairie Marcel Riviere.
6. Meyer, M. (1993). *Logique, langue et argumentation*. Paris: Hachette.
7. Moeschler, J. & Reboul, A. (1994). *Dictionnaire encyclopedique de pragmatique*. Paris: Seuil.
8. Moscovici, S. (1997). *Psihologia socială sau mașina de fabricat zei*. Iași: Editura Polirom.
9. Parret, H. (1970). „*La mise en discours en tant que déictation et modalisation*” in *Langages*. Paris: Larousse.
10. Perelman, C. & Olbrechts - Tyteca, L. (1958). *La nouvelle rhétorique. Traité de l'argumentation*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

11. Ricoeur, P. (1999). *Eseuri de hermeneutică*. Cluj: Editura Echinox.
12. Seceleanu, A. (2009). *Mediatization of political life in conditions of electoral campaign – a retrospection of the elections in Romania*. In The Official Journal of the Polish Communication Association, vol. 3, 267-279.
13. Slama-Cazacu, T. (2000). *Stratageme comunicaționale și manipularea*. Iași: Editura Polirom.
14. Slama-Cazacu, T. (1999). *Psiholingvistica. O Știință a comunicării*. București: Editura ALL.



U.A.S.

Revista de Comunicare și Marketing, anul IV, numărul 6, martie 2013

I.S.S.N. 2069-0304

Pag. 79-86

Abstract

Imposing the Organic Regulations in the Romanian Principalities would constitute an obvious progress in relation with the chaotic state from the previous period. In fact, they were the first Romanian constitutions, which introduced fixed and stable laws, instead of then and there decisions and arbitrary dispositions. Moreover, these Regulations rejected arbitration, replacing it with clear norms, which introduced legal responsibility instead of irresponsibility. All this was taking place in the context in which tsarist Russia continued to be interested in the famous matter of the Orient, which summed up to the desire of knowing on which authority the Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits depend.

Keywords: *tsarist Russia, Romanian Principalities, Ottoman Empire, Saint Petersburg, Pavel Kiseleff, Constantinople, Dniester.*

***THE EFFECTS OF
THE EXTERNAL
POLICY OF THE
GREAT POWERS ON
THE ROMANIAN
PRINCIPALITIES IN
1829-1862***

Gabriel MICU

„Andrei Șaguna” University
of Constanța,

Faculty of Communication and
Political Sciences

After the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-1829, the Romanian Principalities would come to meet the Russian military occupation regime until the spring of 1834. The war which broke out in April 1828 would end on September 2nd 1829 by signing the Peace Treaty from Adrianople. Article 5 of the Treaty from Adrianople mentioned the fact that Moldavia and Muntenia, on grounds of their capitulations, were under Ottoman Porte's suzerainty, tsarist Russia guaranteeing all the privileges and immunities, granted either through the mentioned "treaties", either through the signed agreements between the two Great Powers or through the Hatti-Sheriffs granted by the Ottomans. In article five it was expressly mentioned that the Romanian Principalities would benefit of "the free exercise of their cult, a perfect safety, an independent national administration and a complete freedom of trade" (Stan, A, 1999, p. 80). The districts of Turnu, Giurgiu and Brăila were eliminated, and on the Danube line they could institute a quarantine which was to be respected by both Christians and Muslims. The Romanian border patrol units were taking under their guard the frontier line of the Romanian Principalities. The Ottoman monopoly over the trade of the Romanian Principalities was abolished and thus, the Danube became an important artery of free trade, through which the Romanian Principalities would connect with the Western world. Through the Russo-Turkish agreement of Saint Petersburg, from January 17th 1834, it was mentioned the fact that the national militias and the Romanian trade ships could unfurl distinct flags and pavilions. The tribute was settled, through the same agreement, at the sum of 6.000 bags, respectively 3.000.000 Turkish piasters. The rulers in the Principalities would be appointed for life, and not just for seven years, but tsarist Russia and the Ottoman Empire reserved their right to intervene in the domestic affairs of the two Romanian countries when the policy promoted by the rulers would affect their interests.

The Russo-Turkish treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi in July 8th 1833 forced the Ottomans to close the Straits in case of a conflict of tsarist Russia with another power, which outraged the Western powers. The French consul to Bucharest, Thiers, wrote to Paris, on July 4th 1836, that "by closing the access to the Black Sea for Western warships, Russia had made impossible any assistance for the Ottoman Empire" (Stan, A, 1999, p. 82), so in such a situation the Ottoman Empire was vulnerable from all sides to the attacks of the Russian troops and

“Moldavia and Muntenia were depending on Russia” (Stan, A, 1999, p. 82). Russian historian S. Goriainov wrote, referring to the external policy of tsarist Russia in the first decades of the 19th century, that “for Russia, the entire famous issue of the Orient is summed up to these words: on which authority the Bosphorus and Dardanelles depend” (Radion, P., 2006, p. 178).

During the Russian military occupation in the Romanian Principalities (1828-1834), the rulers will withdraw, and at the leadership of the united Divans will come, with the title of presidents, count Pahlen (1828 – 1829), generals Jeltuhin (1829) and Pavel Kiseleff (1829 – 1834). The protective power will impose the Organic Regulations which were adopted by the extraordinary Community Gatherings in May 1831 at Bucharest and in October 1831 at Iași. In Muntenia it came into effect on July 1st 1831 and in Moldavia on January 1st 1832. Referring to the Organic Regulations, historian A. D. Xenopol wrote: “The Organic Regulations constitute an obvious progress from the chaotic state of the previous period. They were in fact the first Romanian constitutions, which introduced fixed and stable laws, instead of then and there decisions and arbitrary dispositions. Moreover, these Regulations reject arbitration, replacing it with clear norms, they introduce legal responsibility instead of irresponsibility, they put an emphasis for the first time in the Romanian society on the superiority of the public interest in relation with the individual interest, the arbitrary life until then is replaced with a law based life”.

Contrary to the provisions of the Organic Regulations there were appointed, in April 1834, by tsarist Russia and the Ottoman Porte, the first regulated rulers, respectively Mihail Sturdza in Moldavia (1834 – 1848) and Alexandru Ghica in Wallachia (1834 – 1842). Gheorghe Bibescu (1842 – 1848) was the first ruler elected in conformity with the provisions of the Organic Regulation. The regulated rulers were in a constant state of conflict both with the noblemen, and with the Russian consuls, but they managed to consolidate the autonomy of the Romanian principalities and initiate a series of reforms meant to reform the Romanian society. The Russian troops withdrew from the Romanian Principalities in June-July 1834, but the documents of the time state the presence, at the end of December 1834, of 5.774 Russian officers and soldiers regimented in Tutova, Tecuci, Focșani and their hinterland. Under the pressure of British diplomacy a new Russo-Turkish agreement was signed on

August 3rd 1836, based on which the Russians have evacuated the Silistra stronghold. The Russian consulates from Bucharest and Belgrade would remain in the following period the place from which the Court of Saint Petersburg had coordinated its policy in South-Eastern Europe. The two consulates were named in that age as being “the headquarters of sovereignty” or “the way to power”. Those who wanted to become rulers or ministers had to be in “amiable relations” with the Russian consul who held “the administration reins” and so granted different favors.

The interference of the Russian consuls in the domestic affairs of the Romanian principalities was permanent and it caused fierce disputes among the rulers and the nobility bloc, on one hand, and the tsarist Russia representatives, on the other hand. In 1836, Mihail Sturdza, the ruler of Moldavia, requested the recall of Besak, the Russian consul to Iași, but his successor, consul Kotzebue, intervened in the affairs of the Moldavian government, censored the legal decisions and more. Tsarist Russia was counting very much on the creation of a Russophile bloc in the Principalities, meant to put into practice its local interests. “It is very hard to see clearly in this policy of the Russians, who did not know themselves what to do to not upset the noblemen, an element on which they wanted to base their influence in the Romanian Principalities” (Sturdza, A, 1907, p. 38), Alexandru A. C. Sturdza wrote in a paperwork dedicated to the rule of Mihail Sturdza. The Russians reacted in a very tough manner to any resistance attempt of the Romanians by jailing in monasteries or in jails numerous Romanian noblemen who opposed the Russian abuses with what concerns the autonomy of the Romanian principalities (Gane, C, 1941, pp. 99 – 100). In this period, a Romanian national movement will crystallize, whose objective was to defend the political entity of Moldavia and Muntenia against the abuses of the protective power, as well as the suzerain power. The Western Great Powers thus became a support for the “national bloc” from the Romanian Principalities, in the context of the escalation of the fight between the Great Powers for the control of South Eastern Europe. In *Gazette d'Augsbourg* from April 13th and 27th 1841, there was an article that spoke about the union of the two Romanian countries under one kingdom under the leadership of the duke of Leuchtenberg, the son-in-law of the tsar of Russia. The French consul from Iași considered that “the idea of the united Romanian kingdom had to be maintained, but in order for it to not become an extension of Russia, the Western

powers must consent that the future chief of state to be M. Sturdza” (Stan, A., 1999, p. 158).

The defeat of the Romanian Revolution from 1848-1849 is mainly due to the intervention of the two powers, tsarist Russia and the Ottoman empire, so we can state that the international political status of the Romanian Principalities was not going to change. The temporary revolutionary Government’s efforts to obtain autonomy as large as possible, without a massive involvement of the suzerain and protective powers, were rejected by the Ottoman Porte. We record in this time period an intense diplomatic activity made by the minister of foreign affairs of the revolutionary Government from Bucharest, Ion Voinescu II, as well as some diplomatic agents, like

Ion Ghica to Constantinopol, A. G. Golescu to Wien and Paris, Ioan Maiorescu to Frankfurt. “While at Constantinople and some Western capitals the ruling lieutenant ship was acting in order to gain support to counteract Russia, the tsar and his advisers had become infuriated that the Porte, through its tolerance, instead of destroying the revolutionary regime – as it had committed to -, on the contrary, it recognized it in a masked form. The protective power felt that in this way its overwhelming influence over the Principalities and implicitly on the Lower Danube, accomplished with so many political-diplomatic and military efforts over a century, was diminishing. In fact, a protectorate was being canceled, protectorate which had become an instrument of dislocation and legacy of the Ottoman Empire, but also of the nations from its territory which were in full process of regaining their political sovereignty and identity”. (Stan, A., 1999, p. 232), historian Apostol Stan concluded. After the repression of the revolutionary movement in the Romanian Principalities from 1848 – 1849, the Russo-Turkish Convention from Balta Liman (April 19th 1849) would consolidate the authority and control of the suzerain power and that of the protective power over the Romanian territory. The rulers from Moldavia and Muntenia were named for a seven year period and the regulating Community Gatherings were replaced with Ad-hoc Divans. Grigore Alexandru Ghica was appointed ruler in Moldavia and Barbu Știrbei in Muntenia. The Russian military occupation lasted until 1851.

In the context of the development of the Crimean War (1853-1856), the Romanian revolutionary emigration conducted an intense propaganda activity meant to influence the decision of the Great Powers in favor of the idea of union for all Romanians in an

independent state under the protection of the West. The conference of the representatives of Austria, France, Great Britain and Ottoman Empire that took place on January 30th 1856, at Istanbul, created a document containing 30 articles through which the basis of the future status of the Romanian Principalities was set. The Peace Treaty from Paris (March 18th 1856) consecrated the Ottoman suzerainty by taking advantage of the collective guarantee regime of the seven signing powers, but ad-hoc gatherings were to be created to consult the Romanian people about the future formula of political governance. The double election of Alexandru Ioan Cuza, on January 5th and January 24th 1859 as ruler of Moldavia and Muntenia represents the beginning of a new stage on the road to creating full national unity and obtaining state independence, but this was to be a long and difficult road. Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza will initiate a series of diplomatic actions subsumed to certain objectives which belonged to the Forty-Eighter generation: the accomplishment of the union, the defense of the country's autonomy and the preparation for the conquest of state independence and the forging of full national unity for the entire Romanian people.

The Ottoman Porte had requested, ever since the evening of January 24th 1859, the urgent summoning of an international conference of the seven guaranteeing powers and which would contest Cuza's election in Wallachia, as a result of the violation of the Convention of Paris. Great Britain will be on the side of the Ottoman policy, but, later, as a result of the insistent diplomatic efforts of Vasile Alecsandri and of the spurs coming from Paris and Saint Petersburg, it will change its position. The state of vassalage of the Romanian Principalities towards the Ottoman Empire was generating the impossibility of a diplomatic representation of Prince Cuza in conformity with the international diplomatic conventions. Nevertheless, the ruler of the United Principalities sends to Constantinople two delegations, one from Wallachia led by the prime minister himself, Ioan Al. Filipescu, and one from Moldavia, led by Costache Negri, with the mission to gain the double recognition from the sultan. The two delegations will merge, afterwards, into one led by Costache Negri. The diplomatic efforts of Costache Negri will triumph on September 12th 1859 when the diplomatic representatives of Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza will be received in audience by the Grand Vizier.

On March 26th 1859, the representatives of the guaranteeing powers of the union of the Romanian Principalities will meet in Paris. With the exception of Austria, the other states – France, Russia, Great Britain, Prussia and Sardinia – “exceptionally” recognize the double election of colonel Alexandru Ioan Cuza, in the meeting of April 1st 1859, and request the Ottoman Empire to recognize the double election. Austria will resume, on May 2nd 1859, diplomatic ties with the Romanian Principalities and will recognize de facto the election of Alexandru Ioan Cuza, accepting the title of “United Principalities” and will accept to grant visa on the passports issued by the ruler Alexandru Ioan Cuza. The Ottoman Empire was not pleased with the double election and insisted that this union be recognized only for the duration of Alexandru Ioan Cuza’s rule. Once he left the ruling throne, two rulers were supposed to be elected in the two Romanian countries. Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza will recall his diplomatic representatives from Constantinople and he will mobilize the army in the camp from Florești. In the context of France’s victory in the war in Italy with the House of Habsburg, Austria and the Ottoman Empire will recognize, on August 26th 1859, in the third meeting of the Conference of Paris, the rightfully double election of Alexandru Ioan Cuza. The protocol of the conference mentions that this recognition was of exceptional nature, and in the future any election and investiture of rulers will be made with a rigorous upholding of the provision of the Convention. On October 31st 1859, Costache Negri was recognized as chargé d’affaires of Moldavia and ad-interim agent of Wallachia to Constantinople (November 14th 1859).

The visit Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza made to Constantinople, on September 22nd 1860, as well as the honors with which he was received, respectively as an equal of the sultan, have allowed the continuation of the process of strengthening the autonomy of the Romanian state with the Ottoman Porte. Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza was received as a sovereign and hosted in the Emirgian palace, reserved only for sovereigns. Sultan Abdul Medjid gave him an honor sward incusted with precious stones and 34 dignitaries from the ruler’s suite were decorated with the “Medjidie” Order. In December 1860, the Ottoman Porte will receive the memoir of Alexandru Ioan Cuza which advocated for full recognition of the union of the two Romanian principalities. On January 7th 1861, Costache Negri will report from Constantinople that the new Turkish minister of foreign affairs, Ali-Pasha, reported to him that the Ottoman Empire will grant

the investiture requested by the Romanian prince. The Ottoman Porte's circular to the other guaranteeing powers, through which it was proposed to assemble a conference in that sense, was sent on April 17th 1861 and the conference regarding the full recognition of the union of the principalities will start its works on September 13th 1861. During the works of the Conference, quite a few obstacles will be encountered, because the Ottoman Empire did not waive its right to intervene in the principalities, and Austria recognized the union only for the duration of Alexandru Ioan Cuza's lifetime. The strong attitude of prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza and the diplomatic efforts of his envoys alongside the guaranteeing powers will determine a change of attitude of the Ottoman Porte which on November 22nd 1861 will hand in to Costache Negri a firman through which some of the restrictive clauses were dropped, but the one regarding the full recognition of the union was maintained only for the duration of Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza's rule. On December 11th 1861, Alexandru Ioan Cuza will address the Romanian people through a proclamation in which he stated: "The union is accomplished, the Romanian nationality is established (...), you have put all your faith in the nation's chosen, you have put all your hope in one ruler, your chosen ruler is giving you today one Romania".

References

1. Carpentier, J. & Leburn, Fr. (1997). *Istoria Europei*. București: Editura Humanitas.
2. Gane, C. (1941). *Trecute vieți de doamne și domnițe*. vol. III. București.
3. Ionașcu, I.; Bărbulescu, P.; Gheorghe, Gh. (1971). *Relațiile internaționale ale României în documente (1368 – 1900). Culegere selectivă de tratate, acorduri, convenții și alte acte cu caracter internațional*. București: Editura Politică.
4. Radion, P. (2006). *Principatele Române în politica externă a Rusiei (1815 – 1856)*. București: Oscar Print.
5. Seceleanu, A. (2009). *Analiza opiniei publice în spațiul public modern*, Constanța: Editura Fundației „Andrei Șaguna”.
6. Stan, A. (1999). *Protectoratul Rusiei asupra Principatelor Române. 1774 – 1856*. București: Saeculum I.O.
7. Sturdza, A. C. (1907). *Règne de Michel Sturdza*. Paris.