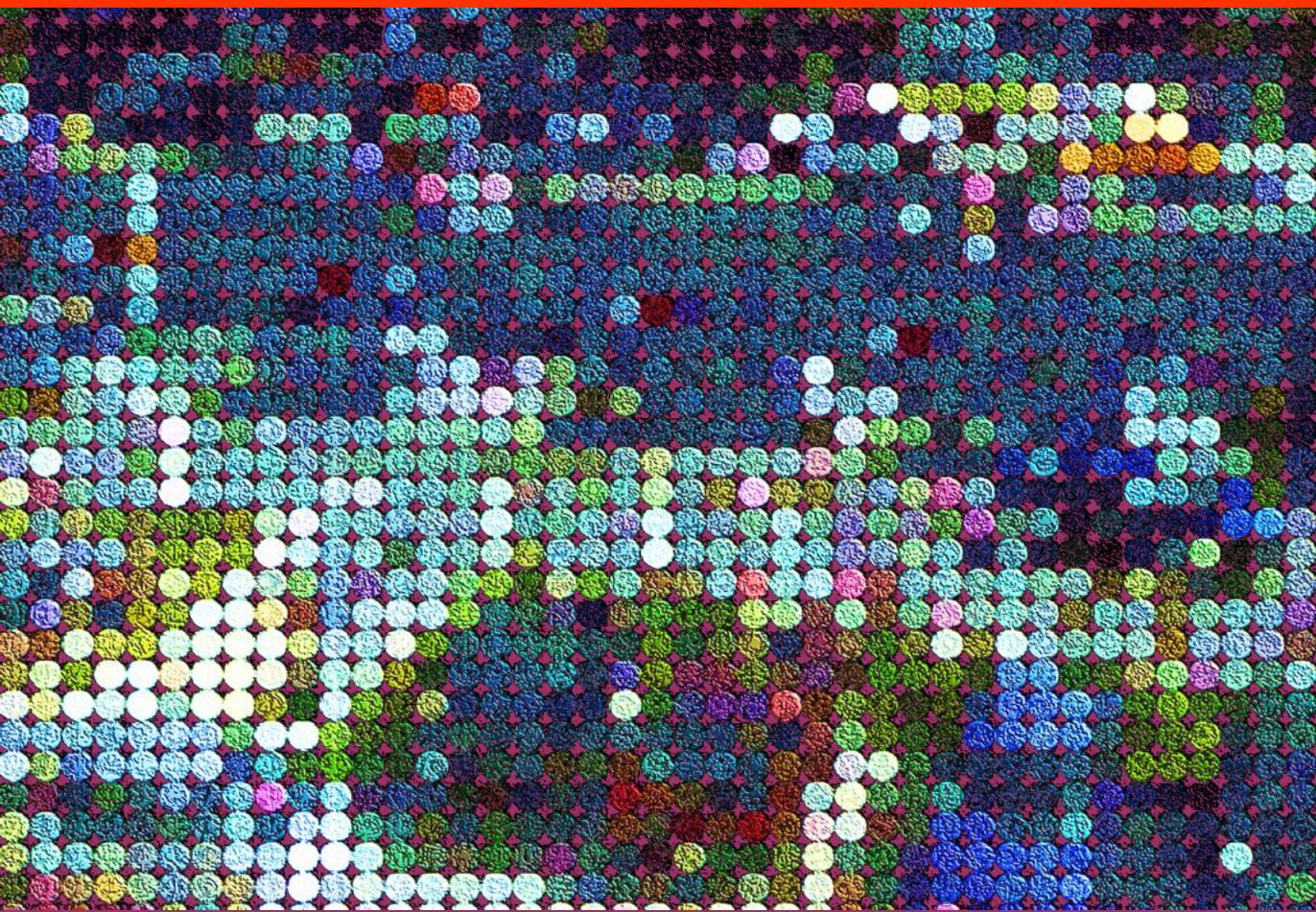




UNIVERSITY OF CRAIOVA  
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
POLITICAL SCIENCES SPECIALIZATION &  
CENTER OF POST-COMMUNIST POLITICAL STUDIES  
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REVISTA DE ȘTIINȚE POLITICE.  
REVUE DES SCIENCES POLITIQUES

No. 54 • 2017





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**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**  
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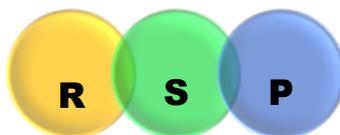
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## EDITORS' NOTE

### **Asset 60<sup>th</sup> EU Patterns: United in Diversity**

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

**Anca Parmena Olimid<sup>\*</sup>,  
Cătălina Maria Georgescu<sup>\*\*</sup>,  
Cosmin Lucian Gherghe<sup>\*\*\*</sup>**

#### **RSP issue 54/ 2017: Editorial Objectives**

It is our pleasure an honour to introduce to our readers the 54<sup>th</sup> issue of the international indexed journal entitled *Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques* (hereinafter **RSP**).

The second issue of the journal published in 2017 reflects the European efforts to build and consolidate the common heritage of its countries accommodating various researches focused on:

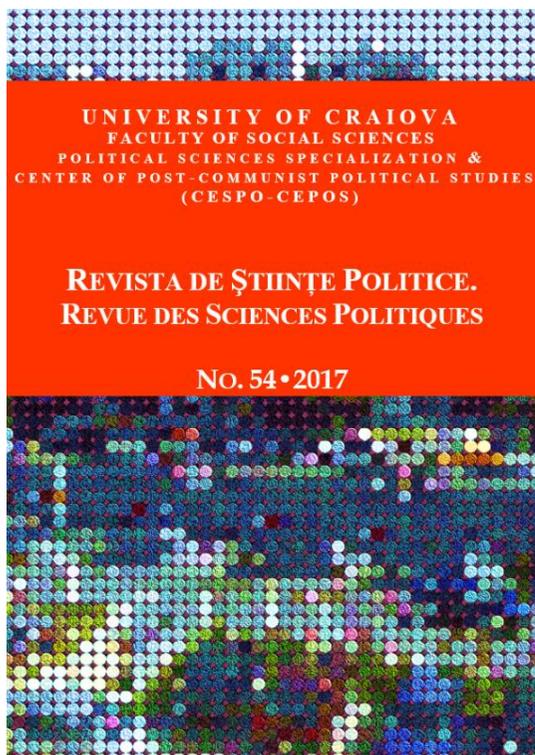
- (1) social paths and identity debates in Central and Eastern Europe;
- (2) the usage of the security topics and the central strategic concepts in Central and Eastern Europe;
- (3) the role of the United States for the regional security;

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RSP • Issue 54/ 2017 (June 2017)

(14) analysis of the executive power and government.

#### **RSP issue 47/ 2017: Research methods and focus**

The current issue seeks to identify the vast research methods in the field of political sciences and related field (content analysis, survey analysis, case study research, interpretative focused research etc.) assuming a particular contemplation of the first sixty years of the European Union continuance and undertaking a new original scientific test by identifying the provocations of the common future in the following fields:

- (a) common identity;
- (b) security;
- (c) education;
- (d) labour market;
- (e) employee companies;
- (f) cultural endeavours;
- (g) gender equality;
- (h) media claims;
- (i) economic interrogations;
- (j) legal confrontation.

(4) the challenges of the labour market and the local evidences in post-communist countries;

(5) the role of the employee companies in the privatization process since 1990;

(6) analysis of the strategic options in the Romanian economic sector and the demands of the post-crisis global environment;

(7) scrutinizing the concepts of “brain drain” and “brain gain”;

(8) student-education reasoning and the paradigmatic advances in the field;

(9) the metamorphosis of the children’s literature during the Yugoslav Five-Year Plan;

(10) the theoretical and conceptual framework of the cultural racism;

(11) the literature’s understandings of the victorian women;

(12) the remodelling of the health journalism in Romania;

(13) the variances of the “post-communist coding of the institutions of self-exclusion and self-limitation of the carrier’s liability”;

## EDITORS' NOTE

### **RSP issue 54/ 2017: New Editorial Policy**

**RSP** issue 54/ 2017 (June 2017) points a new arena of the editorial policies. Moreover, we will focus on encouraging also the publication of the niche analysis, media scrutinings and interpretations, legal contributions challenging current debates within the European landscape, security appreciations, economic notes and sociological observations. The new **RSP** editorial policy will increase scientific knowledge and will provide a basic-to-complex transition to the new post-integration academic discourse identified in Central and Eastern Europe in the last ten years.

Wishing you all the best,

***RSP Editors***

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## ORIGINAL PAPER

# Similar or different? Social position and identity of youth in Central and Eastern Europe

Hubert Kotarski\*

### Abstract

The purpose of this article is to confront the theory of cultural capital and social capital social reality in cross-border regions of three countries: Polish, Hungary and Ukraine, with particular emphasis on the role played by youth in these societies. This confrontation will include both theoretical reflection on the nature, focusing on the problem of the application of the theory of cultural and social capital to describe societies of Central and Eastern Europe, and also the results of empirical studies carried out among the students of secondary school in Poland, Hungary and Ukraine. The specific objective of the article is to analyse the concept of cultural capital and social capital as a factor of identity and social position and political youth Poland, Hungary and Ukraine, for example, the youngest generation.

**Keywords:** *social capital, cultural capital, youth, social position, identity*

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### **Introduction**

The countries of Central and Eastern Europe suffered in the period after the Second World War many changes of geopolitical, economic, commercial and social nature. As Norman Davis writes, "the enormity of victims of the Second World War did not bring safety: the continent quickly disintegrated into rival political and military blocs, whose energy had been wasted for nearly fifty years" (Davies, 2003: 1125).

That situation lasted until December 1991, when the final breakup of the Soviet Union into independent countries finished the bipolar division of Europe and created a new space for the functioning of independent states of Central and Eastern Europe. The new economic, commercial and political order did not remain without influence on changes in the social field. The existing social hierarchies have thoroughly changed. In contrast to the relatively stable stratification systems in Western societies, the logic of the stratification system and the rules governing it in contemporary Eastern Europe were subjected to frequent qualitative change. People, who in 1990 were sixty or more years old, had lived in four fundamentally different systems: the pre-communist system, Stalinism, post-Stalinist state socialism, and since 1989 (in Russia since December 1991) - in post-communism. These four different social structures were characterized by different spatial structures (Szelényi, Treiman and Wnuk-Lipiński, 1995: 13). The results of the research presented in this paper try to answer the main research question, i.e. if the cultural capital and social capital are factors of identity and social position formation of young people living in the border area of three Central and Eastern European countries: Poland, Hungary and Ukraine. It should be emphasized that the study included the Polish-German, Polish-Czech, Polish-Ukrainian, Ukrainian-Polish and Ukrainian-Hungarian borderlands. The operationalization of research issues came down to the question whether the cultural capital and social capital, as factors of identity and social position of the youngest generation, make the high school students of Polish, Hungarian and Ukrainian borderlands similar to each other. In the theoretical layer, the aim of this paper is systematic confrontation of Pierre Bourdieu's cultural capital theory and the theory of social capital with the social reality of border areas in five Central and Eastern European countries. This confrontation includes both theoretical reflection, focusing on the problem of the use of Bourdieu's theory and the theory of social capital formulated by other authors, in order to describe the societies of Central and Eastern European countries, and also the results of empirical research carried out among high school students living in Polish, Hungarian and Ukrainian border areas.

### **Social position in societies of Central and Eastern Europe after the communism period**

Social status is a concept of a high degree of generality, defining the space occupied by the individual in the social structure. Depending on how we define the social structure, the understanding of social position will change (Gorlach and Wasilewski, 2000: 164). An interesting description of this concept was presented by Piotr Sztompka, who characterized social positions in four interrelated dimensions: 1) in the normative dimension ("how should it be"), in which the social structure is referred to as institutionalized duties. From the point of view of an individual, this dimension is defined by the social role; 2) in the dimension of awareness - the ideal one, in which the social identity is defined as a set of beliefs, judgments, ideas, and habits of thought relating to "how it is". From the perspective of the individual, that set can be described as "positional

## Hubert KOTARSKI

mentality" - a set of assessments that is typical for the given social position, in particular concerning the position of the individual's own group in relation to other communities; 3) in the interactive dimension, in which the social identity is determined by the main directions and channels of activities, as well as by partners of interactions. From the point of view of an individual, this dimension is characterized by typical contacts with others - "interactive options"; 4) in the dimension relating to interests, in which the social identity is defined as access to desired goods, and in consequence, as the range of life chances. In the personal perspective, differentiated access to goods (including prestige, wealth, power, etc.) is usually referred to as the social status (Gorlach and Wasilewski, 2000: 164). Sztompka writes that sociological explanation of what an individual is doing, what he thinks, what he strives for, requires always taking into account the position occupied by him/her in the society, its location within the social structure, and thus evoking in the explanations four structural position correlates: role, mentality, option, and status. Due to the interrelation of four dimensions of the structure, any dimensional explanations must be regarded as invalid (Sztompka, 1989: 58). The term "social position" always refers to the characteristics of the position of an individual (group) in the social structure, it always takes into account several dimensions (although it can assign a crucial importance to one of them), and the position taken in the structure is always characterized by the connections existing between various positions (Gorlach and Wasilewski, 2000: 167).

The pre-communist social hierarchy in the period before World War II was shaped by the cultural and economic capital, although the semi-feudal heritage of pre-communist Eastern Europe, with its principles of social class hierarchy gave some special color to the dynamics of social inequalities. After 1948, a qualitatively new social stratification system was created and fully crystallized by the end of the fifties. In this new structural space, the former economic capital has lost its importance and became a burden. The representatives of the former moneyed class have become "class enemies": if they wanted to remain on the surface of the new social order, they had to compensate for features burdening them by acquisition of the new, currently recognized capital. The decisive determinant of the position in the structure of Stalin's society was political capital. In this classical model of state socialism, only those who joined the Communist Party had a chance of promotion to the top of social hierarchy. Only those, whose political loyalty to their superiors could not be challenged, and whose commitment to the Marxist-Leninist worldview left no room for any doubts, could achieve success. Possession of cultural capital, however, was not an obstacle. Education - college school diploma and - if there wasn't any - graduation from a party school or a Marxism-Leninism "university" was helpful, but not necessary. Since the mid-sixties, the Stalinist system of stratification has changed. The newly acquired economic capital began increasingly impact social inequalities. The political capital continued to play a major role in the processes of social advancement, but more attention than before was paid to the cultural capital and professional competence. (Szelényi, Treiman and Wnuk-Lipiński, 1995: 14-15). The fall of communism in Poland, which was induced by the partially free elections in June 1989, has meant that from the early spring of that year, the process of rapid economic and political disintegration of the entire structure of state socialism began. For the social structure, the most important was the change consisting in devaluation and de-institutionalization of political capital. Within a short period of time, until 1991, the former political capital, defined as the membership in the Communist Party, not only ceased to be of value, but actually it became a burden. One can risk a thesis that the structure of the post-communist society in this period was a mirror image of the structure in the developed

## **Similar or different? Social position and identity of youth in Central ...**

Western countries. So far, the possession of economic capital had played a secondary role, and the cultural capital has become the decisive factor in achieving position in the post-communist social space, in the struggle for privileges, especially for political power. This unprecedented increase in the value of cultural capital was clearly evident when we look at the composition of the political class, which came to power in the first years after 1989. The power in post-communist societies was fully controlled by intellectuals and professionals. Presidents, prime ministers, ministers, members of parliament, mayors, and almost all leading persons in the governing parties and opposition were intellectuals or professionals. In capitalist countries, professionals play an important role in politics, but they are usually lawyers or economists. Humanist intelligentsia rarely gets to the top of political ladder. In post-communist societies, however, taking up the key positions in the structures of power by the humanist intelligentsia is not an exception but rather the rule. The leading post-communist politicians are playwrights, historians, sociologists, anthropologists and philosophers. (Szelényi, Treiman and Wnuk-Lipiński, 1995: 19).

### **Social position of youth in Central and Eastern Europe at the beginning of the 21st century**

The results of the analyses presented in this study are derived from the survey conducted in the period from March to June 2015 in three countries - Poland, Hungary, and Ukraine. It must be emphasized that despite the fact that the research was carried out on the territory of three countries, it covered the borderlands of five countries. The research sample consisted of high school students in Słubice, Zielona Góra, Racibórz, Krosno, Rzeszów, Przemyśl, Hrubieszów (Poland), Debrecen (Hungary), as well as Drohobych and Uzhgorod (Ukraine). The research was conducted using the audit questionnaire technique in some randomly selected schools. The total sample size included 2900 persons.

The first of the analyzed components defining the social position was to identify the major life goals and plans of the young people. For the analysis, the central tendency statistics, i.e. the arithmetic mean was used. The respondents referred to each of the variables on a five-point scale, constructed in the following way: 1 = I care very much, I care = 2, 3 = Difficult to say, 4 = I do not care, 5 = I do not care at all. The lower the value of the arithmetic mean, the greater importance was attributed by the respondent to the given variable describing plans and life goals. For the Polish youth, the most important life goals concentrate on the following issues: a happy family life, finding a good job, having friends, development of abilities and interests, as well as gaining respect of other people. Ukrainian youth has similar plans and life goals as their Polish peers: a happy family life, development of abilities and interests, having friends, graduation from college or university, and finding a good job. Young Hungarians turned their attention to other life goals. Like their peers from Poland and Ukraine, they pointed out a happy family life and having friends. But in contrast to young Poles and Ukrainians, the Hungarians indicated such values as: life just for pleasure and fun, development of skills and interests, as well as a quiet life away from any troubles. One should pay attention to one interesting point. The young people from Ukraine want to implement all plans and life goals listed in the survey. The range of the value of the arithmetic mean statistic between the most and least desirable variable amounted only to 0.54 (the lowest average value was 2.11, and the highest one was 2.65). In the case of respondents from Poland and Hungary, that range was much larger.

**Table 1. Plans and life goals of respondents – mean values**

	Poland	Ukraine	Hungary	Total
happy family life	1,37	2,11	1,17	1,72
having friends	1,59	2,16	1,52	1,87
development of abilities and interests	1,70	2,14	1,46	1,89
finding a good job	1,44	2,20	1,81	1,89
gaining respect of other people	1,72	2,24	1,72	1,99
independence from others	1,85	2,22	1,69	2,02
graduation from college or university	2,04	2,17	1,60	2,04
quiet life away from any troubles	1,92	2,38	1,48	2,09
acquisition of assets	1,86	2,46	1,83	2,16
helping other people	2,07	2,30	1,86	2,16
achieving a high position	2,17	2,37	2,16	2,27
living just for pleasure and fun	2,64	2,39	1,45	2,34
eternal salvation - life according to the principles of faith	2,35	2,58	3,12	2,58
starting an own business	3,05	2,41	2,54	2,64
participation in power	3,17	2,65	2,72	2,84

**Source:** own research (N=2867)

An indicator of social status was also the question what factors primarily determined the probability of finding a „good" job after finishing school. For the analysis, the central tendency statistics - the arithmetic mean was used again. The respondents referred to each of the variables on a five-point scale constructed as follows: 1 = Very high, High = 2, 3 = Small, 4 = Very small. The lower the value of the arithmetic mean, the greater is the importance of the variable describing the factors contributing to finding a "good" job.

For the young people from Poland, on finding a "good" job decided the following factors: foreign language skills, high professional qualifications, connections and favoritism, solid, diligent work and occupation - kind of work. Youth from Ukraine turned their attention to the same factors as their Polish peers: high professional qualifications, solid, diligent work, foreign language skills and occupation - kind of work.

What distinguished both national youth groups was the reference to education. Young people from Hungary were very similar in their opinions to the Poles, pointing out the following factors useful in finding a "good" job after completion of education: foreign language skills, high professional qualifications, connections and favoritism, solid and diligent work. One factor that was not indicated by the young people from Poland and Ukraine was grace, personal charm. Respondents from both Hungary and Ukraine indicated education, as a factor helpful in finding a "good" job.

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**Table 2. Factors facilitating finding a "good" job after completion of education  
– mean values**

	Poland	Ukraine	Hungary	Total
foreign language skills	1,51	1,63	1,32	1,55
high professional qualifications	1,64	1,52	1,56	1,57
solid and diligent work	1,81	1,58	1,66	1,67
education	1,86	1,73	1,66	1,76
occupation, kind of work	1,83	1,78	1,88	1,81
connections and favoritism	1,64	2,14	1,59	1,89
initiative and entrepreneurship	2,08	1,82	1,91	1,92
prestige and reputation of college or university the respondent graduated from	2,26	2,21	1,97	2,19
cuteness, cunning	2,87	2,06	1,87	2,31
grace, personal charm	2,58	2,46	1,62	2,38
place of residence, e.g. a big city, village	2,36	2,45	2,31	2,40
luck, coincidence	2,69	2,30	2,09	2,40
parents' wealth	2,61	2,39	2,52	2,48
social background	3,08	2,59	2,20	2,70
political opinions	3,31	2,95	2,64	3,03

**Source:** own research (N=2849)

The cultural capital has become one of the most common notions in social sciences in recent years. Theories dealing with cultural capital have proved particularly useful in the case of attempts to explain the transformation taking place within the social structure of post-communist societies. That transformation can be recognized at the level of changes in attitudes and behaviors in the life of representatives of different social categories. One can also strive to capture their effects at the level of general mechanisms and directions of mobility in the vertical sphere – of social classes or mobility taking place in horizontal direction between various segments of social structure (Bartoszek, 2003: 7). The particular usefulness of Pierre Bourdieu's cultural capital theory, as well as the very concept of cultural capital for analysis of changes in the societies of Central and Eastern Europe after 1989 was emphasized by Ivan Szelényi. He wrote that the unprecedented increase in the value of cultural capital is clearly visible when we look at the composition of political class that came to power in recent years. The power in post-communist societies is fully controlled by intellectuals and professionals. Presidents, prime ministers, ministers, members of parliament, mayors, and almost all the leading persons in the governing parties and opposition are intellectuals or professionals. In

capital-ist countries, the professionals play an important role in politics, but they are usually lawyers or economists. Humanistic intelligentsia rarely gets to the top of the political ladder. In post-communist societies, however, taking up key positions in the structures of power by the humanist intelligentsia is not an exception but rather the rule. The leading post-communist politicians are playwrights, historians, sociologists, anthropologists and philosophers (Szelényi, Treiman and Wnuk-Lipiński, 1995: 17).

In the scientific literature, the concept of cultural capital is used primarily in reference to Pierre Bourdieu’s social structure reproduction theory developed in cooperation with Jean-Claude Passeron. According to P. Bourdieu and J.-C. Passeron, the cultural capital of an individual is most strongly conditioned by education and occupation of his/her father and it impacts the level of his/her educational attainments (Bourdieu et al., 1990: 130–31). The cultural capital of students from the upper classes gives them a distinct advantage over students from the lower classes in going through the social selection, starting from the earlier levels of education; it favors them in obtaining better places in the better fields of study and in achieving better results (Bourdieu et al., 1990: 152–53). In conclusion, it can be stated that the concept of cultural capital explicated in such a manner allows for deepening of perceptions concerning the role of parents’ social status in achieving higher positions by their children (Bartoszek, 2003).

As the key measure of cultural capital acquired at family home, two factors were taken into account in this study: parents’ education and the number of books in the respondents’ home bookcases. Based on the answers to these three questions, synthetic indicator, which included father’s education (weight 33.3%), mother’s education (weight 33.3%) and the number of books at family home, was developed.

**Table 3. Indicator of the family cultural capital and the country of origin (in percent)**

<i>Level of indicator</i>	Country		
	<b>Poland</b>	<b>Ukraine</b>	<b>Hungary</b>
<i>Low</i>	35,1	20,9	31,3
<i>Middle</i>	32,1	47,5	31,0
<i>High</i>	32,8	31,6	37,6

**Source:** own research (N = 2846)

The youth living in Ukraine features the highest level of family cultural capital. The Hungarian youth is characterized by a slightly lower level, and the Polish youth features the lowest level of family cultural capital. It should also be noted that generally mothers featured a higher level of education than fathers. An interesting dependence, which is also worth noting, was the fact that the educational level of parents is determined by the size of home library.

Based on the collected research results concerning the level of the family cultural capital indicator, it can be concluded that in the case of high school students, the inherited cultural capital can constitute a factor determining access to higher education. That can be evidenced by the analysis of answers to the question concerning the educational and professional future, and the field of study preferred by the respondents.

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Young people with a higher level of cultural capital more often declared taking up university studies, and often pointed out the fields of study enjoying a high social prestige, such as medicine or law.

### **Social identity of youth in Middle and Eastern Europe**

The concept of identity referred to in the title of this paper is also to be discussed. The identity can be of crucial importance in the process of perceiving themselves in the society, in the perception of others, and finally, the way of perception of the society (Wojakowski, 2007: 70), especially in the case of borderland, i.e. the area covered by the research. The borderland can be defined as an area, in which the social and cultural contacts between two or more nations or cultural ethnic groups take place as well as the consequences of those contacts in the form of formation of the new man and his culture (Sadowski, 1992).

From the scientific point of view, the issue regarding differences and similarities occurring among the representatives of youth in the borderlands of Central and Eastern European countries is therefore interesting. The notion of identity usually refers in sociology to the realm of self-definition of social actors – both individual and collective ones. It can be therefore defined as the collection of perceptions, judgments and beliefs of that actor about him/herself (Bokszański, 2002: 252).

The term identity is often used interchangeably with the terms identification and awareness. It should be emphasized that classical sociological theories of identity basing on the model of identity health, interactive model of identity or ideological identity model are based on the assumption of individual identity. Recently, however, in the social sciences there can be observed a tendency to generalize the concept of identity and in consequence to extend its scope, also onto the community. In this case, we talk about various forms of collective identity: ethnic groups, social movements or nations (Bokszański, 2002: 252). In summary, it can be assumed that the identity is an established, and thus a relatively stable form of awareness. On the other hand, identification means the identity of individuals. If the individual defines her/himself, we talk about his/her self-identification or auto-identification. So it is about a kind of self-consciousness, i.e. the awareness of their own "I", perception of his/her personality, attitudes and behaviors. The individual or personal identity overlaps the social identity, i.e. the collective identity, social awareness or identity (Lewandowska, 2003). Social identity is a supraindividual set of self-definitions which are irreducible to the self-definition of an individual person. It is based on the internalized and experienced tradition, on the present and on the definition of the future which is common to the entire group; it is so close to the concepts of collective awareness, collective representations and imaginations (Banaszczyk, 1989). Due to the nature of the research and to the treatment of representatives of various borderlands as subjects of research analysis, I will focus my attention on social identity.

The first of the researched components of social identity was the sense of connection with the family, the nation, the place of respondent's residence, with the region and Europe. Each dimension was analyzed from the perspective of each of the countries distinguished in the study. One of the analyzed dimensions was the sense of connection with respondent's own nation. The strongest connection with their own people was declared by youth from Ukraine and Poland. The respondents in these two countries were characterized by a strong and very strong sense of connection with their own nation (the feeling of being a Pole – an Ukrainian) and the lowest percentage of declaration of the total lack of connection with the nation (4.4% and 8.4%). The weakest level of the sense

of connection with their own nation featured young people living in Hungary. Every fifth respondent did not feel any connection with their own nation. The detailed data summary is presented in Table 1.

**Table 1. The sense of connection with the own nation and the country of origin (in percent)**

<i>How strong is the connection you feel with YOUR NATION</i>	Country		
	Poland	Ukraine	Hungary
<i>very strong</i>	20,5	19,1	4,2
<i>strong</i>	42,1	47,3	26,3
<i>weak</i>	29,0	29,2	49,4
<i>I don't feel any connection</i>	8,4	4,4	20,1

Source: own research (N = 2832)

The second of the analyzed dimensions was the sense of connection with the family. The level of respondents' declarations was similar in each country. A slightly stronger sense of connection with the family featured youth from Ukraine and Poland.

**Table 2 . The sense of connection with the family and the country of origin (in percent)**

<i>How strong is the connection you feel with YOUR FAMILY</i>	Country		
	Poland	Ukraine	Hungary
<i>very strong</i>	68,9	72,6	64,3
<i>strong</i>	24,8	22,2	29,7
<i>weak</i>	5,2	4,7	6,0
<i>I don't feel any connection</i>	1,1	0,5	0,0

Source: own research (N = 2832)

The strongest connection with their own place of residence declared again the young people living in Ukraine and in Poland. In the case of young people from Hungary, the sense of attachment to their place of living was at a noticeably lower level.

**Table 3. The sense of connection with the place of residence and the country of origin (in percent)**

<i>How strong is the connection you feel with PLACE YOU LIVE IN</i>	Country		
	Poland	Ukraine	Hungary
<i>very strong</i>	16,3	15,2	7,8
<i>strong</i>	44,9	48,4	37,7
<i>weak</i>	30,7	34,2	43,4
<i>I don't feel any connection</i>	8,1	2,1	11,1

Source: own research (N = 2832)

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The analysis of the level of declared identification with the region demonstrated that it is relatively poorly perceived by the youth of the three researched countries, regardless of their geographic location. It can be associated with the already signaled in the literature problem of poor identification of respondents with mezzo level of social structures. This is confirmed among others by the research conducted by Bohdan Jałowicki and Grzegorz Gorzelak who came to the conclusion that the level of identification, regionalism and attachment to the region is very weak in the post-socialist countries (Gorzelak and Jałowicki, 1993). As can be also seen in the following research results, we feel a much stronger identification with the micro level (family, place of residence) and macro level (nation) than with the region that can be considered as the mezzo level of social structure.

**Table 4. The sense of connection with the region and the country of origin (in percent)**

<i>How strong is the connection you feel with YOUR REGION</i>	Country		
	<b>Poland</b>	<b>Ukraine</b>	<b>Hungary</b>
<i>very strong</i>	5,1	7,8	4,2
<i>strong</i>	25,3	39,3	16,9
<i>weak</i>	49,1	43,2	53,9
<i>I don't feel any connection</i>	20,5	9,7	25,0

Source: own research (N = 2832)

Like in the case of the sense of connection with the region, the youth from three countries of Central and Eastern Europe was characterized by a relatively weak sense of connection with Europe.

**Table 5. The sense of connection with Europe and the country of origin (in percent)**

<i>How strong is the connection you feel with EUROPE</i>	Country		
	<b>Poland</b>	<b>Ukraine</b>	<b>Hungary</b>
<i>very strong</i>	8,7	10,2	8,3
<i>strong</i>	27,2	30,1	21,9
<i>weak</i>	41,4	41,5	36,9
<i>I don't feel any connection at all</i>	22,6	18,2	32,9

Source: own research (N = 2832)

### Summary

The research demonstrated differences in the level of analysis of identity and social position of young people - high school students living in the borderland of three countries of Central and Eastern Europe - Poland, Hungary and Ukraine. The aim of the

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research was to assess the level of identification with social structures at the following levels: macro - nation, Europe, mezzo – region, and micro - the family and the place of respondents' residence. The research has shown that the strongest connection with their own nation declares youth from Poland and Ukraine. The weakest level of declared connection with their own nation featured young people living in Hungary. The analysis of the level of declared identification with the region demonstrated that it is relatively weakly identified by young people, regardless of their geographic location. The strongest connection with their place of residence felt the young people living in Poland and Ukraine. The analysis of the sense of connection with the family showed that the level of respondents' declarations was similar in each country. For the Polish youth, the most important life plans concentrate on the following issues: happy family life, finding a good job, having friends, development of abilities and interests, as well as gaining other people's respect. The youth from Ukraine has similar plans and life goals as their Polish male and female peers. Young Hungarians paid their attention to other life plans. Like their peers from Poland and Ukraine, they pointed out a happy family life and having friends. But in contrast to young Poles and Ukrainians, the Hungarians indicate such values as: life just for pleasure and fun, development of skills and interests, as well as a quiet life away from any troubles. The indicator of social position used for the analysis was the variable showing what factor primarily determined the probability of finding a „good" job after finishing school. Young people from the three countries of Central and Eastern Europe were rather consistent in their opinions that factors that determine finding a "good" job are foreign language skills, high professional qualifications, connections and favoritism, solid and diligent work, and occupation - kind of work.

The analysis of cultural capital resources of youth from Central and Eastern Europe made it possible to capture several interesting issues. In order to find out the specificity of young people living in different parts of the three countries, the type of borderland was selected as the unit of analysis (the types of distinguished borderlands are described in the introduction to this paper). The highest level of the family cultural capital features young people living in the Polish - German, Hungarian - Ukrainian - Slovakian and Ukrainian - Polish borderlands, and the lowest one features the Polish - Czech and Polish – Slovakian borderlands. The most educated were parents of students from the Polish - German and Ukrainian – Polish borderlands. The research concerning the cultural capital resources allowed for drawing the following conclusion: in the case of high school students, the inherited cultural capital can constitute a factor determining the access to higher education. That can be evidenced by the analysis of answers to the question concerning the educational and professional future, and the field of study preferred by the respondents. Young people with a higher level of cultural capital more often declared taking up university studies, and often pointed out fields of study enjoying high social prestige, such as medicine or law.

The conducted research represents just a fragment of very interesting scientific issue, i.e. the study of the youngest generation entering the world of adult social, civic and professional life. The analysis of social position of the young elites, their identity and cultural capital resources can be of crucial importance in the future. Since in the near future these young people will constitute the foundations of intellectual elite in the borderlands of Central and Eastern European countries.

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## ORIGINAL PAPER

# Targeting Security Topics Usage in National Security Strategies: Core Strategic Concepts and Security Policies in Central and Eastern Europe

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### Abstract:

During the last twenty years we have marked the launch of many national security strategies focusing on the rise of the new strategic concepts and security policies. The present paper scrutinizes five such documents adopted between 2002-2015 as follows: a) Strategy for the Republic of Croatia's National Security (2002); b) National Security Strategy of the Republic of Slovenia (2010); c) National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia (2009); d) The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Albania (2004); e) Czech Republic Security Strategy (2015). The study uses the content analysis to provide some basic comparisons by addressing a theoretical background of the security and strategy in national legal documents and addressing a comprehensive guidance of the specific regional issues: transition, development, cooperation, partnership, national interest etc. Once the content analysis examines, the statistical and graphic benefits identify the new security engagements by considering the inputs and outputs of the core group of concepts and policies.

**Keywords:** *regional security, strategic concepts, security policy, security strategy, Central and Eastern Europe*

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### Introduction

The exploration of the political dynamics and the regional security conceptual framework has evolved as a “device” both identifying and scrutinizing current and forthcoming demands in the history of the security policies and strategies of the countries. Grounded in the knowledge-security view of the security policy, this paper explores and contextualizes how the approach to the security-specific knowledge grants the support for the related links between security-strategy-environment in a comparative perspective. The study also takes into consideration the perspectives of the political history, security governance, national policies and the regional challenges (Kirchner, 2006: 947-968; Bures, 2014: 115-125; Economides and Ker-Lindsay, 2015: 1027-1044) scrutinizing the internal and external political factors after the fall of the communist regime (Just, 2014: 65-74) and the institutionalization theories levelling and postulating the role of the historical institutionalism (Georgescu, 2014: 135-146).

### Methods and methodology

Empirically, the analysis of the security topics draws on the content analysis of the following documents: a) Strategy for the Republic of Croatia’s National Security (hereinafter SNS\_Croatia) (2002); b) National Security Strategy of the Republic of Slovenia (hereinafter NSS\_Slovenia) (2010); c) National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia (hereinafter NSS\_Serbia) (2009); d) The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Albania (hereinafter NSS\_Albania) (2004); e) Czech Republic Security Strategy (hereinafter SSC\_Czech Republic) (2015). The five documents approve between 2002 and 2015 identify key indicators of the national interest, public order and security, national security management, stability factors and democracy outcomes, development and rule of law. The present paper aims also at extending the variety of interpretations and analysis of the security strategies related to the SNS\_Croatia, NSS\_Slovenia, NSS\_Serbia, NSS\_Albania and SSC\_Czech Republic depending on the various understandings of the key indicators of the internal interests, regional gaps, public order and security and national/ international security management by considering the European landscape and the “democratization effect” (Vachudova, 2014: 122-138). The analysis of each national security strategies of the five countries spotlights six “classes of items” (1, 2, 3...6) each having three focal points entitled “research units” (1, 2, 3). Depending on the understandings of the key indicators of the prevailing topics of the defence policies, national interest, public order and security, national security management, the study points the following security complementariness as follows: a) The long-term strategic concepts as a basis of the national security strategies as affirmed in each NSS (Class of items 1); b) The core categories and topics of the security environment and related aspects (Class of items 2); c) The links of the regional security to the regional security-based schema (Class of items 3); d) Establishment of a core national/ regional system of security concepts, aims and objectives (Class of items 4); e) Combining main topics and mechanisms within the defence policies (Class of items 5); f) Emerging challenges of the national and/ or regional security (Class of items 6).

The analysis of the strategic concepts and security was analysed around an analytical model using six stages of the classes of items that are aimed to enable an extensive appointment of the long-term topics in the defence sector, environmental decision-making processes and regional security architecture. The five documents were analysed by identifying and formulating research units arising from the security preeminence facts and indicators and relying on the mechanisms guiding the state core

actions and initiatives. Security processes and mechanisms at the international and/ or European level, regional level and national level are categorized by designing the relationship established between the security actors - the implementation of the defence policies and security strategies.

The study proposes a new analytical model of the security topics usage in the national security strategies by reviewing the five strategies, linking more than 150 topics in the field and it combines two main quantitative methods: a) the *frequency analysis* of the main concepts: “security”, “European security”, “NATO”, “stability”, “democracy”, “transition”, “strategy” etc.; b) scrutinizing a *co-word analysis* by spotting the core research units: “geo-political position”; “national security”; “risks and threats”; “democratic society”; “military defence” etc. Considering these analytical developments, five research steps are targeted and two main research questions are advanced as follows: Q1. What are the main strategic concepts and security policies of the national agendas used and developed in the period 2002-2015 in the national security strategies of in Croatia, Albania, Slovenia, Serbia and Czech Republic?; Q2. What are the key common items in the field of the security and strategies agendas used in Croatia, Albania, Slovenia, Serbia and Czech Republic? The five steps are: Step 1. Research questions; Step 2. Organizing, identifying and explaining the “Classes of Items” in the field of security and strategy; Step 3. Identification and justification of the use of the research items within the classes of items as follows: SNS\_Croatia, NSS\_Slovenia, NSS\_Serbia, NSS\_Albania, SSC\_Czech Republic; Step 4. Findings, results and discussion; Step 5. Exploration of the results and findings. We then calculate the relative frequency of each research unit as a proportion of the total frequency of each topic and the given classes of items. The relative frequency is calculated for each class of items and research units (Table 1. Sampling research units 1, 2, 3 / Classes 1, 2, 3, ...6).

**Table 1. Sampling research units 1, 2, 3 / Classes 1, 2, 3, ...6**

Sampling research units 1, 2, 3 - Classes of items 1, 2, 3...6	Research units 1 (Column 1)	Research units 2 (Column 2)	Research units 3 (Column 3)
Class 1	1	7	13
<b>Relative Frequency 1</b>	<b>.n1</b>	<b>.n2</b>	<b>.n3</b>
Class 2	2	8	14
<b>Relative Frequency 2</b>	<b>.n4</b>	<b>.n5</b>	<b>.n6</b>
Class 3	3	9	15
<b>Relative Frequency 3</b>	<b>.n7</b>	<b>.n8</b>	<b>.n9</b>
Class 4	4	10	16
<b>Relative Frequency 4</b>	<b>.n10</b>	<b>.n11</b>	<b>.n12</b>
Class 5	5	11	17
<b>Relative Frequency 5</b>	<b>.n13</b>	<b>.n14</b>	<b>.n15</b>
Class 6	6...m	12...n	18...o
<b>Relative Frequency 6</b>	<b>.n16</b>	<b>.n17</b>	<b>.n18</b>

Source: Author’s own compilation

### Results and discussion

The risks and challenges exposed by the strategies of security are increasingly referring to a central connection between the long term “strategic concepts as a basis of the national security strategies”, the “security-based formula” and the “defence policies” (a direct limitation referring to the classes of items 1, 3 and 5). The argument that the

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“emerging challenges to the national and/ or regional security” enter the security arena by adding the status of the topics and mechanisms balances the military-defence options and the development of the society.

### 1. *Strategy for the Republic of Croatia’s National Security - Strategy for the Republic of Croatia’s National Security (SNS\_Croatia) (2002)*

The first approach of the analysis is considering the Strategy for the Republic of Croatia’s National Security adopted in 2002. The SNS\_Croatia focuses on the relative frequency of the geo-political position and the international security environment (research units 1, relative frequency 1) favoring also: a) the links between the national and regional security formula within the Euro-atlantic landscape (research units 2, relative frequency 3), Southeastern Europe (research units 2, relative frequency 3) and b) the direction of the security cooperation and the state’s institutional displays (research units 3, relative frequency 4). Table 1.1. also correlates the strategic concepts with the transition and the evolution of a democratic society looking at the lines of differentiation between the relative frequency of the concept of “democratic society” (research units 1, relative frequency 4), “transition” (research units 2, relative frequency 4), and “development of society” (research units 2, relative frequency 6). The approach of the SNS\_Croatia to the geo-political position and the Euro-atlantic security enables: the “political order” (research units 3, relative frequency 3), “partnership” (research units 3, relative frequency 1) and “security environment” (research units 3, relative frequency 2).

**Table 1.1. Strategy for the Republic of Croatia’s National Security - Strategy for the Republic of Croatia’s National Security (SNS\_Croatia) (2002)**

	<b>Classes of items</b>	<b>Research units 1</b>	<b>Research units 2</b>	<b>Research units 3</b>
1.	The long-term strategic concepts as a basis of the national security strategies as affirmed in each national security strategy	Geo-political position (1); International security (4); Security (175)	Stability (18); Democracy (8); Human rights (4); Immigration (3)	Partnership (14); Co-operation (3)
	<b>Relative Frequency 1</b>	<b>.60</b>	<b>.19</b>	<b>.11</b>
2.	The core categories and topics of the security environment and related aspects	Peace (ful/keeping) (28)	International/transnational threats (2); Terrorism (10)	Environment (15); Ecological(Ily) (7); Security environment (5)
	<b>Relative Frequency 2</b>	<b>.09</b>	<b>.06</b>	<b>.18</b>
3.	The links of the regional security to the regional security-based schema	Euro-Atlantic (4) and European security (7)	NATO (32); EU (European/ Europe) (71); Southeast Europe (8)	Political order (2)
	<b>Relative Frequency 3</b>	<b>.03</b>	<b>.64</b>	<b>.01</b>
4.	Establishment of a core national/ regional system of security concepts, aims and objectives	Democratic society (2)	Transition (11)	State(s) (52); Cooperation (42)
	<b>Relative Frequency 4</b>	<b>.003</b>	<b>.06</b>	<b>.63</b>

5.	Combining main topics and mechanisms within the defence policies	Defence (23)	Military-defence (2)	Security-defence (2)
	<b>Relative Frequency <sub>5</sub></b>	<b>.07</b>	<b>.01</b>	<b>.01</b>
6.	Emerging challenges of the national and/ or regional security	National security (50); Internal security (5)	Development of society (2) and international factors (1); Self-defence (1)	Risks and threats (6)
	<b>Relative Frequency <sub>6</sub></b>	<b>.18</b>	<b>.02</b>	<b>.04</b>

Source: Author’s own compilation based on the content analysis of the SNS\_Croatia (2002) (*concepts are displayed as they appear in the text*)

Table 1.2. also displays on a map of the relative frequency the following performances: 1. Research units 1 (“geo-political position”, „international security” and “security”): relative frequency  $f_1 = .60$ ; 2. Research units 3 (“state” and “cooperation”): relative frequency  $f_4 = .63$ ; 3. Research units 2 (NATO, EU (European/ Europe); Southeast Europe): relative frequency  $f_3 = .64$ ; 4. Research units 2 (“stability”, “democracy”, “human rights”, “immigration”) : relative frequency  $f_1 = .19$ . Clearly, the lowest levels of the Research units 2 are the following: relative frequency  $f_4 = .06$  (concept of “transition”) and relative frequency  $f_5 = .01$  (concept of “military defence”).

**Table 1.2. Strategy for the Republic of Croatia’s National Security - Strategy for the Republic of Croatia’s National Security (SNS\_Croatia) (2002)**

**(variations of the relative frequencies)**

Classes of items/ relative frequencies	Research units 1	Research units 2	Research units 3
Relative Frequency <sub>1</sub>	.60	.19	.11
Relative Frequency <sub>2</sub>	.09	.06	.18
Relative Frequency <sub>3</sub>	.03	.64	.01
Relative Frequency <sub>4</sub>	.003	.06	.63
Relative Frequency <sub>5</sub>	.07	.01	.01
Relative Frequency <sub>6</sub>	.18	.02	.04

Source: Author’s own compilation based on the content analysis of the SNS\_Croatia (2002)

## **2. National Security Strategy of the Republic of Slovenia (NSS\_Slovenia) (2010)**

The second approach of the analysis is considering the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Slovenia (NSS\_Slovenia) adopted in 2010. The NSS\_Slovenia focuses on the relative frequency of the international security and security (research units 1, relative frequency  $f_1$ ) enabling also: a) the security relational links between security risks and threats (research units 2, relative frequency  $f_2$ ), national and internal security environment (research units 1, relative frequency  $f_6$ ) and b) the settings of the rule of law (research units 1, relative frequency  $f_4$ ), development encounters (research units 1, relative frequency  $f_4$ ), migration and human rights fixings (research units 2, relative frequency  $f_1$ ), security environment and climate change (research units 3, relative frequency  $f_2$ ).

Broadly analysing, Table 2.1. distinguishes the reflections of the security spectrum requiring the causal elements of “stability” (research units 2, relative frequency

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1), “cooperation” (research units 3, relative frequency 4), “partnership” (research units 3, relative frequency 1) and “border” (research units 3, relative frequency 3). According to Table 2.1., the analysis targets the relative frequencies of the concept of “international security” and security (research units 1, relative frequency 1), “national security” and “internal security” (research units 1, relative frequency 6), “development” (research units 2, relative frequency 6); “threats”, “security threats”, “security risks” (research units 2, relative frequency 2); “security system” ( research units 2, relative frequency 6).

**Table 2.1. National Security Strategy of the Republic of Slovenia (NSS\_Slovenia) (2010)**

	Classes of items	Research units 1	Research units 2	Research units 3
1	The long-term strategic concepts as a basis of the national security strategies as affirmed in each national security strategy	International security (10); Security (252)	Stability (15); Democracy (4); Human rights (9); Migration (21); Freedoms (8)	Partnership (4); International cooperation (2)
	<b>Relative Frequency 1</b>	<b>.48</b>	<b>.14</b>	<b>.02</b>
2	The core categories and topics of the security environment and related aspects	Peace (ful/keeping) (10); Foreign policy (6)	Threats (51); Security threats (14); Security risks (5); Terrorism (20)	Environment (49); Security environment (11); Climate change (s) (16)
	<b>Relative Frequency 2</b>	<b>.02</b>	<b>.22</b>	<b>.16</b>
3	The links of the international security to the regional security-based schema	Euro-Atlantic (9); Balkan(s) (8)	NATO (21) EU (European/ Europe) (60)	Border (14)
	<b>Relative Frequency 3</b>	<b>.31</b>	<b>.02</b>	<b>.02</b>
4	Establishment of up a core national/ regional system of security concepts, aims and objectives	Development (43); Rule of law (6)	Transition (2); Economic policy (1); Social (64)	State(s) (33); Cooperation (28)
	<b>Relative Frequency 4</b>	<b>.09</b>	<b>.16</b>	<b>.12</b>
5	Combining main topics and mechanisms within the defence policies	Defence (47)	Military (32)	Defence policy (7); Crisis areas (17)
	<b>Relative Frequency 5</b>	<b>.08</b>	<b>.07</b>	<b>.05</b>
6	Emerging challenges of the national and/ or regional security	National security (131); Internal security (14)	Security system (27); Development (43); Partners (8)	Risks (29)
	<b>Relative Frequency 6</b>	<b>.27</b>	<b>.19</b>	<b>.06</b>

Source: Author’s own compilation on the content analysis of the NSS\_Slovenia (2010)  
(concepts are displayed as they appear in the text)

The approach of the NSS\_Slovenia to the geo-political position and the Euro-atlantic security enables “partnership” (research units 3, relative frequency 1) and “security environment” (research units 3, relative frequency 2). Table 2.2. identifies the following results of the relative frequency: (1). Research units 1 (“international security”

and “security”): relative frequency  $f_1 = .48$ ; (2). Research units 3 (“state” and “cooperation”): relative frequency  $f_4 = .12$ ; (3). Research units 2 (NATO, EU (European/ Europe); Southeast Europe) = .02; (4). Research units 2 (“stability”, “democracy”, “human rights”, “migration”) : relative frequency  $f_1 = .14$ . Furthermore, the lowest levels of the research units 2 are the following: relative frequency  $f_3 = .02$  (concept of “border”) and relative frequency  $f_1 = .02$  (concept of “partnership” and “international cooperation”).

**Table 2.2. National Security Strategy of the Republic of Slovenia (NSS\_Slovenia) (2010) (variations of the relative frequencies)**

Classes of items/ relative frequencies	Research units 1	Research units 2	Research units 3
Relative Frequency $f_1$	.48	.14	.02
Relative Frequency $f_2$	.02	.22	.16
Relative Frequency $f_3$	.31	.02	.02
Relative Frequency $f_4$	.09	.16	.12
Relative Frequency $f_5$	.08	.07	.05
Relative Frequency $f_6$	.27	.19	.06

Source: Author’s own compilation on the content analysis of the NSS\_Slovenia (2010)

**3. National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia (NSS\_Serbia) (2009)**

The third part of the analysis is focusing on the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia (NSS\_Serbia) adopted in 2009. The NSS\_Serbia enables the importance of security, but also the paths to the “development of society” (research units 2, relative frequency  $f_6$ ), “international community”, partnership and justice (research units 2, relative frequency  $f_6$ ) guaranteeing the place of peace (full/ keeping) (research units 1, relative frequency  $f_2$ ), the achievement of the security system at the national level and the system management (research units 1, relative frequency  $f_6$ ). In addition to this grounding approach, NSS\_Serbia targets the relative frequency of the “international security” and “security-intelligence” (research units 1, relative frequency  $f_1$ ) enabling also: a) the risks and threats including “security risks”(research units 2, relative frequency  $f_2$ ), the Euro-Atlantic security environment (research units 2, relative frequency  $f_3$ ) and b) the fixings of the rule of law and minority rights (research units 1, relative frequency  $f_4$  and relative frequency  $f_5$ ), “national interests” (research units 1, relative frequency  $f_5$ ), stability, migration and human rights fixings (research units 2, relative frequency  $f_1$ ), defence-policy and crisis management (research units 3, relative frequency  $f_5$ ). When identifying the core categories and topics of the security management, Table 3.1. distinguishes the understandings of the dominant forms of the “internal security” claiming the premises of the “security risks” and “security threats” (research units 2, relative frequency  $f_2$ ), “economic policy” (research units 2, relative frequency  $f_4$ ), “social life” (research units 3, relative frequency  $f_4$ ) and “transition” (research units 2, relative frequency  $f_4$ ). According to Table 3.2, the conceptualization of the relative frequencies of the “security-intelligence” (research units 1, relative frequency  $f_1$ ), “development” and “internal security” (research units 1, relative frequency  $f_4$  and relative frequency  $f_5$ ) establishes the socio-political approach of the debate on the “human rights” and “minority rights”. In an analytical interpretation, the distinctions between the international-European and European-national divides, directs the security analysis towards the examination of the most relevant aspects of the security environment (research units 3, relative frequency  $f_2$ ). The NSS\_Serbia also indicates that the organization of the data samples a basic-to-composite analysis of the

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concepts of “partnership” and “cooperation”. The sampling legitimates a valid list of top items by measuring and analysing more than 250 concepts categorized in the Research units 3 (Column 3), 695 concepts included in the Research units 1 (Column 1) and 264 concepts identified in the Research units 2 (Column 2) of the Table 3.1.

**Table 3.1. National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia (NSS\_Serbia) (2009)**

	<b>Classes of items</b>	<b>Research units 1</b>	<b>Research units 2</b>	<b>Research units 3</b>
1	The long-term strategic concepts as a basis of the national security strategies as affirmed in each national security strategy	International security (4); Security (330) Security-intelligence (3)	Stability (24); Democracy (7); Human rights (7); Migration (6)	Partnership (7) International law (9)
	<b>Relative Frequency 1</b>	<b>.50</b>	<b>.16</b>	<b>.06</b>
2	The core categories and topics of the security environment and related aspects	Peace (ful/keeping) (16); Foreign policy (12)	Threats (36); Security threats (1); Security risks (5); Terrorism (11)	Environment (37), Security environment (7), Climate change (s) (2)
	<b>Relative Frequency 2</b>	<b>.04</b>	<b>.20</b>	<b>.31</b>
3	The links of the international security to the regional security-based schema	Europe(an) (39); Balkan(s) (5)	NATO (9); EU (European/Europe) (39) Southeast Europe (7)	Border(s) (13)
	<b>Relative Frequency 3</b>	<b>.06</b>	<b>.20</b>	<b>.05</b>
4	Establishment of a core national/ regional system of security concepts, aims and objectives	Democratic society (2); Development (56); Rule of law (5)	Transition (7); Social life (8); Economic policy (10)	State(s) (70); Cooperation (42)
	<b>Relative Frequency 4</b>	<b>.09</b>	<b>.09</b>	<b>.43</b>
5	Combining main topics and mechanisms within the defence policies	Security system (33); National interests (22); Minority rights (9)	Military (13)	Defense policy (12); Crisis (10)
	<b>Relative Frequency 5</b>	<b>.09</b>	<b>.04</b>	<b>.08</b>
6	Emerging challenges of the national and/ or regional security	National security (119); Internal security (15); National security system (28); National security management system (2)	Development of society (1); International community (3) Development (56); Partners (9) Justice (5)	Risks (32); Challenges (19)
	<b>Relative Frequency 6</b>	<b>.24</b>	<b>.28</b>	<b>.19</b>

Source: Author’s own compilation on the content analysis of the NSS\_Serbia (2009)  
(concepts are displayed as they appear in the text)

The data analysis provided by Table 3.2. reports the following variations of the the relative frequencies: 1. Research units 1 (“international security”; “security” and security-intelligence): relative frequency  $f_1 = .50$ ; 2. Research units 3 (“state” and “cooperation”): relative frequency  $f_4 = .43$ ; 3. Research units 2 (NATO, EU (European/ Europe); Southeast Europe) = .20; 4. Research units 2 (“stability”, “democracy”, “human rights”, “migration”): relative frequency  $f_1 = .16$ .

The results also show differences between the relative frequencies of the research units 1 as follows: relative frequency  $f_3 = .06$  (concepts of “Europe(an)” and “Balkan(s)”) and the relative frequency  $f_4 = .09$  (concept of “democratic society” and “development”).

**Table 3.2. National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia (NSS\_Serbia) (2009) (variations of the relative frequencies)**

Classes of items/ relative frequencies	Research units 1	Research units 2	Research units 3
Relative Frequency $f_1$	.50	.16	.06
Relative Frequency $f_2$	.04	.20	.31
Relative Frequency $f_3$	.06	.20	.05
Relative Frequency $f_4$	.09	.09	.43
Relative Frequency $f_5$	.09	.04	.08
Relative Frequency $f_6$	.24	.28	.19

Source: Author’s own compilation on the content analysis of the NSS\_Serbia (2009)

**4. The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Albania (NSS\_Albania) (2004)**

The fourth part of the analysis is focusing on the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Albania (NSS\_Albania) adopted in 2004.

The NSS\_Albania reveals that the relative frequencies in the field of international, regional and national security are significant (more than 195 uses of the concepts of “security” and “strategy” and a relative frequency of .41).

To this, the analysis combines three concepts within Research units 2 (“stability” = 23 uses; “democracy” = 7 uses; “democratic society”= 3 uses; “human rights” = 7 uses; “migration = 1 use) and two concepts within Research units 3 (“state(s) = 46 uses and “cooperation” = 19 uses).

In fact, the NSS\_Albania is a seven-faceted analysis in terms of which it assumes the role of international and regional security as follows: (1) development; (2) democratic society; (3) national security and interests; (4) regional; (5) Europe(an); (6) international community- (7) partners.

The central notice in codifying the NSS\_Albania is to develop a security scheme that constitutes an eloquent call to: a) the values of the “democratic state” and “rule of law” (relative frequency  $f_4 = .22$ ); b) the role of the “international community” and justice encounters (relative frequency  $f_6 = .38$ ); c) the engagement of the “civil defense” and “military” (relative frequency  $f_5 = .15$ ); d) the cause-factor analysis of the “security environment” (relative frequency  $f_2 = .21$ ), the “peace (full/keeping)” and “foreign policy” (relative frequency  $f_2 = .05$ ).

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**Table 4.1. The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Albania (NSS\_Albania) (2004)**

	<b>Classes of items</b>	<b>Research units 1</b>	<b>Research units 2</b>	<b>Research units 3</b>
1	The long-term strategic concepts as a basis of the national security strategies as affirmed in each national security strategy	Security (160); Strategy (35)	Stability (23), Democracy (7); Democratic society (3); Human rights (7); Migration (1)	Partnership (8); International peace (2); diplomacy (8)
	<b>Relative Frequency 1</b>	<b>.41</b>	<b>.16</b>	<b>.11</b>
2	The core categories and topics of the security environment and related aspects	Peace(ful/keeping) (22); Foreign policy (5)	Threats (8); Terrorism (11)	Environment (31); Security environment (3)
	<b>Relative Frequency 2</b>	<b>.05</b>	<b>.07</b>	<b>.21</b>
3	The links of the international security to the regional security-based schema	Europe(an) (24); Balkan(s) (4)	NATO (12); EU (European/ Europe) (24)	Border(s) (6)
	<b>Relative Frequency 3</b>	<b>.05</b>	<b>.14</b>	<b>.03</b>
4	Establishment of a core national/ regional system of security concepts, aims and objectives	Democratic society (3); Democratic state (4); Development (50); Rule of law (4)	Transition (1); Social (7); Economic (10)	State(s) (46); Cooperation (19)
	<b>Relative Frequency 4</b>	<b>.22</b>	<b>.07</b>	<b>.40</b>
5	Combining main topics and mechanisms within the defence policies	Security system (4); National interests (21); Regional (25)	Military (20); Civil defense (20)	Defense policy (7); Crisis (5)
	<b>Relative Frequency 5</b>	<b>.10</b>	<b>.15</b>	<b>.07</b>
6	Emerging challenges of the national and/ or regional security	National security (26); National security (26); Protection of... (28); Constitutional (13)	Development of... (29); International community (4); Development (50); Partners (11); Justice (4)	Risks (14); Internal risks (2); Challenges (9)
	<b>Relative Frequency 6</b>	<b>.19</b>	<b>.38</b>	<b>.15</b>

Source: Author's own compilation on the content analysis of the NSS\_Albania (2009)  
(*concepts are displayed as they appear in the text*)

The constructed coding provided by Table 3.2. details the following dispatches of the relative frequency scoring: (1). Research units 1 (Europe(an) and Balkans: relative frequency  $_1 = .05$ ); (2). Research units 2 (“threats” and “terrorism”): relative frequency  $_4 = .07$ ; (3). Research units 3 (“border(s): : relative frequency  $_3 = .03$ ). Thus, the coding

analysis of the fourth national\_strategy attempts to associate the in-depth security analysis of the concepts of “state” and “cooperation”, “rule of law” and “development” with that of the security guidelines defining “transition”, social actions and economic status. From this analytical device, the central challenge of the NSS\_Albania depends on three relative frequencies: (1) Relative frequency<sub>4 (research units 3)</sub> = .40; (2) Relative frequency<sub>4 (research units 1)</sub> = .22; (3) Relative frequency<sub>4 (research units 2)</sub> = .07; (4). Relative frequency<sub>6 (research units 3)</sub> = .15.

**Table 4.2. The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Albania (NSS\_Albania) (2004) (variations of the relative frequencies)**

Classes of items/ relative frequencies	Research units 1	Research units 2	Research units 3
Relative Frequency <sub>1</sub>	.41	.16	.11
Relative Frequency <sub>2</sub>	.05	.07	.21
Relative Frequency <sub>3</sub>	.05	.14	.03
Relative Frequency <sub>4</sub>	.22	.07	.40
Relative Frequency <sub>5</sub>	.10	.15	.07
Relative Frequency <sub>6</sub>	.19	.38	.15

Source: Author’s own compilation on the content analysis of the NSS\_Albania (2009)

**5. Security Strategy of the Czech Republic (SSC\_Czech Republic) (2015)**

The last part of the analysis is exploring the *Czech Republic Security Strategy* (SSC\_Czech Republic adopted in 2015. The SSC\_Czech Republic defines, classifies and carries out the demonstrative factors of the international security, but also the paths to the security policies, Euro-Atlantic environment and the “democratic” paths of the Czech society (research units 1, relative frequency<sub>1-6</sub>) and the relationship between the independent variables of “stability”-“democracy”-“human rights”-“immigration”, partnership and “protection” (research units 2, relative frequency<sub>1-6</sub>) enhancing the SSC\_Czech Republic exposure and visibility in the field of “cooperation”, “military” and “interest” (research units 2-3, relative frequency<sub>1-5</sub>).

The study of the Czech Republic Security Strategy adopted in 2015 shares a particular argument on the security determinants, their impact at national and regional level (Research units 1), but also an explanatory perspective on the security standards and performance considering the links of the *inputs* and *outputs* of the international environment and the regional security and strategy (Research units 2 and 3).

Along with an analysis of the national (internal) security perspectives, the SSC\_Czech Republic guarantees a “protective” framework centred on the mechanisms and topics of the “defence” policies (Research units 1, relative frequency<sub>5</sub>).

The data results on “environment” (relative frequency<sub>2</sub> = .10), , “state” and “cooperation” (relative frequency<sub>4</sub> = .38) and “peace” (relative frequency<sub>2</sub> = .01), mark the balance between the environmental security and inferential policies.

Overall, on the basis of the analysis of Table 5.1, both national and international devices are identified in the strategy text determining key priorities performed since 2015 and connected to the directions in which the issue of “national security” appropriates the status and logics of security.

This status establishes the argumentation and linkages between “political” action, “security” arrangements and the present and future extends of “development” activities,

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“democratic” actions and “interest” activation within the Security Strategy of the Czech Republic.

**Table 5.1. Czech Republic Security Strategy of the Czech Republic (SSC\_Czech Republic) (2015)**

	<b>Classes of items</b>	<b>Research units 1</b>	<b>Research units 2</b>	<b>Research units 3</b>
1	The long-term strategic concepts as a basis of the national security strategies as affirmed in each national security strategy	Political (25); Security (274); Policy (35)	Stability (21); Democracy (2); Human rights (3); Immigration (2)	Partnership (4); Co-operation (41)
	<b>Relative Frequency 1</b>	<b>.74</b>	<b>.06</b>	<b>.16</b>
2	The core categories and topics of the security environment and related aspects	Peace (6)	Threat (70); Terrorism (8)	Environment (29)
	<b>Relative Frequency 2</b>	<b>.01</b>	<b>.17</b>	<b>.10</b>
3	The links of the international security to the regional security-based schema	Euro-Atlantic (10); and prevention (18)	NATO (50) EU (European/ Europe) (95); Eastern Europe (1); Western Balkans (1)	Territory (8); Population (24)
	<b>Relative Frequency 3</b>	<b>.06</b>	<b>.32</b>	<b>.11</b>
4	Establishment of a core national/ regional system of security concepts, aims and objectives	Democratic (7)	Protection (25)	State(s) (63); Cooperation (41)
	<b>Relative Frequency 4</b>	<b>.01</b>	<b>.05</b>	<b>.38</b>
5	Combining main topics and mechanisms within the defence policies	Defence (60)	Military (31)	Interest (55)
	<b>Relative Frequency 5</b>	<b>.13</b>	<b>.06</b>	<b>.20</b>
6	Emerging challenges of the national and/ or regional security	National security (5); Internal security (9)	Development (35)	Risks (6)
	<b>Relative Frequency 6</b>	<b>.13</b>	<b>.07</b>	<b>.02</b>

Source: Author’s own compilation on the content analysis of the SSC\_Czech Republic (2015) (*concepts are displayed as they appear in the text*)

The results provided by Table 5.2. reveal the following variety of the relative frequencies: (1). Research units 1 (“political” = 25 uses; “security” = 274 uses and “policy” = 35 uses): relative frequency  $f_1 = .74$ ; (2).

Research units 2 (NATO = 50 uses; EU (European/ Europe) (95); Eastern Europe = 1 use; Western Balkans = 1 use): relative frequency  $f_3 = .32$ ; (3). Research units 3 (“territory” = 8 uses; “population = 24 uses): relative frequency  $f_3 = .11$ .

**Table 5.2. Czech Republic Security Strategy of the Czech Republic (SSC\_Czech Republic) (2015) (variations of the relative frequencies)**

Classes of items/ relative frequencies	Research units 1	Research units 2	Research units 3
Relative Frequency 1	.74	.06	.16
Relative Frequency 2	.01	.17	.10
Relative Frequency 3	.06	.32	.11
Relative Frequency 4	.01	.05	.38
Relative Frequency 5	.13	.06	.20
Relative Frequency 6	.13	.07	.02

Source: Author’s own compilation on the content analysis of the SSC\_Czech Republic (2015)

### Conclusions

Along with targeting the main strategic concepts and security policies, the current analysis frameworks the protective role of the national security strategies in the Central and Eastern Europe (Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Albania and Czech Republic) in-between thenational encounters and European and Euro-Atlantic security policies centring the idea of partnership, cooperation and development. Nevertheless, the relative frequencies revealed by the five national security strategies are definitely linked within the classes of items and research units described in the Methods and Methodology explains. The various relative frequencies may suggest that the concepts, policies and strategies establish the boundaries between the security framework and its implementation at national level. Overall, the paper concludes a security framework-analysis pattern in which the argumentative topics allow the targeting the main usage of the security and territoriality.

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## ORIGINAL PAPER

# The role of US in the Security of Kosovo

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### Abstract

The aim of this research paper is to analyze the role that United States had on Kosovo's international security. More specifically, the study is focused on three U.S. presidential administrations, from 1989 to 2009. In order to accomplish this study, a discourse analysis is used as the methodological approach. The used sources are mainly secondary, but the primary sources are also considered. Structurally the research paper is divided in four main parts. The first part deals with the attitude of President George H.W. Bush administration *vis-a-vis* Kosovo international security that culminated with so called: "Christmas warning". In the second part is analyzed the Clinton Administration which is characterized by "humanitarian intervention" as a doctrine and foreign policy. Whereas, the third part reflects the role of George W. Bush Administration in the process of Kosovo's declaration of independence. The fourth part, and the last one, deals with the analysis of Kosovo public opinion perception regarding the United States of America as a state.

**Keywords:** *USA, Kosovo, security, international intervention, NATO*

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## **The Role of US in the Security of Kosovo**

### **Introduction**

The role and importance of the United States of America for social, political and economic life of Kosovo was and remained vital. There are many authors and researchers who support the idea that if USA would not be active and persistent in Kosovo's political crisis, the intervention of NATO in Kosovo would not have happened, and moreover, Kosovo would not be independent at all, as it is since February 2008.

The aim of this research paper is to analyze the impact of USA in political and security life in Kosovo. The study will cover George H.W. Bush (1989-1993), Bill Clinton (1993-2001) and George W. Bush (2001-2009) presidencies and doctrinal approaches, the effects of whose are also reflected in security policies towards Kosovo. Within this period of time in Kosovo took place many political changes starting from the Peaceful Resistance, organization of parallel system, the armed resistance by Kosovo Liberation Army, NATO intervention, International Administration (UNMIK) and *Kosovo declaration of independence*. In all these moments, and many others which are not mentioned here, the role and importance of the US has been cardinal.

The methodological framework of the research paper is built based in a historical narrative premise, but with strong dose of political analysis. The used data were obtained from various secondary sources such as books, journals, analysis and reports. However, in addition to this, primary sources are also used such as respective speeches of policymakers. This modality is part of discourse analysis, as a qualitative methodological approach, which except texts analyze the context of events as well.

### **From H.W. Bush to W. Bush**

It was the end of 80's and the beginning of 90's when great political changes in international scene started to occur. For many authors these developments are considered as apocalyptic changes which impacted, *inter alia*, the entire constellations of politics security of international system which caused a profound effect in recalibration of the international system. In this context, except the end of Cold War, the ideological division which lasted since the end of Second World War until 1989 between the East, represented by USSR, and the West, represented by USA, was terminated. Inspired by these monumental events, some authors proclaimed the end of history (Fukuyama, 1989), and some others the beginning of the clash between civilizations (Huntington, 1997).

The political, economic and ideological collapse of communism, as a political system, in late 80's, ended the bipolar period with the absolute victory of USA. These developments undoubtedly had an impact on the countries of Eastern and South Eastern Europe which were under the direct influence of the USSR. In addition to this, such changes had multiple influenced in many sectors that affected – directly and indirectly – all countries of the globe. After the end of bipolar era, USA came out stronger than ever before in political, economic and ideological aspects. Ideological triumph was very important, because the rivalry and competition during the Cold War was above all ideological based. Therefore, bipolar system was replaced by unipolar system. This post-ideological environment created a new political and ideological gap. As a result, it was very productive for a new ideas. Therefore, it was President George H.W. Bush who in his famous speech held in September 11, 1990 in a joint session of both houses of US Congress, publicly proclaimed the “New World Order” doctrine (Bose and Perotti, 2002). There are two main paradigms of the US approach, supported also by European countries, which are used as theoretical and doctrinal platform on the basis of which was the recalibration of European and security policy after the Cold War made. Firstly, it was the

American concept based on the idea of a Europe that has to be “Whole and Free”, presented by the US President George H.W. Bush during his speech held in Mainz, Germany in May 1989 (U.S. Diplomatic Mission to Germany, 2016). Whereas, the second approach of US was based on the idea of a peaceful, undivided and democratic Europe, articulated by next US President Bill Clinton. In one of his speeches Clinton stated that, when Europe is in peace, our security will be much stronger and sustainable. Clinton further continues that foundation of common security in western countries is and will remain NATO. He stressed also that with the fall of the “Iron Curtain” and the end of the Cold War, for the first time Europe has a good opportunity to build a peaceful, undivided and democratic continent (United States Information Agency, 2016).

This political and security attention was not focused only toward the European states, but also towards the Balkans as part of Europe, whose stability was important to implement the American foreign and security doctrines. For of this reason, according to Croat scholar and diplomat, Dario Malnar, the US policy towards Kosovo, and the entire process that lead to its independence, were in compliance with US national interests and some very complex global and regional changes in international relations (Malnar, 2013). Challenged with these global and regional circumstances, it should be made clear that US policy towards Kosovo has not been linear, but has evolved in approach as well as the in using tools for finding a solution, including the administrations of three US presidents: George H.W. Bush, to William (Bill) Clinton and continuing to George W. Bush.

#### **George H.W. Bush Administration: “Christmas Warning”**

During the Bush Administration Kosovo began to receive the attention of US politics and diplomacy and to be treated as a specific problem. One of initial goals after the Cold War was to establish the new world order, which in concrete terms for East Europe meant to get support in the process of transition immediately after *the exit* of direct influence of USSR. With this support the US President Administration intended to influence in these countries and not to fall into a political and economic spiral of instability. This could cause the dissolution of these countries and, consequently, becoming potential source of violence, conflict and insecurity. In this regard, processes taking place in the USSR and the possibility that this *political creature* had to break up was the main focus. However, taking into account the vacuum that was created by the collapse of the bipolar system, there were many challenges that American administration had to face at the same time. One of them was the recalibration of relations of the Western allies in the new security architecture and thinking for the role and importance of UN in this new international system (Malnar, 2013).

Facing these challenges, primary intention of USA in such a situation was to maintain the *status quo*, being interested that the dissolution of the USSR not to have a domino effect in other countries, especially in Yugoslavia. In that time, Bush Administration, concerning political situation in Yugoslavia, insisted in two fundamental requirements: the first one related with the democratization of the region, and the second one was concerned with the protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Yugoslavia (Department of State: Office of the Historian, 2016). If these two requirements are analyzed deeper it can be seen that they are antagonistic and self-exclusive to each other (Malnar, 2013). The region could not be democratize without dismantle of Yugoslavia. The case was “either-or” and not to “even-even”.

Wars that occurred on the territory of former Yugoslavia, starting from Slovenia, Croatia Bosnia and Kosovo, urged the UN to be involved in the region. However, at that

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time the UN has shown emphatic weakness and disability, without being able to have a concrete plan to stop the conflict. Furthermore, EU was characterized by a lack of cohesion as well. These organizations were not enough unique in their ideas and political positions. It is considered that the particular interests of the member states on both these international organizations prevailed compared with the overall interests. Incidents and other developments which were taking place in the former Yugoslavia received no special attention of the US administration. In these circumstances, the US involvement in the process was not consistent. It is characterized by a sporadic and inefficient approach. In that period Kosovo drew a special attention to the Bush Administration, being considered as a potential crisis place. This was argued by various authors. Furthermore there was a concern for a spread of potential conflict in Southeast Europe with the possibilities to involve US allies like Greece and Turkey (Malnar, 2013).

Considering all these difficulties which derived as a result of new world order and because of political and diplomatically impotence of the UN to act in compliance with a new order, specifically in the security field, President Bush (senior), almost by the end of his mandate undertook new actions in order to prevent a war in Balkans by warning the Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic and threatening him with a military intervention if he and his government would encourage any conflict in Kosovo. This move of President Bush is known as “Christmas Warning”, because it happened in 1992, between Christmas and the New Year. This was an important and progressive step of US towards conflict in former Yugoslavia. Also, this can be considered the first moment when an American president speaks directly for Kosovo, considering it as a milestone of US political and security interests. Various authors share the view that the US with this political maneuver in Kosovo case introduces a direct military threat. This variable remained constant and unchanged variable of US politics and diplomacy until 1990 when US, together with its NATO allies, ordered to commence air strikes against Serbia. After an NATO air campaign lasting seventy-seven days, Serbia was forced to withdraw its presence from Kosovo.

It is a general assumption that the Administration H.W. primary purpose had to been to preserve the stability in the region by supporting the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia. Kosovo was not a particular interest for his Administration. US administration interest about Kosovo began to increase by the end of his mandate, when Kosovo started to be seen as part of the security and political interests of the United States. In that period, Kosovo was part of general interest of US as a part of European Security (Malnar, 2013).

### **Clinton Administration: “humanitarian intervention”**

President George H. W. Bush failed to win a second presidential term and thus enabling Bill Clinton to be his follower. During the Clinton administration, in his second mandate, the war in Kosovo (1999) occurred. Hence, in that time period it can be identified the biggest commitment in history that US had vis-à-vis the region of Balkans and more specifically toward Kosovo as regard to the political, economic and military (security) engagement. Immediately after the President Clinton settled in the office, he faced many challenges. Most of them came as a result of the end of Cold War and the effects that this process produced everywhere in the world but particularly in Europe. He immediately became involved in the determination of Atlantic cooperation aimed at reconfiguring of relations with European countries. The aim of these changes and developments were to maintain US leading position in the security of Europe. President Clinton’s strategy was

based on a vision where Europe is going to be a peaceful place, leaving aside divisions and being united. A place where, according to him, will be dominated by the democracy as a political system and as a value also (Malnar, 2013).

With the aim of changing the course and accomplishing the idea of overall inclusion, President Clinton developed an inclusive strategy with a number of measures to be undertaken with the aim of strengthening the potential of European countries – which at that time not all of them were democratic – and the transformation of the NATO role with the aim of properly dealing with the challenges that the late XX and the beginning of XXI century will bring forward. As regard to the NATO, the basic idea was based on the expansion of this organization for security from an alliance which aimed to protect the territory of their member states by being based in the principle “one for all, and all for one” (Reka, Bashota, & Sela, 2016), to an organization that would guarantee the security of Europe as a whole, inclusion of Russia and the establishment of peace and stability in the Balkans (Malnar, 2013). Same as the previous administration of President H.W. Bush who had his doctrine – a theoretical platform on which they build concrete policy actions – the Clinton’s Administration developed its own doctrine. This strategy was based on the idea of “enlargement and engagement”. This is known also as a “Clinton Doctrine”. The idea of this doctrine was the enlargement of NATO with new members and the engagement of these members in the EU security policies (The White House, 1995).

The conflict in the former Yugoslavia would have had a more tragic ending without the commitment of the United States. Therefore, the achievement of peace in the region required a direct political and military engagement of the US. During the NATO air strikes in former Yugoslavia against Serbian military forces in 1999, the US was the biggest financial contributor with 68.4% of the total budget. The difference between the US as a main financial contributor and the second contributor, in this case France with 7.6%, was drastic. From this point to view, it is made clear that the commitment and determination of the US to this operation to function properly and to be successfully completed.

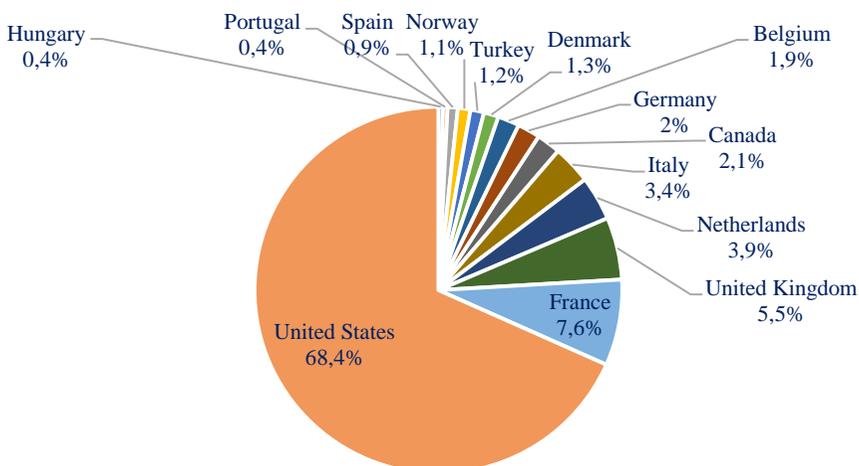


Figure 1: The Expenditure distribution according to states during the NATO air strikes Operation (Coleman, 2007)

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Serbian massacres against civilian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina were the main encouragement for the US Administration to change the tactical approach. Srebrenica massacre was the culmination of it. The US clearly understood that European countries are incapable and impotent to end the war in Bosnia. This urged the US commitment to engage directly which as a result had the end of war in B&H with the agreement reached in Dayton. However, it should be noted that even after Dayton, Kosovo remained an unresolved issue. Kosovo was considered as “ticking bomb” which was known that would blast, but nobody knew exactly the time when. Being challenged with this new situation, the Kosovo Albanian political elite started to be critical and skeptical at the same time with the pacifist concept led by Ibrahim Rugova and its party. It should be emphasized that Kosovo remained out of the agenda even after the Conference for Yugoslavia – which was led by Lord Carrington – and the process of recognition of new states which derived from the dissolution of Yugoslavia (Clark, 2000).

Being faced with this situation, critics of peaceful movement in Kosovo have changed the strategy in order to achieve their political aims. The new strategy was led by Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). The main method used by KLA during 1998-1999 was guerrilla war. This encouraged the use of disproportionate violence by Serb military forces against ethnic Albanian civilians thus committing many massacres in complete contradiction with the international law. Therefore, such actions of Serbian forces urged the international community, led by USA, for the military intervention of NATO in Kosovo.

The US involvement in the Kosovo conflict opened many debates among the American public opinion by addressing the legitimate question whether the US engagement in an armed conflict in the Balkans was in line with the vital interests of the United States. Nevertheless, considering the continually failures of the US and other Western partners that – through diplomatic means – to stop violence and repression in Kosovo in 1998, the reputation and political credibility of NATO and USA has been decreased significantly. For Clinton Administration this was perceived as a serious and important issue. Despite the fact that Kosovo conflict did not harm directly the US interest, Clinton administration considered that their inability to end this conflict would damage US interests because it was against US political and security doctrine to maintain a democratic and peaceful Europe (Malnar, 2013). After the US used all diplomatic tools of foreign policy and taking into account the inability of European countries to have a common approach in order to resolve international conflicts, the USA took the NATO leadership to lead the military intervention against the forces of the former Yugoslavia (Lambeth, 2001). Such intervention without UN approval had caused an unprecedented confusion as regard to the legal viewpoint of the international law.

The victory of NATO against the military and police forces of Serbia was a clear message of US for the importance of peace and stability in Europe. In Kosovo case, NATO indicated its ability to be united and adapted to a new challenges after the collapse of the Communist Bloc. NATO’s action against Serbia in International Relations (IR) is known as “humanitarian intervention” (Schnabel & Thakur, 2001). The effect of military action was the promotion of humanitarian intervention as a moral principle in IR, by putting within a context of the state sovereignty principle, which is sanctioned by international law and the United Nations Charter. Many scholars argue that international relations in the XXI century, especially after the war in Kosovo, have evolved in that direction that except “state sovereignty”, at present time we are living in a period of “sovereignty of the

individual” (Reka, 2010). Thus, special attention is paid to the individual as an actor of international relations (Jones, 2016).

The involvement of US military in the Kosovo War produced many consequences in the subsequent events. One of them was the downfall from power of the creator of wars in the former Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic. This made possible the beginning of democratization of Serbia. Therefore, Kosovo was freed from Serbia and welcomed an international administration known as United Nation Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). Thus, the US was not far from their stated objectives: stabilizing the region and democratizing the whole Europe (The White House, 1995).

**George W. Bush Administration: “enough is enough - Kosovo is independent”**

After the NATO airstrikes against the Serbian forces, in Kosovo was established International civil presence based in 1244 UN Security Council resolution. This was a completely new situation and incomparably in favor for Kosovo. However, despite UNMIK’s and many other international organizations solid work they did in Kosovo (in the reconstruction and consolidation of institutions), the situation was unclear and the final status was not defined. The 2004 riots showed clearly an immediate need to resolve the final status. This was the momentum that required again a direct involvement of the US. Therefore, during the second term of President George W. Bush, the US considered the need to be committed again in the Kosovo case in order to complete the cycle which already started at the beginning of the 1990. Despite the engagement of US against international terrorism and international operations in Iraq and Afghanistan in 2005, they pledged to eventually define the final status of Kosovo. The Independence was regarded as the most natural solution for Kosovo and was rated as the most logical outcome of the whole process. Many scholars thought that US commitment to give the final solution for Kosovo had to do with spreading the message to the rest of the world that the US supports the creation of a state even though the population of the country is composed by 90% of Islam religion. During that time the US reputation was unsatisfactory worldwide. Therefore, making Kosovo a success story, where rule of law, economic development and democracy predominate, US wanted to testify that the religious composition of the country has little significance, comparing with embrace of democratic values (Malnar, 2013, pp. 341-342).

Despite the unilateral approach in dealing with foreign policy that characterized the Bush Jr. presidency, US did not want to solve unilaterally the Kosovo status issue. Because of this, they considered important that the process of independence declaration to be legal and legitimate in order to have a support of the international community and by initiating direct talks between Belgrade and Pristine. Therefore the US had encouraged and facilitated the process of multilateral negotiations with the active participation of the Contact Group. Taking into account the strengthening of Russia’s position and its interests in the region and the aim of Russia to accomplish its interests through Serbia, the negotiations between Pristine and Belgrade, in one way, became negotiations between the US and Russia. Russia with a more ambitious and aggressive leader (Putin), was not the same as Yeltsin’s Russia in 1999 (Reka, 2010).

However, Kosovo’s independence was not opposed only by Russia. There were solid resistance from some of the EU countries as well. Due to the fact that Pristine and Belgrade stance towards the independence remained diametrically antagonist, the resistance became much more persistent. This meant that there would not be a consensus

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agreement that could be supported by the UN Security Council in order to give the required legality and legitimacy to the process. In these circumstances, the US had to prove its crucial role in international processes considering Kosovo as its political investment and also as a success story too. Therefore, the US acted with impressive persistence and the process was finalized through a unilateral declaration of independence by the Kosovo Assembly. As a result, Kosovo declared its independence on 17 February 2008 unilaterally without the UN Security Council approval. Kosovo was recognized by US immediately and, on the other hand, did a massive lobbying to the other countries to do the same. The main argument that the US underlined when recognized Kosovo was that Kosovo is *sui generis* case and as such is not replicable in other countries or regions, as a result, it cannot be used as a precedent in international relations as well as in international law (U.S. Department of State, 2016).

The main principle based on which the Bush administration had supported Kosovo was, what is known as, the right of peoples for self-determination, which is based on the UN Charter. This approach was in compliance with the policy of US President Woodrow Wilson who is the founder of the modern right for self-determination (Lipušček, 2008). However, it is naive to think that this was the only and exclusive motivation of the US. It can be concluded that the action has been motivated by other arguments, which would fall under the orbit of their national interest in one or another mode. Among the factors of President Bush real-politics, who relied on the geopolitical principle was: permanent affirmation of the US role in European security. According to scholars, another argument, was the message that the US wanted to give the world in general and Islamic countries in particular by supporting the creation of a state in Europe with 90% of its population is Muslim. Another goal was the weakening the Russian influence in Eastern Europe. Kosovo independence has strengthened the US position in that part of Europe. Through Kosovo, US can spread its influence in the region like in Serbia, Bulgaria Macedonia, and Greece, which is considered as relevant region potentially to be used by Russia for energetic cooperation (Malnar, 2013).

In this line of thinking, the scholar of international relations, Blerim Reka, identifies a regional factorization of Albanians – here are included Kosovo and Albania. According to him Albania is becoming the main crossroads for transit of gas to Europe. Along with the Republic of Kosovo both of them remain US strategic allies in the fight against ISIS. These developments are gradually dividing the Western Balkans, more precisely countries in the Adriatic Balkans (Albania, Kosovo, Montenegro & Macedonia) and countries in Danube Balkans (Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina). The first group of countries are considered as pro-American and second group pro-Russian (Reka, 2014). Taking into account all the arguments listed above it can be concluded that Kosovo is a state that was created due to the US political and military engagement which is in a compliance with US interests. Kosovo is a result of the US commitment that begins in the mid of 80's, culminated in 1999 with military intervention and was finalized in 2008 with the recognition of Kosovo by the US.

### **Unconditional friendship of Kosovo as a national interest *vis-a-vis* the US**

Kosovo's relations with the US goes beyond those of a friendship based on national interest. Since the beginning of Yugoslavian crises, Kosovo leaders have seen US as the only country that can support their political goal to become independent. Therefore, regardless the fact that Kosovo political leaders have been part of the pacifist approach, or part of the war approach, all of them had only one variable towards the United States:

its unconditional friendship. The same mood also prevailed among the people of Kosovo. In a study conducted by the American company that deals with polls and surveys since 1935, established by George Gallup, Kosovo is first in the region and in the world with 85% of respondents which support the US and its leadership. (Gallup, 2016).

The US was not the only country that played a fundamental role in politics and security of Kosovo. Many other European countries were also vital, such as Germany, France, Italy, Turkey etc. However, affection for the United States remained dominant and unalterable. In a study conducted by the Kosovo Centre for Security Studies in 2015, US was considered as the friendliest country. The research was conducted with the participation of over 1.000 respondents in order to measure the perceptions of friend/enemy countries toward Kosovo.

The survey identified a wide support for the United States by respondents. More than 90% of respondents consider that the US and Germany are friendly countries (70.7% of them considered them as very friendly, while 20.7% has considered them as a friendly states). Same as the USA, Germany is considered friendly towards Kosovo by 91.9% of respondents. Positive perception towards these countries goes beyond bilateral relations, in this way, the USA and Germany are perceived as key partners and allies in the process of Kosovo Euro-Atlantic integration (Kosovo Center for Security Studies, 2016).

There are several reasons for this attitude of Kosovo people towards these two countries. Since the late 80's and early 90's the US is politically and militarily committed to resolve the issue of Kosovo. US had a key role during the NATO air strikes against the Serbian military forces in 1999. Further, the US was the leading country that supported the establishment of new institutions in Kosovo and, what is more important, thanks to their support Kosovo declared independence from Serbia. Since 1999 until 2011, US supported Kosovo with around 1.6 billion dollar which were dedicated for: reconstruction, capacity building and humanitarian assistance as well. US constantly are supporting the private sector and good governance in Kosovo, where special attention is paid to minority issues (Global Security, 2016).

While respondents consider the US as the main global ally, in the case of Germany, the trends show that Kosovo citizens perceive Germany as their main ally in Europe. According to the "Report on Human Development in Kosovo 2014", 32.80% of the Diaspora from Kosovo are located in Germany, followed by Switzerland with 24.80% and Italy with 7.6%. According to the same report, 30.4% from Kosovo Diaspora lives and works in the US (Report on Human Development in Kosovo 2014: Migration as a Force for Development , 2014). In addition, it is also important to note that Germany represents also the first place from where Kosovo Diaspora send remittances. Thus, remittances from Germany composed 34% of total remittances received in Kosovo, from Switzerland about 21%, Italy and Austria over 9% and 6%, from US over 4% (Central Bank of Republic of Kosovo , 2013).

### **Conclusion**

The US was one of the main factors that played an irreplaceable role for the security in Kosovo since 90's, during the war, NATO air strikes in 1999, until the declaration of independence in February 2008. It can be concluded that the US direct interest for the situation in Kosovo began during the presidency of the President George H.W. Bush. At the beginning of his term he was not focused on the developments in Yugoslavia, by the end of his term he was engaged more in promoting his political

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doctrine known as “New World Order”. It was the end of his mandate when he through the “Christmas warning” set Kosovo case finally on the agenda of the US foreign policy.

The Clinton administration had the biggest impact in the international security of Kosovo. During the Clinton administration, the NATO military intervention in Kosovo, known as “humanitarian intervention” occurred. This was an important moment in terms for the security in Kosovo. Responsible and guarantor of Kosovo security was the world greatest superpower which operated through the greatest military alliance in the world – NATO. In addition, after the war the US had the main role in Kosovo. The focus was on consolidation the public institutions, promoting democratic values and establishing the rule of law.

After the riots of 2004 the US was convinced that without resolving the issue of Kosovo final status, it is impossible for the region to have peace and stability. The US engagement in Kosovo grew significantly, despite commitments and priorities that they had fighting against global terrorism. The US leadership persistence enabled Kosovo to declare its independence in 2008. In addition, the US was one of the first countries to recognize the state of Kosovo, stating that this is a *sui generis* case in international theory and practice and as such should be treated. To this day, the presence of the US not only in Kosovo but the entire Balkans remains very important factor and actor for the stability of whole region.

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## ORIGINAL PAPER

### **Polish Labour Market on a Local Scale in the Period of Transformation (with regard to Rzeszow)**

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#### **Abstract**

When analysed in the context of the local labour market, the processes of transformation taking place in Poland provide an interesting example of the changes occurring in the 90s of 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the case of medium-size cities, such as Rzeszow, it becomes even more valuable, as it concerns the place which underwent a quick process of industrialization in the period of socialism and where the national industry became the cornerstone of its economy. The transformation and the difficulties in the functioning of public enterprises meant serious problems for the emerging local labour market. The number of jobs drastically decreased and the unemployment quickly increased. After three years, the unemployment rate was 18%. Together with the emergence of unemployment there was a noticeable reduction of the indicator of professional activity of the citizens and the drop in the employment rate.

Thanks to the development of the private sector the number of jobs began to slowly increase in 1992 and, in the following years, the positive economic tendencies allowed to fully reconstruct the potential of the local labour market towards the end of the 90s. However, it took longer to reverse the negative tendencies of the unemployment dynamics in the city. Unemployment began to decrease significantly as late as in the mid-90s when the entitlements to benefit were taken away from school graduates. This limited the number of the registered unemployed. Within a few years, the number of job seekers went down by over a half and the unemployment rate was only 8% in 1998. Despite those positive changes, the unemployment structure was very unfavourable. The majority of the unemployed were young people with poor education and without any work experience. The majority of them were out of work for more than a year. Generally, the situation on the local labour market seemed to be rather good after ten years of transformation. However, it was still unstable which resulted in the economic slow-down at the turn of the century, the consequence of which was another quick increase of unemployment.

**Keywords:** *unemployment, local labour market, Rzeszow, transformation, employment policy*

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### **Introduction**

The political transformation, which started in Poland at the end of the 80s of 20<sup>th</sup> century, brought dramatic changes into the labour market. The former system, which guaranteed full employment of the workforce, came to an end and it was replaced by the market economy whose integral part is always unemployment. With the emergence of free market, enterprises had to adjust their running costs to the conditions imposed by the market competition, which meant the necessity of considerable workforce reduction. Moreover, some of the state enterprises did not manage to stay in business, which additionally deteriorated the situation in the labour market. With time, the situation began to improve and, along the development of private entrepreneurship and the economic growth, the positive tendencies, such as the increase of the number of the employed and the fall in unemployment, appeared in the labour market.

It is well-known what the reality in the Polish labour market was in the first decade of transformation. However, the studies at the micro level, which would allow to analyse the phenomenon more closely, are rarely undertaken. Therefore, the processes taking place in the labour market in the 90s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are worth analyzing. Rzeszow, the biggest city in the southeast Poland, the current capital of the Podkarpackie voivodeship and the economic centre of the region, will serve as an example in the analysis.

### **The development of the situation in the labour market in Rzeszow**

After the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, Rzeszow became the capital city of the new voivodeship which comprised the southeast part of Poland. The system of the real socialism brought a rapid and sudden spatial, economic and demographic development to the city. By 1989, the area of the city increased six times, the population grew five times (up to 150 000 residents in 1989) and employment raised eight times. The industrial potential as well as the social, technical and economic infrastructure were expanded and the number of people employed in Rzeszow reached 95 000. Such impressive development was possible thank to the industrial expansion. Within a few after-war decades, the number of people working in this economic sector raised from 2500 to over 30 000 and the number of industrial factories from over a dozen, in the second half of the 40s, to over 220 in the 80s. Construction was the second biggest economic sector in which over a dozen thousand people found employment. WSK, which produced aero engines, remained the biggest employer in the city and the enterprises such as Zelmer, Alima and Polfa also quickly developed. The electromechanical, food, light and pharmaceutical industries became the most important areas of production (Grata 2013: 207-211).

In the period of transformation, the fundamental factor determining the economic situation of the residents of Rzeszow was their position in the labour market. In general, we can be assume that it was analogical to the economic situation in the entire country. The beginning of the 90s was particularly difficult as practically all enterprises in the city underwent the painful process of reconstruction and had to adjust the level of employment to the actual needs resulting from the economic reality. As the result, the number of people in employment decreased very quickly and the number of the unemployed went up. However, it needs to be pointed out that, especially in the first period of transformation, both phenomena were not correlated. Leaving aside the structure of the first wave of unemployment, we need to remember that the reduction of employment concerned both,

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the residents of the city as well as those who worked in the city but lived outside of it. This meant that the problem of unemployment was shared among the nearby administrative units.

What made the analysis of the situation in the labour market particularly problematic were the changes introduced in the methodology of statistic surveys. The only full data available for the public sector were used to determine the starting point in the level of employment in 1989. In the following years, the available information only determined the number of people employed by enterprises with up to 5 employees and, after 2000, the statistics only included people employed by enterprises with up to 9 employees. Although the results of the census in 2002 and 2011 were more accurate, they are incomparable with the information about employment in the city. This is because the census data only included the residents of Rzeszow, leaving out the numerous group of people working in the city but living outside of it.

Despite the indicated problems, it needs to be noticed that the first two years of transformation brought the most dramatic and painful changes in the labour market. At the end of 1988, 91 600 people worked in the public sector (including part-time and seasonal workers), nearly 3000 people in the sector of private crafts (including apprentices) and a small number of people were employed in the sector of private trade. The total number of people employed in the city amounted to about 95 000 (Rocznik... 1990: 48).

The importance of the industry and the construction in the economy of Rzeszow had to be reflected in the situation in the labour market in the first months and years of transformation. The necessity for the restructure as well as the reduction of employment, collective dismissals and the bankruptcy of some of the industrial and construction enterprises caused a dramatic drop in the number of the employed. What was characteristic for the new times were, so called, collective dismissals. They first appeared in January 1990 when practically all enterprises in Rzeszow announced mass lay-offs (numbered in hundreds). Within two first years of transformation the employment decreased by 20% and it reached the level of about 75 000 people at the end of 1991 (Rzeszów... 1994: 61; Klich 1990: 1-2).

The negative downward trend stopped in 1992 when, thanks to the development of private enterprises, the number of the employed increased to 78 000-80 000 (the accurate data was difficult to obtain as the statistics did not include the companies with up to 5 employees). That way the considerable improvement of the economic situation in Poland could also be observed in the labour market in Rzeszow. Yet, the positive changes happened slowly. Although the processes of the restructure were still taking place, their pace was clearly slowing down and the economic recovery allowed to reinforce the strong tendencies towards setting up private enterprises. Regardless the fact that the improvement was relatively insignificant, the macroeconomic data showed that, in the second half of 1992, the economic recovery also occurred in the labour market in Rzeszow. Although the restructuring processes were still taking place, their dynamics clearly lost the impetus and the economic recovery reinforced strong tendencies towards the development of private entrepreneurship. As the result, at the end of 1995, 85 000-90 000 people were working in Rzeszow and the estimated number was only about 10% lower than before 1990 (in 1994, 70 400 people worked in such units). However, the statistics did not include small companies owned by natural persons, whose number increased by nearly 4000 (the total number was 9600). Therefore, the total number of people working in the city was at least 80 000 and, assuming that the average number of employees in such companies

amounted to two (e.g. an owner and one employee), the number of people working in the city could have been nearly 90 000 (assuming that the number of employees in such companies was, on average, 1.5, the number of people working in the city could have amounted to 85 000, i.e. 10% lower than before 1990). (Rocznik... 1996: 68; Rzeszów... 2004: 50; Matoszko 1993: 5).

No matter which estimate is more accurate, the number of people in employment in 1995 was higher than the number in 1992 by, at least, 4000-5000. The further progress happened in the second half of the 90s. At the end of 1998, the number of the employed exceeded the level achieved in 1988. In 2000, the total number of people in employment was on the level of 98 000-100 000 and it was visibly higher than before the transformation. Therefore, it can be assumed that within one decade of transformation the situation in the labour market in Rzeszow, which was vulnerable in its first years, improved significantly. However, the specificity of the labour market was distinctly different than before 1990 and the need for creating new jobs turned out to be greater than a decade before (Rocznik... 2000: 472; Rzeszów... 2004: 51, 54; Województwo... 1998: 192).

### **The changes in the economic activity of the residents of Rzeszow**

The economic transformation brought a deep remodelling of social life. Before 1990, the standard of life of the residents of Rzeszow may not have been very high but the stability of employment allowed them to fulfil their fundamental needs. In the new reality, the fossilized and relatively uniform social structure, which complied with the real socialism, was replaced with a new layout of social strata, characteristic for the market economy, which was very dynamic especially in the first years of transformation. The beginning of the market transformation meant the emergence of significant diversification of incomes and the standard of living. Poverty was very quickly regarded as the biggest social problem which, in the common view, resulted from unemployment, low incomes (from regular employment), which were not adequate to the needs of people, as well as other financial means which didn't come from the legal forms of employment.

The main factor behind the greater extent of the existing social problems were the changes in the economic activity of the residents. Before 1990, 66% of people over 17 years old were in the workforce and the employment rate was on the same level. Meanwhile, a general census in 2002 revealed that the economic activity rate of the residents of Rzeszow was on the level of 53.5%. This meant that, within 12 years of transformation, it decreased by over 12%. It was also 2% lower than the domestic rate. What is more, the workforce was mainly comprised of the unemployed and thus, in 2002, the employment rate was on the same level as the domestic rate, i.e. 43.5%. This meant that it was one third lower than in 1988 (Aktywność... 2003: 50-51; Narodowy... 1990: 51; Narodowy... 2002: 62).

Regardless of the reasons for the economic passivity it needs to be acknowledged that the transformation brought a permanent and significant decrease in the number of people who received their income from regular employment. In the new reality, the framework of the residents of Rzeszow according to their source of income became much more diversified than before. In 2002, out of 160 400 residents of Rzeszow recorded in the census, 105 200 (i.e. two thirds of the population) lived on salary. This meant that one third of the residents most likely had lower financial means which didn't come from the legal forms of employment. At that time, 92 900 residents, i.e. nearly 58%, lived on the income coming from contract work, which meant that every fourteenth person was self-

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employed. This group was dominated by people who received pensions and sick allowances. It is also worth noticing that 5% of the residents resorted to such sources of income as unemployment allowances and pre-retirement or social benefits (Narodowy... 2002: 51, 59).

### **The level of unemployment and its dynamics**

Unemployment was one of the most important social consequences of the changes taking place in the labour market. Its emergence was particularly shocking for the generations brought up after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War who had never experienced it before. Back in the mid 1989, there were not enough people willing to take up available jobs and the newspapers were full of advertisements which encouraged people to obtain employment in many enterprises in Rzeszow. However, the necessity of adopting the level of employment to the market requirements caused the emergence of unemployment. What is more, in the context of the demand for work exceeding its supply, low efficiency of work and many other well-known problems of full employment, unemployment was perceived as something that had been somehow looked forward to. The author of the article published in "Nowiny" in the mid 1989 concluded that "the only remedy for all these paradoxes would be unemployment, but will it happen?" (Warzocha 1989: 5). The main problem lied in the fact that over-employment in the enterprises (which functioned on the basis of the principles of the socialist economy) was so high and the scale of the economic activity breakdown so huge that the level of unemployment in Poland quickly exceeded the level regarded as natural in the economy. The same situation also happened in Rzeszow.

In Rzeszow, the number of the unemployed was growing quickly and, despite the lack of the accurate data from the first year of transformation, it can be estimated that there were about 5500-6000 registered unemployed in the city at the end of 1990. In July 1991, the number was close to 9500 and at the end of December it reached the level of 11 000. In 1992, it was already over 12 000 and in the summer of 1993 it was close to 13 000. Despite the fact that the situation in the labour market improved, the unemployment remained on a high level for a long time due to hundreds of secondary school leavers who registered with employment agencies every year (until 1995 they had the right to receive unemployment allowances). At that time, the unemployment rate was on the level of 16-18%. The highest rate ever observed in the city was reached in the summer months of 1992 and 1993 when over 18% of the workforce in Rzeszow was unemployed (APUP 1990-1993).

Therefore, despite the fact that from 1992 the number of vacancies was growing, the standstill in the labour market continued and the number of the unemployed reached 11 000. An important reason for this situation was a great number of secondary school leavers registering with employment agencies. At the end of August 1992, out of 12 400 unemployed, 698 were newly registered school leavers. This meant that they constituted 6% of all job-seekers (secondary and post-secondary school leavers (301 people) were the most numerous in this group). Even more school leavers obtained the status of "the unemployed" in 1994. There were 897 of them and they constituted 8% of all unemployed (every twelfth person had recently left school). In 1992, as a result of the numerous registrations of school leavers, the number of the unemployed increased by nearly 1000. In 1993 the situation was similar: there were 11 700 people registered at the end of May, 12 200 at the end of June and 12 700 in July. Therefore, in the summer, when the level of unemployment should have been the lowest (due to seasonal work), there was a visible

increase of unemployment and this situation, so different from the usual situation in the labour market, prevailed until the end of 1994. According to the data of the Regional Employment Agency (which could not be fully verified), the unemployment rate was very high, i.e. 16-18%. The highest rate ever observed in the city was reached in the summer months of 1992 and 1993, when over 18% of the workforce in Rzeszow had the status of “the unemployed” (APUP 1992; 1993; 1994).

The situation visibly improved in 1995 when, thanks to a higher number of vacancies, the number of the unemployed decreased by 1200. The biggest drop in the number of the unemployed happened in 1997 – by over 2500. The positive tendencies in the labour market continued until the end of 1998. In the summer 1998, the number of the unemployed was the lowest – 6000 residents of Rzeszow. The unemployment rate also went down. At the end of 1998, it was slightly higher than 9% and, in the summer of 1998, it was on the level of 8.5% (at that time, the number of school leavers, who were no longer entitled to receive unemployment allowances, was considerably lower. In the mid 1998, only 251 school leavers registered with employment agencies and they constituted only 4.3% of the total number of the unemployed) (APUP 1995; 1998).

However, in the second half of 1998, a negative trend in the labour market could be observed again, which was related to the deteriorating economic situation in Poland. 1999 brought a real breakdown. At that time, the number of the unemployed increased nearly 20% and the situation did not improve in 2000. The increase in the number of the unemployed resulted from numerous collective dismissals. In 2000, in the area covered by the District Employment Agency in Rzeszow (the city and the district near it), the employers were planning to dismiss 2600 people (the negative tendencies in the labour market were stopped only in 2003) (APUP 1998; 1999; 2000: 7).

### **The character of unemployment in the city**

When characterizing the situation in the labour market in Rzeszow in the discussed period, we need to have a closer look at the structure of unemployment. For 25 years of transformation, the fundamental characteristics of unemployment in Rzeszow and the situation in the labour market were the share of women among the unemployed, the dependence of unemployment on age, work experience, education and the period of being unemployed. In the discussed period, the share of women among the unemployed was symptomatic. At the beginning of the 90s, 55% of women were unemployed and later, with the improvement of the situation in the labour market and the fall in unemployment, the level of unemployed women reached nearly 64%. This meant that the vast majority of job advertisements was targeted at men. At the turn of the century, the number dropped to the level slightly above 53% which, in the context of the deteriorating situation in the labour market, confirmed the greater stability of the employment of women (APUP 1991; 1994; 2000a).

Unfortunately, there isn't much information available on the structure of unemployment in Rzeszow in the 90s. On the basis of the available data, however, we can notice that unemployment very quickly became the recurring phenomenon. At the end of 1992, i.e. after two years of transformation, 60% of the unemployed were out of job for more than 12 months. The situation didn't change much in the coming years and, in the mid 1998, 55% of people were still out of job for over a year (APUP 1992; 1998).

During the discussed period, an important indicator of the changes taking place in the labour market in Rzeszow was the age of the unemployed. When analysing the age structure of the unemployed, it needs to be noticed that, from the beginning of

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transformation, the unemployment mainly hit young people. In the mid 1992, over 60% of all registered unemployed were younger than 34 years old. It resulted from both, the collective dismissals (people with less job experience were losing their jobs first) and from the fact that secondary school leavers commonly registered with employment agencies. With time, the number of young unemployed people dropped to about 50% but the number of the unemployed aged 35-44 doubled by the end of the 90s. It was because of the fact that they lost their jobs in the period of the economic downturn at the turn of the centuries (APUP 1992; 2000b).

The age of the unemployed was often closely related to seniority. At the beginning of the 90s, one third of the unemployed did not have any work experience. On the other hand, 40% of all registered unemployed had a relatively long work experience (5-20 years). This, in the context of clear dominance of young people among the unemployed, was hardly surprising (although we need to remember about the registered "unemployed" who had never worked before at the beginning of 1990). What needs to be noticed, however, is a specific structure of the unemployed according to work experience in 1993, which was very different from the structure in the coming years. It was caused by the rapid changes in the labour market and it was also related to the numerous collective dismissals in the first two years of transformation. The result of this situation was that 40% of all registered unemployed had a relatively long work experience (5-20 years). On the other hand, the number of the unemployed with short work experience was rather low but this resulted from the fact that the number of the newly employed was insignificant. After the situation slightly improved, the structure of the unemployment according to seniority changed as well. In 2000, 30% of all unemployed had no work experience and 27% had 5-20 years of work experience. This represented a noticeable improvement of the situation of people with some work experience in the labour market (APUP 1993; 2000b).

In the discussed period, the educational structure of the unemployed was very stable. From the beginning of the transformation, higher education guaranteed a safe position in the labour market and the number of unemployed university graduates did not exceed 10% (though it started to change after 2000). The population of the unemployed was dominated by people with lower level of education (elementary and vocational education) and they comprised over 50% of all job-seekers (APUP 1992; 2000b).

In the discussed period, the share of post-secondary and vocational school leavers among the unemployed was also very stable and it amounted to 25-26%. The secondary school leavers constituted about 11% of all unemployed, however, it needs to be remembered that such insignificant level resulted from the fact that the majority of school leavers continued their education on a higher level. This, from the point of view of the statistics in the labour market, made them professionally inactive. Different tendencies could be observed in the case of the unemployed with the low level of education. In the 90s, the share of people with vocational training among the entire group of the registered unemployed was systematically decreasing.

It needs to be concluded that, in the discussed period, the structure of unemployment in Rzeszow was very unfavourable. It was dominated by young people with lower level of education, basic qualifications and very often with no work experience as well as by those who were out of job for a long time. This set of structural features characterizing unemployment made it harder to mitigate the negative consequences of the phenomenon in the first decade of transformation.

### **Tackling unemployment in Rzeszow**

The occurrence of unemployment on such large scale required the organization of adequate institutions. Initially, the problem was tackled by the adequate Employment Departments and, after a few months, their responsibilities were taken over by the Regional Work Office in Rzeszow. From the beginning of 1993, the tasks of tackling unemployment were implemented by the Regional Employment Agency which was subordinate to the Voivodeship Office. Finally, as a result of the administrative reform of 1999, the District Employment Agency in Rzeszow became responsible for tackling unemployment in the city and the district. In the first years of transformation, their ability to act was very limited. Their main tasks were practically limited to registering the unemployed, paying allowances and attempting to assist job-seekers in finding employment (the number of job advertisements was very low) (Panek 2014; Matoszko 1990: 1-2).

Despite that fact that, in the beginning, the Regional Work Office had only one telephone, it very quickly attempted to influence the situation in the labour market. Initially, due to the lack of other options, the activities were limited to monitoring the local institutions and enterprises in search for potential job offers. In spring 1990, it offered loans to the unemployed for setting up their own business and loans to enterprises for covering the costs of organizing extra vacancies. Although this was still just a drop in the ocean, it needs to be pointed out that the Rzeszow voivodeship took second place in the country in terms of the number of granted loans (in the voivodeship, 200 people received loans and the companies were to organize further 250 vacancies thanks to the granted loans). However, still it was very difficult to think about any intense activities undertaken in favour of the unemployed. A lot of job-seekers did not have adequate (or any) qualifications and the lack of clearly defined expectations coming from the labour market made it impossible to organize adequate trainings and courses (Pasternak 1990: 96; aw 1990: 3).

In the initial period, the most popular instrument used to support the unemployed were unemployment allowances which were paid rather liberally. They were so attractive that many people chose to stay unemployed and earn extra money illegally rather than take up a legal job which offered a low salary. In the mid 1992, the allowances were paid to about 60% of the unemployed in Rzeszow and only the legislative changes (introduced in October) which limited the period of allowance provision, was to change the situation. At the end of the year, only about 40% of the registered unemployed was eligible to receive it. In the second half of the decade, the number was still falling which was the result of both - the situation in the labour market and the legislative changes. At the end of 1997, 22% of the registered unemployed received allowances and, at the end of 1998, the number dropped to 12.6% and it remained on this level in the coming years (APUP 1992-1998; Rocznik... 1993: 152; Woźniak 1993: 3).

Due to the fact that unemployment allowances were no longer the main support instrument, unemployment agencies changed the way they functioned – towards the active forms of support. The higher number of jobs offered via the agencies was associated with the economic recovery. In 1993, the number of job advertisements was on the level of 200-300 a month, in 1994 the number doubled or even tripled and in the coming years it reached the level of about 1000 (APUP 1991-2001; Ważny 1993: 5).

The actions taken by the employment agency workers, who were looking for vacancies directly in the enterprises, also brought some positive effects. That way, in July

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1992, they managed to find nearly 500 vacancies. In July 1993, the short-term employment agency was set up in Rzeszow as the first one in the country. The agency offered temporary jobs (up to three months) and it anticipated the role of a temporary employment institution which was introduced only in 2004 by the act on promotion of employment (in the summer the agency was able to find employment for a few hundred people) (APUP 1994; Panek 2014; Woźniak 1992: 3).

In the mid 90s, a certain set of instruments started to be implemented in order to activate the unemployed. Next to seasonal jobs offered by the short-term employment agency, it included: intervention work, public work, loans for setting up a company, professional trainings, the acquirement of new qualifications, courses and traineeships which were necessary for school leavers who were not longer entitled to receive allowances. From the mid 90s, over a dozen percent of all registered unemployed made use of the active forms of support and the effectiveness of agreements with the employees, related to the subsidised employment of school leavers, reached the level of 70% in 1997 (APUP 1996; 1998; Panek 2014).

### Conclusions

To sum up the processes taking place in the labour market in Rzeszow in the first decade of the transformation, it needs to be acknowledged that, after the crisis at the beginning of the 90s and a dramatic increase of unemployment, the situation in the second half of the decade considerably improved. What is more, the labour market in Rzeszow relatively quickly recovered and the number of available jobs in the 90s exceeded the level observed at the end of the 80s.

Despite such positive conclusions, it needs to be remembered that the following features continued to characterize the situation in the labour market in Rzeszow: a very unfavourable structure of unemployment, the low indicator of economic activity and the low employment rate. Although, in the mid 90s, the number of the unemployed considerably decreased (when compared to the first years of transformation), at the end of the decade it went up again, which was caused by the economic slowdown. At that time, about 8000 people were unemployed. It is worth noticing that poorer indicators of the economic activity and employment brought about the decline of importance of the salary in the structure of the family income. High number of no salary financial sources determined a low level of income in households.

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## ORIGINAL PAPER

## Employee Companies as a form of dissemination of ownership within the period of state enterprises privatization in Poland since 1990

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### Abstract

Ownership transformations of the Polish state enterprises commenced upon the Act on privatization of state enterprises of 13th July 1990. The legislator determined that decision on entering the path of privatization depended in the first place on the employees of a particular state enterprise, and so did the form of privatization. The relevant application was prepared by the employees' council having consulted all employees at a general meeting. A similar document was prepared by the trade unions acting at factories. Agreement of the employees for the privatization process allowed first to transform the particular state enterprise, into a sole shareholder company of the State Treasury, and then to conduct the relevant privatization process. In Poland after 1990 the most popular privatization path was the direct privatization, consisting in liquidation of state enterprise and transforming it into the employee company. Such form of ownership transformation was considered a phenomenon of Polish privatization. The news said, "Staff and managers of the enterprise subject to such method of privatization must have enough courage to conduct company activities and bear the responsibility". Such form of privatization was selected mainly by small and medium enterprises. Popularity of the form depended on several factors. First of all, staff of the employee company was convinced that they would gain a real impact on decisions concerning the company and they would participate in managing it. They hoped to achieve significant financial profits owing to revenues generated by the company and thus hoped to get secure employment. In Poland within 1990-1997, so within the period of most intensive ownership transformations, the said privatization path was selected by 65% of all state enterprises that were subject to privatization. Basing on selected examples, the paper presents the process of creation of the Employee Company. Workers' opinions were gathered and presented. Particular attention was directed to methods of valuation of state enterprises prepared for privatization by using the aforementioned method. Moreover, economic condition and situation of these enterprises were analyzed herein.

**Keywords:** *enterprise privatization and restructuring, Employee Company, state enterprise, employee participation*

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## Introduction

According to professor E.S.Savas, privatization is the key to govern better (Savas, 1992). He thinks that this is a new way of perceiving social needs and a new way of thinking about the role of government in providing for social needs; that this is making decisions that limit participation of the government in activity or in ownership of resources to the benefit of the private sector (Savas, 1992:10). Margaret Thatcher that initiated the process of privatization in UK had often admitted that the word 'privatization' was ugly but useful. She claimed that she did not like the term, mainly because the purpose of privatization was opening the door to unlimited entrepreneurship (Yergin and Stanislaw, 2014: 199). No doubt, the concept of privatization has been since the 1970s present in the political discourse as a constant element everywhere in the world.

This paper presents one of the paths of privatization of state owned enterprises in Poland. It consisted in dissemination, generalization of private ownership by way of liquidation privatization (direct) that meant giving a property of the state owned enterprise into the employees' hands (so-called employee leasing). Despite many advantages, concerning mainly psychological strengthening of employees' motivation and providing an illusion of relative social security, that path of privatization had many flaws, since leading to weakening the company's economic condition it was followed by so-called secondary privatization- sale of shares in the company to the 'strategic investor'.

Significance of direct privatization (liquidation) for making the ownership common. Similarly to other countries with economy system directed by the state, in Poland a strong erosion of this system started in the 1980s and the attempts of reforms of that economic system, based on shortages (as Janos Kornai said), did not bring expected results. As the economic condition of the state worsened, on 23rd December 1988 the Sejm of the People's Republic of Poland adopted the resolution on economic activity (Act of 23rd December 1988). It was of extreme importance for Polish citizens. That laconic Act introduced in Poland the principle of unencumbered entrepreneurship stating that taking up and conducting economic activity was free and available to everyone on equal basis. The legislator defined the economic activity as the manufacture, construction, commercial and service activities carried out for earning purposes at the expenses of the entity conducting such activity. Symbolic meaning of that Act consisted in contradicting the socialist dogmas of economy. It was admitted that state enterprises were ineffective.

The Round Table meeting in spring 1989 and following from it parliamentary elections, when Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government was formed, opened the path to transformation of political and economic systems in Poland. In his opening speech on 24th August 1989 Tadeusz Mazowiecki announced Poland entering the "road to normality". He meant construction of the democratic state of law, state of strong institutions where the economic system based on free market and unrestricted entrepreneurship. The result of improvement of economic effectiveness and leaving the economy directed by state was to be achieved by privatization of state-owned entities.

The announced privatization and the development of unrestricted entrepreneurship demanded a change of institutions and formation of new offices providing support to entrepreneurs. The process of privatization of state enterprises was governed by the Act of 13th July 1990 on privatization of state enterprises. As a result of gathered experience, that Act was replaced by a new one, adopted on 30th August 1996 on commercialization and privatization of state enterprises. The said Acts stated that process of state enterprise privatization commenced with the consent expressed by the

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interested parties- that is by the staff. The common application to the competent minister for ownership transformation had to be submitted by the enterprise's manager and employees' council, having consulted the employees' meeting. Thus, the legislator gave advantage to the enterprises' staff giving them the right to initiate the process of ownership transformation.

Methods of privatization included: indirect privatization (capital privatization), and common privatization carried out within the National Investment Funds (since 1993) and so-called enterprise commercialization (since 1996) that is transformation into the sole shareholder company of the State Treasury.

Pursuant to the data of 31st December 1990, there were 8,453 state enterprises in Poland. Until the end of 2004 the process of ownership transformations covered 66.6% of them, which is 5,631 entities (Report, 2004: 8) Out of that number 1,562 were subject to commercialization, 2,216 were subject to direct privatization and in case of 1,853 applications for winding-up were approved for economic reasons (out of which 990 were dissolved and 673 went bankrupt). In commercialized companies (the sole shareholder company of the State Treasury) direct privatization covered 352 state enterprises and 512 companies were entered into the National Investment Funds.

Indirect privatization (capital privatization) was the path meant for large state enterprises that possessed the significant productive assets. There were two forms of that privatization path. The first form was related to the sale of the majority shareholding to domestic and international investors as a result of negotiations started in reply to a public invitation to negotiations or tender. The second form was the sale of shares by way of public issue. Capital privatization allowed to acquire the so-called "strategic investor" for the enterprise that would be eager to contribute significant amounts to investments aiming at adapting the former state enterprise to the free market needs. The State Treasury selling the shares obliged the purchaser to sign an additional document named the investment package. In that package all investor's obligations, including amounts necessary to fulfill them, were specified. They referred both to modernization of production technology and construction of installations protecting natural environment.

Direct privatization in 1990-2004, covered 2216 state enterprises, as it was said above. Out of that amount, by the end of 2004 the amount of 1,379 enterprises were given to the staff for payable use and by the end of 2012 there were 1,563 enterprises covered by privatization. (Bałtowski and Kozarzewski, 2014: 228). The main idea of that form of privatization was striving for dissemination, generalization of ownership (making ownership common). To make the abovementioned data more detailed: within 1990-1991 the referred path of giving the enterprise's property into the hands of staff for payable use was selected by 86.8% of all enterprises subject to direct privatization, and in 1992- by 78.7% of them (Krajewski, 2009: 53). The feature distinguishing direct privatization from other methods of privatization was the short period between taking decision on privatization and termination of the whole process. On average, within 1990-2005 that period was about 8 months, and after 2006 it shortened to 5 months. Such rapid process resulted from the fact of limiting to minimum the negotiations with the staff interested in establishing the employee company (Krajewski, 2009: 52).

Method of direct (liquidation) privatization of state enterprise by giving it for payable use to the employees was the most popular form of privatization in Poland. A different situation was observed in the Czech Republic or on the territory of the Eastern Germany, where such form of privatization was applied only to small shops, hotels and restaurants. The Polish government might have assumed that such method of privatization

in Poland would be of the same character as in other countries. The governing bodies were convinced that such path of privatization was a kind of privilege and only staff of smaller enterprises, where the largest resource of creative potential was personnel qualifications, would benefit from it. Thus, it was assumed that the direct privatization would cover design offices, land survey services and research and development centers. (Bałtowski and Kozarzewski, 2014: 227). Nobody expected a different possibility. In the payable use of employees, together with small enterprises employing up to 49 persons, also medium enterprises were included, employing between 50 and 249 workers.

Act on privatization of state enterprises of 1990 gave a possibility to combine several paths of privatization. Genesis of such practical solution bases on the fact that the multi-unit enterprise operating in the People's Republic of Poland within the period of transformations started in 1990, as part of the process of adaptation to the free market conditions, underwent a deep restructuring process thus dividing into smaller economic units. Therefore, it was potentially possible to divide one enterprise, operating before 1990, into several smaller ones that were privatized by way of direct privatization in its various forms, including fast sale, making contribution in kind or giving it into the hands of staff for payable use. Passing the enterprise property to payable use of employee company required fulfillment of several conditions, pursuant to the Act of 1996. First, more than a half of employees or workers or farmers or fishermen had to join the company; shareholders of the company could only be the natural persons; the paid up share capital could not be lower than 20% of the statutory fund and enterprise fund; and at least 20% of shares was to be taken up by persons not employed at the state enterprise subject to privatization. It should be pointed out that in "Polish employee companies ownership of shares is of personified character, so they are subject to trading" (Kozarzewski, 1998: 26). The employees could sell their shares in case of resignation from work or for other cause. They were also entitled to increase their share package. For that reason the Polish employee companies varied much from the employee companies formed in Russia and Belorussia. In those countries the owner was a collective, referred to as the "workers' team". No separate ownership right was distinguished there (Kozarzewski, 1998: 26).

Passing the enterprise property to payable use of employee company was always conducted on the basis of agreement concluded between the State Treasury and the transferee for the period not exceeding 10 years. After the lapse of period determined in the agreement and fulfillment of conditions specified there the enterprise ownership right could be transferred onto the transferee. The legislator also provided a possibility to transfer the ownership right earlier, when the transferee was to pay 1/3 of expenses following from the agreement (Dowżycki, Sobolewski, Tłuchowski, 2003: 144-145). We should also emphasize that, according to the legislation, the established employee company took from the State Treasury the organized part of the company property- that is the tangible and intangible assets (Act of 13th July 1990). As a result, apart from the industrial plant, the employee company obtained the ownership rights to the company intangible assets, such as its logo and trademark. In case of food manufacturers that was usually a very important intangible asset of the company. It is interesting that limiting the free market in the People's Republic of Poland by way of administrative decisions did not alter the market orientation of consumers, who, similarly to consumers in countries with developed free market economy, positioned products and had own opinion on their manufacturers. Thus, consumers built the company image and created its brand. As the everyday life showed the said intangible assets created in the People's Republic of Poland were invaluable property elements for the created employee companies. In my opinion,

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transformation of state enterprises into employee companies to a wider range than it had been expected by the Polish government, or even against the government's will (Kozarzewski, 1998: 22), was justified by staff entrepreneurship. Such form of privatization, popularizing the ownership, woke up the entrepreneurship minds that, combined with practical assessment of reality could effectively benefit from the state enterprise property. This is confirmed by information from the Ministry of Ownership Transformation of 1994. It was said: "at the start of transformation period there was a strong pressure over privatization because of which both managers and staff wanted to save the mother company without taking care of particular benefits" (Snopek-Rybak, 2004: 32). Another remark made in 2000 corresponds with the previous observations: "before taking decision on privatization the enterprises should consider the risk of changes, but also risk of the lack of changes" (Czerwińska-Wojtasik, 2000: 27).

As a rule, the workers team decided to establish the employee company basing on the assets of the wound-up enterprise that was in a good condition, had suitable technical background and whose products were demanded for. Thus, that privatization path was selected by enterprises related to food and machinery processing (423 plants by the end of 2004). That method was also selected by staff of construction plants (361 by the end of 2004), retail and wholesale trade (249 by the end of 2004), an transport and warehouse management (91), real estate offices, services (190) and other (65) (Report 2004, 2005: 26).

Considering the above remarks, the entrepreneurship of staff was based on their practical approach towards the ownership transformation ongoing in Poland. It is possible that by observing the reality the employees knew that if their plant was to survive in the free market conditions and become a partner of other entities operating at that market, the effectiveness had to be increased. The way to achieve the goal was to undergo ownership transformation and introduce common ownership, as factors motivating entrepreneurship. Additional argument for the practical approach of staff towards establishing the employee company was, as it was noted by professor M. Bałtowski and professor P. Kozarzewski, the fear of the plant being taken over by external investor, either domestic or foreign (Bałtowski and Kozarzewski, 2014: 227). The said fear was compounded by the fact that the external investor could dismiss the old managerial staff, change strategy of the company, reduce number of employees and increase workers-related requirements.

Our search for reasons of popularity of liquidation privatization in Poland, realized by formation of employee company and, as a result passing the enterprise property to payable use of employee, brings us to another argument. Such path of privatization was a response to popular in Poland ideals of participation of staff in managing the enterprise and participation of employees in enterprise's property. That was "one of methods to create the human face of capitalism- softer, just, protecting employees' dignity better". Moreover, this was a method to create system somewhere between socialism and capitalism (Surdykowska, 1997: 129).

However, the employee companies, propagating ownership forms, were not free from flaws. In these entities in one person the conflict arouse on the line employee-owner and worker-employee. Conflict of interests arouse between managers who prepared particular development paths for the plant and wanted to have it restructured, and employees-owners who might hamper the plans expecting just the rise of remuneration. Mixture of the purposes resulted in the situation where most employee companies, over 60%, increased employees' remunerations even 5 times within 1990-1994, whilst at the same time 40% did not generate net profit and other 37% observed decrease of

profitability. It was noted that only 12% of employee companies decided to carry out investments in order to modernize the company and only 16% extended its products offer (Surdykowska, 1997: 130). In the above analysis we must also consider the fact that employees perceived the fact of obtaining the employee company from the State Treasury for payable use as a chance to gain significant financial benefits, to generate fast profit. They were convinced that such form of privatization would allow them to maintain the workplace and give them the sense of social security.

However, the liquidation privatization that gave plants in the payable use of employees, was not perfect. Companies established in that manner did not have proper capital necessary to carry out investments. In addition, their economic condition was weakened by the fact that they had to pay so-called leasing installments (repay part of the generated profit to the State Treasury).

### **Empirical analysis**

Empirical analysis of phenomenon of employee companies, considered by experts to be the form of employees' participation in managing the enterprise and a significant form of propagation of ownership concept, does not always confirm effectiveness of that form of privatization as regards effectiveness of management and fair division of property rights.

Research conducted in 1990-1991, so within the period of the highest intensification of formation of employee companies, proved that at the moment of formation of company 27.2% of shares were purchased by the managing staff, 26.8% by workers, 13.8% by administration staff and 13.8% by pensioners. With the time of operation the share of managing staff was increasing, on average up to 47.4%. This happened to the detriment of workers and administration and office personnel from whom the shares were purchased. Thus, the controlling stake was moving into the hands of the managing staff (Surdykowska, 1997: 132). The researchers point out that in 1999 approx. 40% of employee companies lost their specific character and after 2000 the tendency of "secondary privatization of employee companies" strengthened. One could observe that in the plants the ownership transformations took place for the second time (Bałtowski and Miszewski, 2006: 235). Reasons of such course of events were complex. First of all, it was difficult for some companies to survive on the market. Employee companies usually experienced shortages of investment capital and that is why secondary privatization was related to sale of shares to new investors with the purpose to recapitalize the company. From the perspective of effective management and decision related to company development- such flow of shares was favorable. But it contradicted the concept of common ownership.

From the social point of view a very sensitive matter was valuation of state enterprise that was selected for direct privatization. Discrepancies arouse due to application of various valuation methods. The government side proposed to use the book value of company in price negotiations and make it the starting point for further negotiations (Information, 1991). The State Treasury pointed to the fact that, apart from the price suggested by consulting firms, when negotiating the price of a plant with its workers and potential external shareholders of the employee company, one must also take into consideration the use of fixed assets, expenses to restore these assets, pro-eco investments, and collected useless reserves and uncollectible (bad) debts. When determining the price of enterprises it was necessary to gather information on interest of domestic and foreign investors in a particular company. It was also important to calculate

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such a price that would allow the employees "to take up together the small and medium enterprises at a price possible to be paid without declining the inflow to the State Treasury". (Explanations...). In price negotiations it was considered that a new employee company took all responsibilities of the wound-up enterprise, including its loans and liabilities towards the budget, Social Security and suppliers. Not without the influence on the negotiated prices was the fact that the employee company took up all employees of the former state enterprise. Thus, the material factors of prices were discussed, such as value of the machinery stock and ground, company debt and social factors, including the basic one- maintaining social order by providing workplaces and common ownership. Besides, in negotiations one had to take the state budget interest into consideration. Because of that "in view of the rising unemployment the approach towards the discussed price demanded considerable flexibility. In many situations failure to start privatization at the right moment could lead to enterprise dissolution due to economic reasons, which could be followed by considerable loss for creditors and budget" (Explanations...).

Empirical example of the course of price negotiations conducted by the State Treasury with employees may be the Zakłady Piwowskie (Brewery) in Bydgoszcz. Valuation of that enterprise by the profit-based method allowed to estimate its value at 62,551,000 PLN, and application of the reconstruction method gave the value of 98,680,000 PLN. At determining the final price it was considered that "the enterprise's tangible goods resources are to a certain extent deprived of capital and the company standards do not meet the current requirements on technical level or environmental protection as the brewery is situated in the city center". It was considered that none of the proposed prices reflected the actual value of the company. In the course of negotiations it was assumed that the company value was 80,000,000 PLN and "such amount was included in the agreement for payable use of property concluded with the State Treasury and the lease contract" (Explanations...).

An interesting solution, from perspective of strengthening the employees' motivation for work and emotional engagement in privatization was applied at the Confectionery Plant Jutrzenka SA in Bydgoszcz. The plant was transformed into the employee company on 1st March 1993. It was significant that shares of the enterprise were sold to the employees without any limits. Every person could buy as many shares as he wished. There was no catalogue of privileged individuals. Such solution strengthened staff identification with the company, which was expressed in their resignation from dividend on shares in 1994 (Zielazna, 1994: 9). By courtesy of all shareholders the generated income was allocated to investments (e.g. construction of the plant in a new location).

Process of secondary privatization of the Jutrzenka employee company became a fact when it was to debut at the Warsaw Stock Exchange in order to gather capital for further investments. This was the right decision, considering the future of the Company. Shares of the company were popular at the Stock, and in 1999 the increase in quotation reached 132%. Such result confirmed a strong position of the Company among the Polish brands quoted at the Warsaw Stock Exchange. Taking into account the high value of intangible assets of Jutrzenka, the Colian SA Capital Group purchased its shares.

Observation of participation of employees in managing the employee company Jutrzenka SA Bydgoszcz reveals a rare mechanism of creation of employee's identification with the company after dissemination of ownership. Employees and at the same time shareholders of the company were both co-owners and workers. Such new, double role of an individual at the plant significantly influenced the way of perceiving one's own workplace, responsibility for work and role of the enterprise as the managing institution

whose goal was to generate profit. Workers-shareholders found out that the market success of their company depended on their responsibility and rational attitude. Imposed and accelerated education of employees within the field of free market economy allowed to observe formation of new values. Obviously, quite important was also the company economic success- employees-shareholders of Jutrzenka SA could notice that in their remunerations.

Market success of that employee company followed also from the fact that together with the tangible assets the company took over the priceless intangible asset that was the brand of Jutrzenka, recognizable on the market. That brand was already well-known within the years of the People's Republic of Poland. Its value was extended by the fact that the positive image of the trademark had been shaped before 1990 also in other countries gathered in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance acting under supervision of the Soviet Union. The positive image of the enterprise acting under the logo of Jutrzenka helped it to organize a distribution network in Poland in the period when the state monopoly in trading was collapsing. That trademark also helped the company to re-introduce its products into the markets of the Eastern Europe. The high value of the intangible assets of the company, as were the logo and the trademark, similarly to Jutrzenka, had been used by the employee company Fabryka Cukiernicza Kopernik (Kopernik Confectionery Company) since the moment of its formation in 1991. The positive image of the company and its identity had been built for some centuries. So the company centuries-long tradition and use of traditional recipes, known for generations, were the main asset of the marketing campaigns. The described successes of the employee companies prove that Poles appreciated much the Polish food trademarks. However, they were not bound to domestic brands from other market segments, such as: electronics, or home appliances.

Employee companies, playing an important part in maintaining workplaces, provided for social security of workers. This was the reason, why they could expect aid from the State Treasury if problems arouse. The forms of aid from the State Treasury included mainly direct financial support. It consisted in debt relief. The unpaid liabilities due for the State Treasury were redeemed. In 1995 parts of the postponed payments, due from six employee companies for 1992 and 1993 at the amount 2,312,146 PLN, were redeemed. Significant support from the State Treasury was given to Przedsiębiorstwo Wielobranżowe Centrostal (Multiple Company) Bydgoszcz SA. That employee company was given consent for three-year deferral of payment of a part of liabilities for 1994 following from the leasing contract. The decision was thus explained: "The investment activity carried out by the company allows it to develop and maintain a proper employment policy" (Budget...). Deterioration of the economic condition of Przedsiębiorstwo Przemysłu Drzewnego Sawmill sp. z o.o. (Wood processing company) in Więcbork that had stopped paying the due leasing installments in 1992 made the State Treasury express their consent for prolonging the payments. Payment of debt towards the State Treasury was divided into favorable installments (Budget...). However, not in every case was the State Treasury willing to concede. By the end of 2006 the State Treasury applied the sanction of cancellation of the payable use of the company property with 83 employee companies that had discontinued settling payments of the leasing installments (Krajewski, 2009: 56).

In researches into the field of ownership transformations of the state enterprise, by way of liquidation and giving it to the payable use of workers, one must pay attention to the obstacles hampering the process of making the ownership common, of ownership

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generalization, dissemination. The main obstacle was deficit of capital in many plants. Lack of capital was a consequence of poverty of the Polish society and visible shortage of capital accumulation. The problem was referred to as follows: "for most of the staff it is a problem to gather resources necessary to obtain minimum capital, required upon the Act on privatization of state enterprises to take over the property of privatized entity" (Explanations...). Such obstacle could not be overcome by for instance the Przedsiębiorstwo Transportu Przemysłu Mięsnego (Meat transport company) in Bydgoszcz. In 1992 it employed 311 people. Its privatization by liquidation and formation of the employee company (employee leasing) was hampered, according to the management, by lack of financial reserves at the workers' disposal. It was pointed out that "due to low remunerations the staff was not able to acquire shares at the high price" (Statistical...1994). As a result, the staff was not interested in the employee privatization. Moreover, the company could not be subject to privatization by other method because, for instance, its fleet was technically poor quality. So, the adopted strategy was limited to passive waiting for more convenient, better circumstances that never came. This was not an isolated case. Przedsiębiorstwo Prefabrykacji Mobet (Prefabrication plant) in Mogilno had to face similar troubles. Its employees did not possess sufficient resources to establish the employee company and no external investor was interested in becoming a strategic investor to that company. The above examples again reveal the problem of shaping a positive image and a valuable brand of the company, such important in the free market economy. Those intangible assets of companies for many companies such as the above mentioned Jutrzenka and Kopernik became the valuable heritage. For others, such as the Przedsiębiorstwo Prefabrykacji Mobet (Prefabrication plant) in Mogilno or the Przedsiębiorstwo Transportu Przemysłu Mięsnego (Meat transport company) in Bydgoszcz they became additional burden that, mainly in the closest perspective, hampered the development planning and so making the decision on selecting the privatization path. In my opinion, this problem should be referred to wider in studies over the bankruptcy of enterprises in the period of the economic system transformations. When following empirical examples it comes out that the awareness of the low value of company intangible assets, including its negative image, considerably affected psychical condition of the staff, caused their disbelief in their success as the employee company, especially with the view of increasing competition of private entities that were hungry for success and constructed a new company value basing on the owner's name. The name became the company's brand and was included in its intangible assets.

### **Summary**

According to the legislator's assumptions, passing the enterprise property to payable use of employee company by the State Treasury (so-called "employee leasing") was to constitute the path of ownership transformation reserved for a few companies, difficult to privatize by other methods. Everyday practice proved that such form of ownership transformation, related to dissemination, generalization of ownership, became dominant. To many politicians and economists of those times the employee companies fulfilled the demand of employees' participation in managing the company. They allowed everyone who was employed there become acquainted with the ownership in capitalism. The news said: "According to the theory of economic justice successes of capitalism grow proportionally to the number of owners of productive assets" (Dowżycki, Sobolewski, Tłuchowski, 2003: 139). As a result of dynamic changes taking place in the Polish economy and growing competition of the new economic entities, the employee companies

lost their development pace within the years. They were looking for so-called strategic investors who, in exchange for the purchase of shares in the company, were ready to perform deep restructuring.

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## ORIGINAL PAPER

# Study on Strategic Options for Romanian Economic Agents in Post-Crisis Global Economy: Policy Options for the Courier Sector

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### Abstract

The study of Romanian courier operators' activity was based on the analysis of customers' needs and requests for an efficient, rapid and safe service, of the factors influencing courier operators' management system, of the external factors impacting the evolution of courier services, of the strategies of growth and other policy options adopted by courier companies during the economic crisis beginning with 2008. The present research aims at analysing the existing situation in the courier services sector in order to frame the development strategies of companies in the field. In order to accomplish this objective we have started from the design of the central research axes: identifying and analysing customers' needs of using rapid and efficient courier services, identifying the factors influencing the dynamics of courier services during the latest period, the strategies adopted by courier operators, the analysis of measures adopted in order to increase sales.

**Keywords:** *economy, services sector, courier operators, strategy, policy options, management, development*

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### Introduction

The study of Romanian courier operators' activity must be centred on the analysis of customers' needs and requests for an efficient, rapid and safe service, of the factors influencing courier operators' management system, of the external factors impacting the evolution of courier services, of the strategies of growth and other policy options adopted by courier companies during the economic crisis beginning with 2008 (Gruber, 2014; Kaiser, Ringlstetter, 2011). Throughout Central and Eastern Europe countries (CEEC) the specific economic and political conditions since the fall of communism and overall transition dynamics (Dusik, Sadler, 2004: 89-97; Olimid, 2008: 76-81; Bures, 2014: 115-125; Just, 2014: 65-74) marked environment (in)stability as well as the strategic decisions adopted by the management of companies that started their activity, rose, developed and/or fell, disappeared, through mergers, acquisitions or bankruptcy in the sector.

The present research aims at analysing the existing situation in the courier services sector in order to frame the development strategies of companies in the field. In order to accomplish this objective we have started from the design of the central research axes: identifying and analysing customers' needs of using rapid and efficient courier services, identifying the factors influencing the dynamics of courier services during the latest period, the strategies adopted by courier operators, the analysis of measures adopted in order to increase sales. The analysis of efficiency sought and developed by courier operators proved seminal for the design and constitution of our research (Hosseini, Hamghadam, Hosseini, Zahmatkesh, Delbari, 2013: 1102-1114; Iturralde, Quirós, 2008: 84–90).

We had in view the quantification of research on strategic management in a strong competitive environment (Kotler, Berger, Bickhoff, 2010) through the designation of the competitive forces that outline strategic policy options of companies in the field (Porter, 2008: 78-93). The analysis was undergone with the purpose of correlating company policy options to customers incentives (Bradley, 2003), but also to the inputs of the human resources viewed primarily as the main resource in services operators (Armstrong, 2009) both for small firms and multinationals (Deakins, 1999). Services sector accounts for specific policy options and strategic outputs (Arancibia Carvajal, Nogales, 2014; Casadesus-Masanell R., J. E. Ricart, 2010; Georgescu, 2011). In the context of postal and courier market liberalisation, national and international operators had to initiate and develop specific solutions (Eckert, 2009: 261–272; Felisberto, 2013: 1407–1434; Gori et al., 2006: 59-74) especially related to massively investing in different resources that might account for the creation and support of competitive advantage (Hill, Mabert, Montgomery, 1988: 333-345).

### Research methodology

We have built a series of hypotheses examined for validation using two types of instruments – firstly, a questionnaire addressed to Romanian courier operators either subcontractors or leading personnel (top management, middle management), but also to company staff (couriers, front office personnel etc.), secondly, a questionnaire addressed to managers or SMEs representatives in the region identified as clients/users for courier services. The hypotheses issued for validation are:

*H1. The market of courier services has evolved independently to the international economic and financial crisis.*

*H2. The courier services industry was positively influenced by the growth of e-commerce.*

*H3. If adopting a strategy of growth, then courier operators direct towards developing through subcontractors and adopting some strategies of increasing the quality of courier services supply.*

*H4. Reducing tariffs is not perceived as a viable solution for sales increase in the long run.*

*H5. The increase of courier services industry is a factor of economic activity.*

*H6. There is a profile of strategic options preferred and advanced by courier operators aiming at their growth and development.*

In order to validate these hypotheses we have proceeded to data collection through the two questionnaires.

### Data source

The gathered data necessary to the validation of hypotheses were obtained through the application of two types of questionnaires, efficient tools of quantitative research which added to the results and information obtained from previous sources and researches (literature review, analysis of courier services evolution and prognosis, statistical data from national institutions reports etc.) have led to the creation of a comprehensive image of Romanian courier operators' activity. The period of data collection corresponded to March 2016-October 2016. As regards the samples dimension, the first questionnaire was advanced to employees in courier companies (sample of 46 respondents), while the sample for the application of the second questionnaire was of 25 respondents. Data collection employed several methods such as the survey by mail (e-mail, postal) and direct interrogation (at company headquarters or by phone).

The questionnaire addressed to SMEs' managers throughout the region was distributed by e-mail to 100 e-mail addresses, however, the feedback was low, the most efficient method being direct application. For data processing we used SPSS - Statistical Package for Social Sciences that enables graphics, correlations, factor analysis, t test application etc.

### Description of questionnaire items

To achieve the goal of our research, we formulated for each hypothesis more appropriate questions/items (table 1).

**Table 1. Research hypotheses and corresponding questionnaire items**

Hypotheses	Questionnaire items
<i>H1. Courier services market has evolved independently of the international economic and financial crisis.</i>	Q1. In your opinion what is the extent of the following factors' influence over the courier operators' activity? (1- very small, 2-small, 3-moderate, 4-high, 5-very high) a. Reducing purchasing power b. Growing competition c. Inflation d. Legislation Q2. How many employees are on the payroll of the company you represent? (1=0-5, 2=6-10, 3=10-20, 4=20-50, 5=over 50) Q3. How did the number of employees evolve in the last five years? (It increased/ it decreased/ it did not change)

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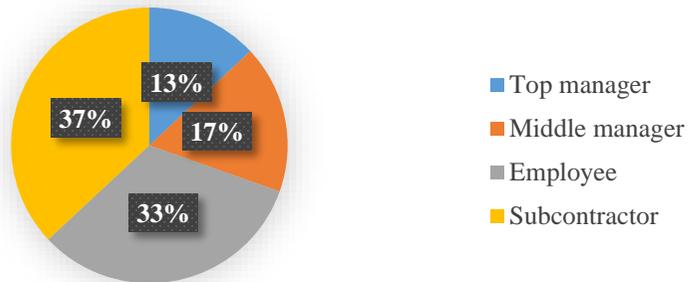
	<p>Q7. What type of equipment do you purchase? (New, Second-hand, Both types)</p> <p>Q8. Which do you believe to be the most important decisions adopted during 2009-2015?</p>
<p><b>H2. Courier services industry was positively influenced by the growth of electronic commerce.</b></p>	<p>Q9. Do you believe that the development of electronic commerce influence courier operators' activity? (Yes/ No/ Do not know)</p> <p>Q10. If so, please assess the measure in which e-commerce influences the company you work in (Very great extent...Not at all).</p> <p>Q11. Please specify in which way did the number of shipments from online orders evolve in relation to traditional courier services (has increased, has remained the same, has decreased).</p> <p>Q12. Which is the dynamics of the successful delivery of parcels from online orders? (has increased, has remained the same, has decreased)</p> <p>Q13. If it increased, to which it is due? (Multiple answers)</p>
<p><b>13. If adopting a growth strategy then courier operators are keen to develop by subcontractors and adopting strategies to enhance the quality of services delivery.</b></p>	<p>Q15 Company growth is centred on development through own employees or through subcontractors?</p> <p>Q16 Do company investments emanate from own revenues or external credits?</p> <p>Q18 What strategy does your company adopt? (Cost strategy, Differentiation strategy—introducing a new product/service and obtaining competitive advantage)</p> <p>Q19 Which of the following types of strategies would you choose? (Cost strategies, Differentiation strategies, Price strategies, Promotion strategies, Stability strategies or Product strategies)</p> <p>Q20 What do you think differentiates your company? (Multiple choice question – Price, Quality of services offered, Services diversity, Flexibility, Speed)</p>
<p><b>14. Reducing prices is not seen as viable long-term solution for sales growth.</b></p>	<p>Q22. What do you think about reducing tariffs as a solution for increasing sales? (Totally agree, Agree, Indifferent, Disagree, Totally disagree)</p> <p>Q23. What are the most common methods of reducing tariffs? (multiple choice question - Depending on the volume activity, seasonal discounts, depending on competition, other discounts)</p> <p>Q24. What are the most effective promotions? (Discounts, Free additional services, Promotions through various activities).</p>
<p><b>15. Courier services industry growth is a factor in the increase in economic activity.</b></p>	<p>Q5. How do you appreciate the global quality of courier services?</p> <p>Q6. How do you appreciate the quality/price relation for courier services?</p> <p>Q12. How do you appreciate the qualities of the personnel you entered in contact with?</p> <p>Q14. Please specify which of the following aspects you find important? (Speed of parcels delivery, Safety of expeditions, Price, Personnel kindness, Service delivery environment)</p> <p>Q16. How often do you use courier services? (Daily, Weekly, Monthly)</p> <p>Q17. Which are the main reasons you use courier services? (Safety of transport, Speed, Flexibility, Transparency)</p>

**Source:** Authors' representation

**Analysis and discussions**

The survey using the first questionnaire addressed to employees of courier companies operated at the level of hierarchically superior managers (top management, middle management), but also at the level of employees and subcontractors grounded on that many courier companies preferred to develop their business through franchising their activity. We presented the situation of respondents in Chart 1 by their position in the companies they belong to.

**Chart 1 Sample structure by respondents' position within company**



**Source:** Authors' representation

It can be seen that 13.04% of respondents are top managers while 36.96% are subcontractors or franchisees and 32.61% are employees. To analyse the most important factors influencing the courier sector we subjected to study the following dimensions: reducing purchasing power, increasing competition, inflation, legislation. We used semantic differential, a type of attitude scale for which respondents could choose from five versions of the appreciations scale for assessing the degree of influence as follows: 1- very low, 2-low, 3-moderate, 4-high, 5 very high. For each of these factors we determined the average influence through descriptive statistics using SPSS software (Table 1).

<b>Factors</b>	<b>No of observations</b>	<b>Minimum registered value</b>	<b>Maximum registered value</b>	<b>Average registered values</b>	<b>Standard deviation</b>
<i>Reducing purchasing power</i>	46	1.00	5.00	3.43	1.45529
<i>Increasing competition</i>	46	1.00	5.00	4.11	1.12008
<i>Inflation</i>	46	1.00	5.00	2.52	1.44128
<i>Legislation</i>	46	1.00	5.00	2.33	1.11663
<i>Valid N (listwise)</i>	46				

**Source:** Authors' representation

It may be noted that the factors that influence mostly are reducing purchasing power and increasing competition which shows that the struggle among companies to gain a

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competitive advantage and attract more customers is increasing, given that the period 2008-2010 was marked by the economic crisis that hit the financial resources of customers. Despite this, courier services sector lift off as a result of the B2C and B2B segments development in which online commerce stores requested delivery companies additional services as performant and at lowest costs as possible in order to attract as many customers (Căescu, 2011: 387–400). In a very small extent respondents considered that there are other factors which influence courier operators such as organization and proposed targets. As regards the number of employees from the companies respondents belong to, one can notice the heterogeneity of respondents: the questionnaire was addressed to both people in smaller companies (subcontractors), but also in multinational companies with over 50 employees (Table 2).

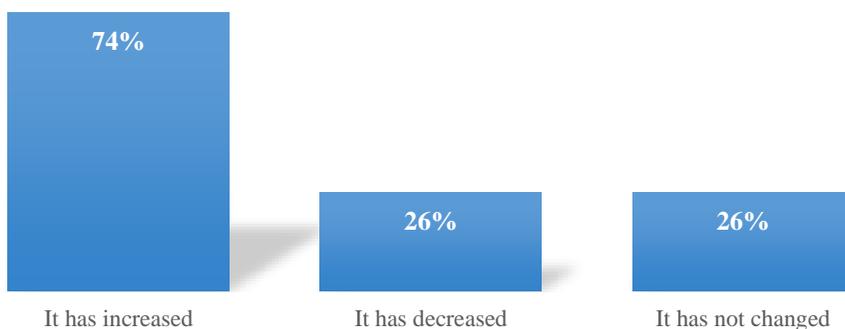
**Table 2. Sample structure by organization type (Employees' number)**

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulated percentage
0-5	15	32.6	32.6	32.6
6-10	12	26.1	26.1	58.7
10-20	10	21.7	21.7	80.4
20-50	4	8.7	8.7	89.1
over 50	5	10.9	10.9	100.0
Total	46	100.0	100.0	

**Source:** Authors' representation

As regards the evolution of the employees' number, courier companies have seen a constant increase in activity due to the courier sector development, stabilization and maturation. From our analysis, it can be seen that 74% of respondents considered that the number of employees from the companies they belong to has grown, while in only 26% of the cases the number of employees has remained constant or decreased (chart 2).

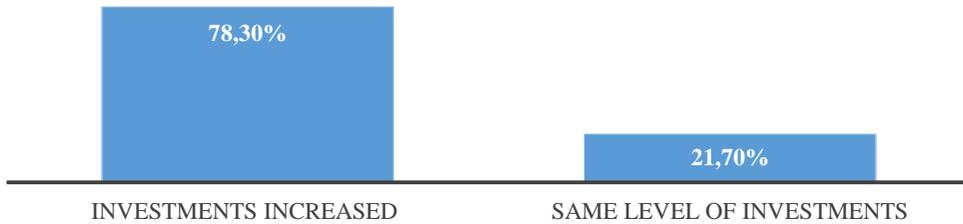
**Chart 2. Evolution of employees' number in 2015 compared to 2010**



**Source:** Authors' representation

In order to highlight the impact of certain factors on the courier sector, we analysed the answers given by the respondents on investments that courier companies have made (Chart 3).

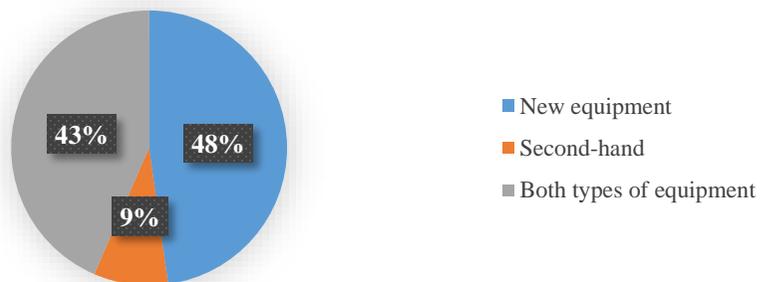
**Chart 3. Evolution of IT & logistics investments in 2015 compared to 2011**



**Source:** Authors' representation

From Chart 3 it can be drawn that 78.3% of respondents believe that investment in IT equipment and logistics increased in 2015 compared to 2011, which shows the concern of managers in this sector for the development of IT systems and equipment logistics in order to get a competitive advantage in the fight with competitors and to provide quality services to customers. Notwithstanding the fact that the period 2008-2010 was marked by the economic crisis which has affected all sectors, 47.8% of respondents purchase new equipment while only 8.7% purchase used equipment, while the remaining respondents purchase both new equipment and machinery. These figures show courier company managers' concerns to invest in new quality equipment and ensure higher service productivity (Chart 4).

**Chart 4. Structure of purchased equipment**



**Source:** Authors' representation

Thus we verified and validated the first hypothesis according to which "*courier services market has evolved independently of international economic and financial crisis*". Although the economic crisis has affected many sectors, courier services sector was continuously an engine of economic activity and one of the few sectors generating jobs during this period. Also, question 8 "What do you think are the most important decisions

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in the period 2009-2015?", 78.3% of respondents considered the most important decision to be the investments in IT equipment and logistics which explains the constant concern of companies in the sector to find performing solutions that provide a competitive advantage, while 53% of respondents felt that there were other important decisions during this period. These responses relate to lower prices and improve ways of promotion and image of the company and showed struggles intensified between companies to obtain a higher market share. Electronic commerce is a niche for courier companies that were targeted by most companies in the sector. E-commerce stores and major retailers have turned to developing various online platforms using courier services for delivery of barter products. Statistically, courier companies deliver 80% of online processed orders. Regarding the influence of electronic commerce on the courier sector, 58.7% of respondents believe that it influenced the company's operating activities to a great extent. The evolution of shipments from online orders in relation to traditional shipments increased concentration which shows efforts towards this sector (table 3).

**Table 3. Evolution of online processed expeditions in relation to traditional deliveries**

	Respondents	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulated percentage
Increased	43	93.5	93.5	93.5
Remained the same	3	6.5	6.5	100.0
Decreased	0	0	0	0
Total	46	100.0	100.0	

**Source:** Authors' representation

In terms of percentage dynamics of successfully delivered online orders, 87% of respondents believe that these orders represent an important niche; acquiring a quality service requires a greater percentage of successful deliveries. This was due to measures adopted companies with the development of the online segment and customers' requirements to receive complex, high quality services.

**Table 4. Measures adopted for increase in online trade delivery percentage**

	Respondents	Percentage
Increase in employees' number	16	34.8%
Investments in performing equipment	26	56.5%
Efficient work procedures	31	67.4%
Better consumer information	37	80.4%

**Source:** Authors' representation

As one may notice in Table 4, 80.4% of respondents believe that better information of the consumer is the most important step to be taken to increase the percentage of deliveries from online orders. This measure has a strong influence on consumer behaviour that has a retention characteristics related to the goods ordered. The second measure is the business of the domestic courier companies and is based on the working procedures of the companies on these types of items. In Table 4 one may notice that 67.4% of respondents believe that effective work procedures is a measure affecting shipments from online orders. Courier companies have implemented a number of programs to ensure the effectiveness of these types of deliveries and a higher percentage

of successful deliveries. For instance, some courier company developed and launched "Predict"-type services which aim at informing the customer on the delivery interval (about 2-3 hours). This measure is intended to increase transparency in shipments delivery services and to provide relevant information to customers on correspondence and packages expected (Chou, Chen, Chen, 2014: 98–114; Darbyshire, 2008: 48-76; Dua, Lib, Chouc, 2005: 33 – 45), while others were directed towards the design and optimisation of efficient warehousing (Cormier, 2005: 93-122). We can confirm the second working hypothesis that the courier services industry was positively influenced by the growth of electronic commerce.

The next step was to link data variables “most important measures taken by companies to increase successful delivery of online shipments” and “position within company”. The data obtained corroborates the observation that top management consider it very important to invest in equipment, more efficient work procedures, and measures related to consumer information. At the same time employees believe that the most effective measure is to identify the best and most effective procedures, but also increasing the number of staff.

**Table 5. Correlation between variables “most important measure” and “position within company”**

			Position within company				Total
			top manager	middle manager	employee	Subcontractor	
Most important measure	Increase in staff number	Frequency	0	1	4	1	6
		Expected frequency	.8	1.0	2.0	2.2	6.0
		Percentage (%)	0.0%	12.5%	26.7%	5.9%	13.0%
	Investments in performing equipment	Frequency	2	1	3	5	11
		Expected frequency	1.4	1.9	3.6	4.1	11.0
		Percentage (%)	33.3%	12.5%	20.0%	29.4%	23.9%
	Effective work procedures	Frequency	2	3	5	3	13
		Expected frequency	1.7	2.3	4.2	4.8	13.0
		Percentage (%)	33.3%	37.5%	33.3%	17.6%	28.3%
	Better consumer information	Frequency	2	3	3	8	16
		Expected frequency	2.1	2.8	5.2	5.9	16.0
		Percentage (%)	33.3%	37.5%	20.0%	47.1%	34.8%
Total	Frequency	6	8	15	17	46	
	Expected frequency	6.0	8.0	15.0	17.0	46.0	
	Percentage (%)	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Source: Authors’ representation

The development of the courier activity accounted for company managers in this sector the adoption of important decisions regarding the development strategy based on subcontractors. This strategy presents some advantages for both companies working

through subcontractors and the subcontractors themselves providing courier services and benefiting of company "know-how", its customers, at the same time ensuring the technical equipment and management necessary to the operational activity in a continuous flow.

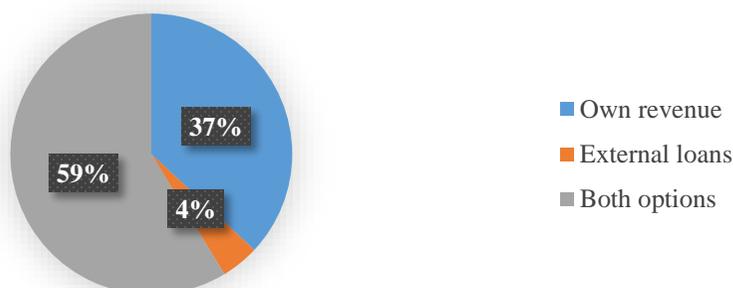
**Table 6. Developing the company through staff increases or subcontracting**

	Answers	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulated percentage
Employing additional staff	21	45.7	45.7	45.7
Developing through subcontractors	25	54.3	54.3	100.0
Total	46	100.0	100.0	

**Source:** Authors' representation

It can be seen that from a total of 46 respondents as regards Q15 "Does company development focus on own employees or subcontractors?", 54.3% confirmed the development trend based on local subcontractors, which explains to a great extent why the courier sector experience moderate growth forecasts of employees in this field (especially those working in operational departments) within a growing market. This occurs in one of the few sectors steadily generating employment, which has seen a constant growth during 2008-2015. Some courier companies have chosen to outsource delivery operations and pick-up shipments. The development system enables them to benefit from subcontractors' work and desire to organize and coordinate their own business. However, oftentimes the existence of barriers and procedural limitations are a factor impeding partners in making the best decisions. A rapidly growing sector, the courier services require from sector company managers a rigorous analysis of the environment, of existing opportunities in order to adopt strategies that provide competitive advantage. Therefore, the courier companies seek to invest in modern equipment, systems and interfaces that help the client in choosing the right service.

**Chart 5. Structure of accomplished investments**



**Source:** Authors' representation

In Chart 5 we notice that 36.96% of respondents believe that investment in this sector emanates from own sources, while only 4.35% said that investments accrue from external loans. We note the concern of managers of courier companies in their development as confirmed by previous analyses that showed the upward trend of the

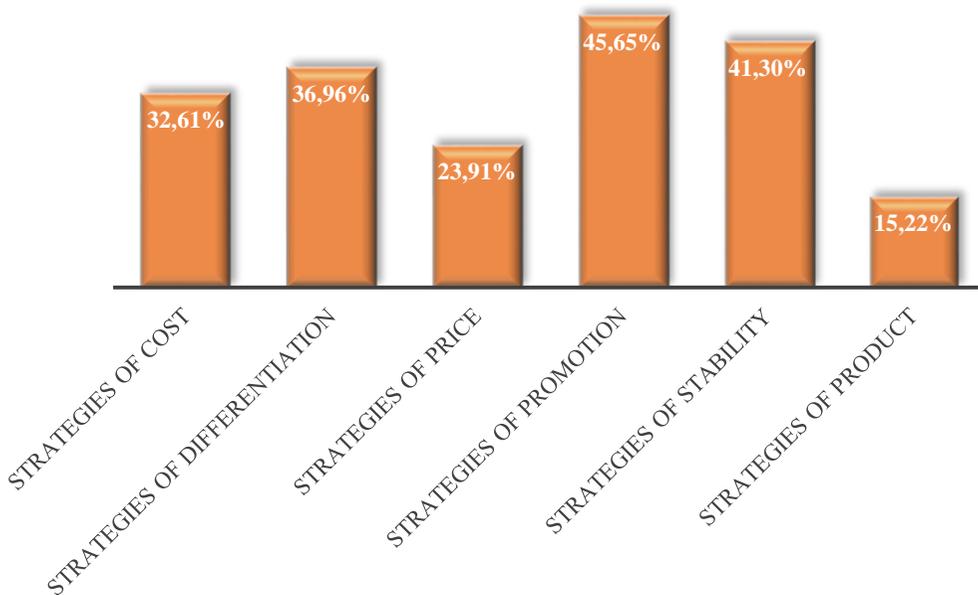
sector despite the economic situation. Marked by economic crisis, companies in all sectors have implemented strategies of cost; leading companies within the courier services sector have adopted special strategies of differentiation, although the beginning of the economic crisis (2008-2009) meant pressure on reducing tariffs for services rendered. If during 2008-2009, customers were very sensitive in terms of delivery courier services tariffs, the emergence of additional services, the increase in customers' needs to receive packages ordered online made the courier company managers focus on strategy differentiation, offering companies a competitive advantage (table 7). It is noted that courier companies have opted for strategies of promotion (45.65%), stability-strategies (41.30%) and differentiation strategies (36.96%), which shows the concern of managers in the sector to gain a bigger market share and seeking additional solutions and services that meet customer demands and needs.

**Table 7. Courier suppliers adopting strategies of cost and strategies of differentiation**

Adopted strategy	Respondents	Percentage
Strategy of cost	8	17.4%
Strategy of differentiation	38	82.6%
Total	46	100.0%

Source: Authors' representation

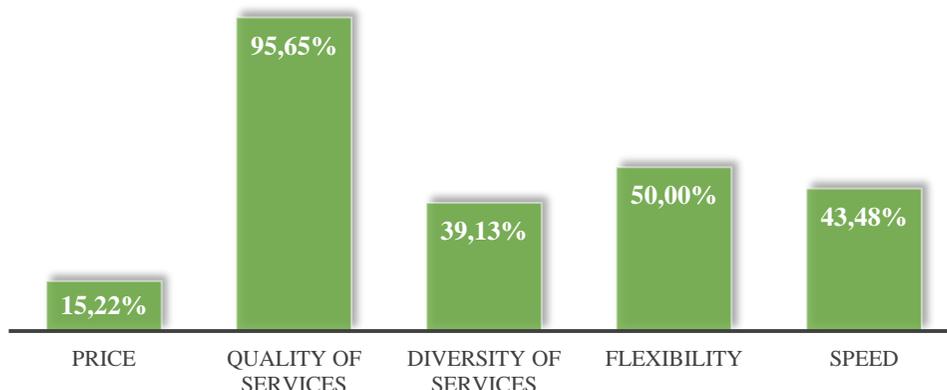
**Chart 6. Strategies selected by courier companies during 2014-2015**



Source: Authors' representation

As regards the options of differentiation, it can be noticed that the most important element of differentiation companies opted for is the quality of services while reducing prices is no longer regarded as a solution to increase market share and attract new customers (chart 7).

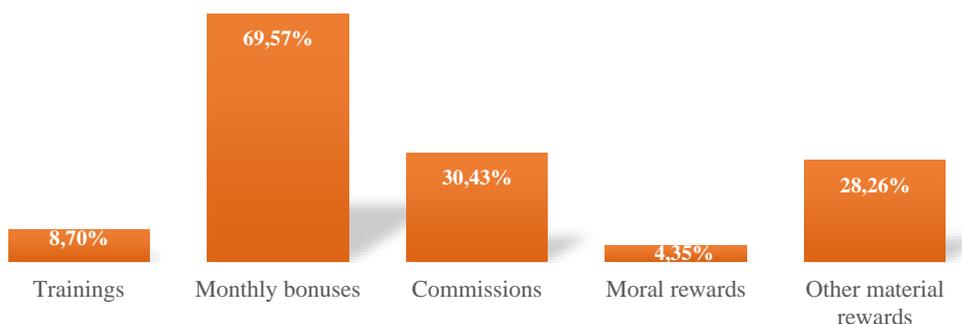
Chart 7. Differentiation options adopted by courier companies



Source: Authors' representation

Analysing chart 7 we can notice that in this sector grown to maturity, differentiation is made especially by services quality. Social efficiency, determined as the difference between the level of service that consumers expect and that offered by providers of courier delivery companies represents a competitive advantage for managers that differentiates competitors in the sector. Thus, we also checked and validated the third hypothesis H3: *If adopted a growth strategy then courier operators are keen to develop the subcontractors and adopting strategies to enhance the quality of services delivery.* As regards human resources, courier companies use effective ways of reward: thus, monthly bonuses are mentioned by 69.7% of respondents, while commissions are used by 30.43%. These arrangements are primarily used to reward employees in operational and sales departments, but also for subcontractors. 8.70% of respondents believe that the trainings are a good way to reward employees, especially in large companies, which consider it necessary to employ qualified, specialized labour force and which possess the financial strength to allow this (chart 8).

Chart 8. Options to reward employees in courier companies



Source: Authors' representation

We formulated hypothesis H4 according to which *reducing prices is not seen as a viable long-term sales growth solution* starting from pricing strategies adopted by courier companies. For question Q22. *What do you think about the reduction of tariffs as a solution to increase sales?* we used the Likert scale which measures respondents' assessments on the information. Their score is -0.5 which shows that lower prices (although a means of attracting new customers) have not been considered as the most effective solution, as one may notice in table 8 which shows that 28.3 % of respondents believe this. It is the case of companies that have adopted very low tariffs but have not efficiently managed their activity; lack of experience led to their bankruptcy. Reducing prices is certainly a way of attracting new customers, however their reduction below the minimum threshold may lower the quality of services and lead to the loss of major customers.

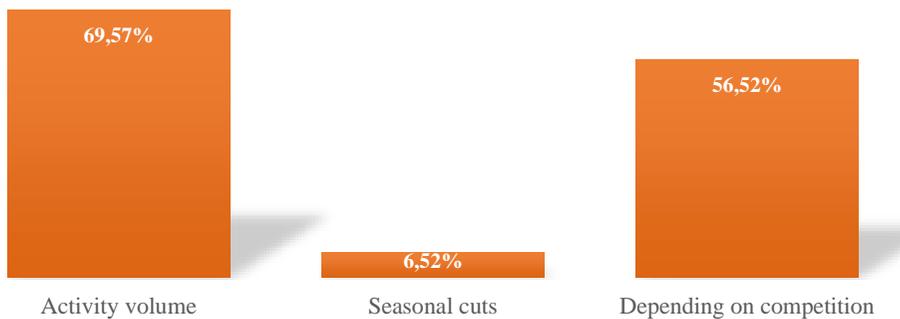
**Table 8. Reducing tariffs as a solution to increase sales**

Options	Respondents	Percentage (%)
Total agreement	7	15.2
Agreement	4	8.7
Indifferent	8	17.4
Disagreement	13	28.3
Total disagreement	14	30.4

Source: Authors' representation

Companies within this sector offer massive price discounts to strategic customers which provide a large amount of shipments. The trend of recent years is to provide a comprehensive range of services, additional services to satisfy customer needs and objectives. Paradoxically, as regards question Q23 *What are the most common methods of reducing tariffs?*, 69.57% of respondents believe that the most frequent tariffs reductions occur when consumers use courier service daily and depending on the volume of deliveries.

**Chart 9. Reasons to reduce tariffs**



Source: Authors' representation

The perception of the personnel employed in this sector on tariff cuts as a solution to increase sales is related to the quality of service delivery. Reducing prices can be a solution to attract customers, but it should be tailored to the needs and requirements of customers, providing additional services to meet these needs. The permanent search of

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companies to attract new customers is therefore rather oriented towards increasing quality services than on reducing tariffs. Our researches have indicated that some tariff reductions might prove unsustainable in the long run. This statement builds on several directions: (1) missing a special focus on the quality of services delivery one cannot uphold the customer interest for the service provided regardless of its lower rate, (2) the supplier of courier services cannot cover costs, on medium and long term, due to reduced tariffs and (3) the delivery is sensitive to any change in external factors, and the perception is that tariff cuts could lead to a reduction in the quality of services provided. However, at question Q24 *What are the most effective promotions?*, respondents caveat that both discounts and offering free additional services represent effective promotions (Table 9).

**Table 9. Most effective promotions**

Options	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Price reductions	22	47.8
Free additional services	23	50.0
Promotions offered through diverse activities	13	28.3

Source: Authors' representation

Thus, we also checked and validated the fourth hypothesis according to which reduction of tariffs is not seen as a viable long-term solution for sales increase. This shows that assessments are turning to the quality of service, how it is rendered, customers being willing to pay more for a quality service.

To verify the fifth hypothesis according to which *courier services industry growth is a factor in the increase in economic activity* we examined several questions from the questionnaire addressed to managers of SMEs in the region. This questionnaire was sent to more than 80 managers; however the feedback was of only 25 respondents. The most effective method was the interview.

We started our analysis from the general assumption that businesses shared on the quality of service delivery. Of the 25 respondents, 56% believe that courier services as very good and excellent while only 8% of respondents believe that courier services are at a satisfactory level (Table 10).

**Table 10. Quality of courier services**

Options	Respondents	Percentage (%)
Unsatisfactory	0	0.0
Satisfactory	2	8.0
Good	9	36.0
Very good	8	32.0
Excellent	6	24.0
Total	25	100.0

Source: Authors' representation

In terms of price per quality ratio for service delivery, 64% of respondents felt that it is positioned at a good level but it can be said that there is still room for improvement and increase in service quality. Question Q12. "How do you appreciate the qualities of staff you had contact with?" in order to consider the options respondents have we used the

semantic differential on the following types of assessments: patient, enthusiastic, attentive and responsive. It can be seen that what clients mostly appreciated as regards the quality attached to the provider personnel of courier companies was staff receptiveness with an average score of 4.16; however other factors have positive scores as well located close to the average 4 which shows customer appreciation of the provider personnel (Table 11).

**Table 11. Personnel qualities according to customers' perception**

Quality	Number of respondents	Minimum value	Maximum value	Average score	Standard deviation	Variance
Patient	25	3.00	5.00	3.9200	.81240	.660
Enthusiastic	25	3.00	5.00	4.1200	.78102	.610
Attentive	25	2.00	5.00	3.8400	.98658	.973
Responsive	25	2.00	5.00	4.1600	.89815	.807

**Source:** Authors' representation

For a courier company it becomes important to identify customer needs regarding the use of courier services. To analyse the answers to question Q14 "Specify which of the following issues are important to you" we also used the semantic differential by giving grades from 1 to 5 as follows: 1-unsatisfactory 2-satisfactory, 3-good, 4-very good and 5-excellent. Thus, from the five criteria the respondents considered that the safety of expeditions is the most important aspect of courier services delivery (table 12).

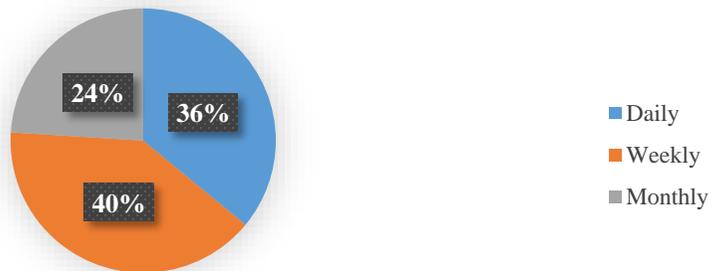
**Table 12. Most important aspects in courier services delivery**

Qualities	Speed in parcels delivery	Safety of expeditions	Price	Staff kindness	Environment of service delivery
Average value	4.08	4.28	3.76	3.68	3.72

**Source:** Authors' representation

Following our research, we sought to identify the frequency in the use of courier services. We observed that 76% of companies represented in the sample use courier services daily or weekly (Chart 10).

**Chart 10. Frequency in the use of courier services**



**Source:** Authors' representation

In conclusion, we also checked and validated the fifth hypothesis H5 according to which *the development of courier services was a factor in the increase in the overall economic activity closely related to other sectors*, used both in online trading, by retailers, the companies in the banking sector or pharmacy chains etc.

**Factor analysis and identifying policy options for courier operators in Romania**

Within the next stage of research we intended to verify whether hypothesis was valid: H6 There is a set of preferred policy options aimed at increasing and developing courier operators. To check the sixth hypothesis we used advanced statistical methods such as factor analysis to analyse the data collected through the first questionnaire. We selected 7 items from the questionnaire on which we built seven variables as detailed in Table 13.

**Table 13. Building variables through questionnaire items**

	<b>Questionnaire items</b>	<b>Variable launched</b>
1	Q8.a Which are the most important decisions adopted during the period 2009-2015? (Lower prices 0=no, 1=yes)	Lower prices
2	Q8.b Which are the most important decisions adopted during the period 2009-2015? (Investments in IT equipment and Logistics 0=no, 1=yes)	Investments in IT equipment and Logistics
3	Q8.c Which are the most important decisions adopted during the period 2009-2015? (Development of new additional services 0=no, 1=yes)	Development of new additional services
4	Q8.d Which are the most important decisions adopted during the period 2009-2015? (Improving channels of promotion and company image 0=no, 1=yes)	Improving channels of promotion and company image
5	Q13.a Provided that the dynamics of successful delivery percentage of parcels of online orders increased, to what is this increase due? (Investments in performing equipment 0=no, 1=yes)	Investments in performing equipment
6	Q13.b Provided that the dynamics of successful delivery percentage of parcels of online orders increased, to what is this increase due? (Effective work procedures 0=no, 1=yes)	Effective work procedures
7	Q13.c Provided that the dynamics of successful delivery percentage of parcels of online orders increased, to what is this increase due? (Informing the consumer 0=no, 1=yes)	Informing the consumer

**Source:** Authors' representation

Factor analysis correlates the values from respondents' answers to the selected questionnaire items and statistically models a panel of the respondents' perceptions to the strategic choices that they have implemented in recent years of activity (2009-2015). After entering data into SPSS we proceeded to their analysis, the program calculating the correlation values of the seven variables. Following this correlation three factors (called principal components) were extracted whose value of explaining variables variation occurs in the fifth column of Table 14.

**Table 14. Analysis of correlations among variables and principal components extraction (Total explained variance)\***

Components	Initial factors Eigenvalue			Sum of squares of loading coefficients			Rotated sum of loading coefficients		
	Total	% of variance	% Cumulated	Total	% of variance	% Cumulated	Total	% of variance	% Cumulated
1	1.740	24.859	24.859	1.740	24.859	24.859	1.560	22.282	22.282
2	1.404	20.053	44.912	1.404	20.053	44.912	1.423	20.335	42.617
3	1.083	15.471	60.382	1.083	15.471	60.382	1.244	17.765	60.382
4	.977	13.954	74.337						
5	.771	11.018	85.355						
6	.615	8.789	94.144						
7	.410	5.856	100.000						

\*Extraction method: Analysis of Principal Components within variables structure.

**Source:** Authors' representation

The program has operated an orthogonal rotation of the main components resulting the situation rendered in table 14. After highlighting the variables grouping within each factor, they were detailed depending on the composing variables. Thus, the following situation emerged: under the first factor we called "measures to increase market share and attract new strategic customers" the largest share was accounted to "lower prices" (0.798), followed by "investment in advanced equipment" (0.766) and "improving channels of promotion and company image" (0.544). The second factor we entitled "measures to increase operational capacity" is saturated with two variables "investments in IT equipment and Logistics" (0.794) and "efficient work procedures" (0.757). In the third factor, which we entitled "measures to increase social efficiency", the largest share was occupied by the variable "development of additional services" (0.781) followed by the "consumer information" variable (0.668).

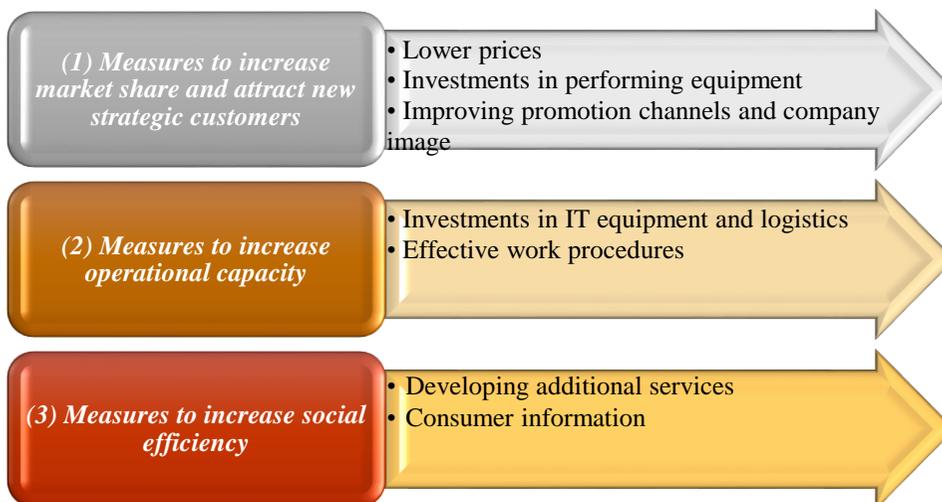
**Table 14. Rotated components matrix\***

	Components		
	1	2	3
Lower prices	798	-119	-009
Investments in performing equipment	766	322	-024
Improving channels of promotion and company image	544	-095	296
Investments in IT equipment and logistics	-020	794	-155
Effective work procedures	036	757	273
Developing additional services	-064	272	781
Better consumer information	187	-138	668

\* Extraction method: Analysis of Principal Components within variables structure. Orthogonal rotation method: Varimax through Kaiser normalisation.

**Source:** Authors' representation

Strategies adopted by courier companies aimed at increasing market share, as well as at increasing the operational capacity of companies in this area and increasing social efficiency (Figure 1).



**Figure 1. Hierarchy and loading of determining factors for variance\***

*\*Values obtained following factor analysis.*

**Source:** Authors' representation

### Data analysis and discussion

The three factors explain the extent of 60.38% from the variation of the seven selected variables and lay the foundation of policy options for questionnaire respondents (managers, subcontractors and employed staff of courier operators) as appropriate upward evolution for courier service providers. Factor analysis allowed us to identify the type of decisions preferred and to outline a profile of growth and development with policy options that might be implemented by Romanian courier services providers' management. Decision makers within courier companies, Senior Management Team (SMT) have pursued post-crisis recovery, growth and development of courier companies through three types of measures: (1) Firstly, measures to increase market share and attract new strategic customers. This was based on the following strategic decisions: (a) Reducing prices (especially for strategic customers), (b) Investment in equipment performance (scanner, printer, POS used by couriers) and (c) Improving ways of promotion and image of the company (investment in promotion through various advertising channels); (2) Secondly, measures to increase the operational capacity. This category subsumes the following policy options: (a) Investment in IT equipment and logistics (operational capacity: advanced software systems, GPS systems, tracking systems, and routing systems to streamline daily work for couriers), (b) Procedures for effective work (introduction of performance indicators in line with company standards and customer requirements: 1. indicator I1 measures the percentage in out for delivery shipments within 24 hours and should be as close to 100% as possible, 2. indicator I2 measures the ratio between the number of deliveries performed successfully and total deliveries number for a courier and should be as close to 1 as possible, and 3. indicator I3 measures the percentage of successful delivery within 24h of shipments belonging to the same client); (3) Measures to increase social efficiency. This is a category of strategic measures more intensively used by local managers for positive results. Social efficiency is the difference between consumer expectations and service quality one actually enjoyed. These options have been

valued using the following management strategies: (a) Development of additional services based on customer satisfaction in relation to services expected (i.e. cash on delivery services, payment services using POS) (b) Consumer information (i.e. customer alert services via SMS, email notifications on shipment stage - sending/delivery).

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## ORIGINAL PAPER

# From “brain drain” to “brain gain”. Where does Romania stand?

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### **Abstract**

The article starts from the definition of "brain gain" and "brain drain" and the effects of this transfer of highly qualified human resources from less prosperous countries, to the more developed countries. Afterwards, it is presented the current "brain drain-brain gain" phenomenon, aiming at highlighting the highly skilled migration flows and statistical data from the OECD and European Union member states. The last part of the article highlights the situation in Romania, showing the evolution and consequences of the "brain drain" by using the inquiry investigation technique, based on the questionnaire, applied to 250 of inhabitants of Craiova, thus aiming to analyse the perception on the brain drain phenomenon.

**Keywords:** *brain drain, brain gain, OECD and UE countries, Romania, statistical data, sociological research*

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## From “brain drain” to “brain gain”. Where does Romania stand?

### ”Brain drain” and ”brain gain”. A theoretical perspective

Migration can be defined as a mass movement of the population from one territory to another, as a result of certain factors of a different nature: economics, social, political and natural issues (The Romanian Academy, 2009: 624). People migrate for various reasons, but the focus of this study is on the highly skilled people, with a university background. That is *brain migration*, also known as *brain drain* in the specialized literature.

The British Royal Society initiated the syntagm of ”brain drain”, by referring to the migration of scientists and technology experts in the 1950’s and 1960’s, from the Great Britain to the United States of America and Canada (Cervantes and Guellec, 2002 apud. Gibson and McKenzie, 2011: 3). In 1969, ”Brain migration” was described by the UNESCO as „an abnormal form of scientific exchange between countries, characterized by a one-way flow in favour of the most highly developed countries” (UNESCO, 1969 apud. Kaemf and Singh, 1987: 2). Beine, Docquier and Rapoport see ”brain drain” or ”brain migration” as ”an international transfer of human capital, especially in the sense of highly qualified people migrating from less prosperous countries to more prosperous states” (Beine, Docquier and Rapoport, 1998: 631–652). In the Oxford Dictionary ”brain drain” is defined as ”the emigration of highly trained or qualified people from a particular country” (Oxford Dictionary). Rapoport and Docquier notice that, in the *New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics*, ”brain drain” is most frequently used to describe ”the migration of engineers, physicists, scientists and other professionals who have high qualifications and university training” (Docquie and Rapoport, 2007 apud. Gibson and McKenzie, 2011: 3).

On the other hand, for the countries which receive this incoming labour force, the phenomenon is called ”brain gain” and thus, these states use the immigrants’ qualifications to develop certain sectors, with no significant investments in training and qualification. The gain of the countries of origin consists of the remittance the migrants send to the people left behind, and possibly the transfer of knowledge and the creation of scientific networks. The losses of the country of origin lie in the educational expenses incurred by the training of the human resource and the departure of the highly qualified people from the system (Schellinger, 2015: 5-6).

### Sociological theories that are relevant to the field of brain drain

The migration theories analyse the evolution of the migration phenomenon from various perspectives, including aspects such as: causes, effects, characteristics, factors etc. Relevant theories include those put forward by E.G. Ravenstein, Samuel A. Stouffer, Everett S. Lee, the theory of neoclassical economics, the theory of the new economics of migration, the theory of the dual and segmented labour market, the dependency theory, the migration network theory, the systemic theory. Whilst all of these theories are important, the most relevant ones for the field of brain migration are the *dependency theory* and *the (world) system theory*. On the other hand, *the theory of the dual and segmented labour market* is the one which most clearly explains the high level of international migration in the secondary sector, as compared to the migration in the primary sector (the brain migration).

*The theory of dependence* has played an important part in the evolution of the concept of migration ”by imposing a shift of perspective, and by generating the theory of

the world system, with strong emphasis on the macrostructural aspects which lead to the development of the migrants' flows" (Constantinescu, 2002: 102).

The idea behind the dependency theory is that the global order reflects a domination on the part of the industrialised capitalist countries as compared to the under-developed or developing societies. This theory revealed the fact that " the under-developed countries have always been a source of raw materials, inexpensive workforce and a marketplace for the developed countries – which have been constantly interested in avoiding competition in an extremely competitive era. Thus, the third-world countries became economically dependent upon exports, they are forced to obtain substantial financial support from abroad, they shelter transnational companies, and they become ever less capable of exerting control over their own economies, as well as their own youth, who become fascinated with the metropolises and educational systems in the Western world, and who can benefit from higher training in the Western capitalist countries" (Otovescu, 2008: 115).

Emigration from the poor countries to the rich ones has always been of interest and has provided relevant information regarding the relation between these two categories of states. In the developed countries, the issue of "brain-drain" has been a topic of research in the field of the dependency theory " in the context of the examination of the losses in the under-developed societies in relation to those states which are economically and socially developed" (Otovescu, 2008: 115)

*The world-system theory* is approached by a series of researchers, the most representative of whom is Immanuel Wallerstein, who examined the relation between the developed countries and the less developed ones, and concluded that the latter have fewer opportunities to reach the same level as the developed societies. This is due, on one hand, to the considerable difference between them, and, on the other hand, to the structure of the dependent economies. They are useful to the strong societies, which are in constant search for inexpensive raw materials and workforce and safe marketplaces. According to Wallerstein, the current polarisation of the world system originates in the difference between the "peripheral" areas, in which there has been an accumulation, and the "central" areas, which have become the home of capitalism. It also showed that the world system dependency consists of three parts: the centre, the semi-peripheral areas and the peripheral ones (Wallerstein, 1994).

"International migration has integrated permanent, growing flows between peripheral and semi-peripheral areas to the societies in the centre of the world system. Many people have departed from the traditional yet poor community, full of diseases and misery, to migrate in search of a better life in the city, and, later on, to the countries in the centre of the world economy" (Wallerstein, 1994).

*The theory of the dual and segmented labour market* explains international migration from the perspective of the destination country, whilst ignoring the determining factor in the country of origin. This theory, represented by *Michael J. Piore*, Lang and Dickens is based upon the idea that the international migration of the workforce is related to the course of the developed economies in the capitalist societies, to the opportunities in those states. The theory divides the labour force market into two sectors: the primary sector and the secondary sector (Otovescu, 2008: 113). In the description of the theory of the dual and segmented labour market " the *primary sector* is mainly characterised by stable jobs, decent work conditions, generous benefits and the possibility of promotion, whereas the *secondary sector* is characterised by instable, under-qualified jobs, hard or dangerous work conditions and low possibility of promotion" (Constantinescu, 2002:

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100). Thus, this theory explains the fact that, in the receiving countries, in today's society of women's emancipation and higher education available to an increasing number of people, the jobs in the secondary sector (instable, under-qualified and in hard work conditions) are no longer attractive to the locals, which makes these jobs available to migrants. From the perspective of this theory, brain drain is related to the availability of jobs in the primary sector, and it is less intense in relation to the migration of the labour force in the secondary sector.

### **The evolution of the “brain drain” phenomenon at international level**

Globalization has begun to emerge as a new world order, unleashing profound social transformation (Niță, 2014: 18), with “progress of top technique” and economic competition (Ilie, 2014: 240), so, in this context, migration was able to “develop and improve social and economic conditions, or, perpetuate stagnation and inequality” (Porumbescu, 2015:166). In absolute values, the migration rate for highly qualified people has increased, owing, on one hand, to a higher level of education in the countries of origin, and, on the other hand, to better infrastructure, to improved transportation and to the development of international organizations and state connections.

Within the doctrine, the “brain-drain” term is used in parallel to that of “brain-gain”, which makes the residents of a particular country improve their level of qualification, due to the risk of importing highly qualified people (Gibson and McKenzie, 2011: 10).

Between 1960 and 2010, the international migrant stock has gone from 74 million to 188 million. However, given the increase of the world's population, this increase of the migration rate was merely from 2.7% to 2.8% (UNDP, 2009 apud. Gibson and McKenzie, 2011: 7). On the other hand, following an analysis of the migration of the people with third level education in 6 OECD states, Cecily Defoort concluded that, between 1975 and 2000, it increased fourfold (Defoort, 2008: 285-318).

The migration rate for the states in the OECD has increased substantially over the past 10 years (UNDESA, 2013). An analysis of the migration rate of people with higher education – the proportion of residents with higher education who live in an OECD member state – reveals the fact that low-income countries are inversely affected by “brain drain”. In some parts of the Sub-Saharan African region and in Central America, sometimes half of those having graduated from higher education migrate to OECD member states, with serious consequences to critical sectors, such as education, health and engineering (OECD, 2016).

Most often, migration displays some rather controversial elements. For instance, an emigrant who is qualified in one field of activity in the country of origin may not have the chance to exercise their profession in the host country and will therefore be forced to turn to another sector.

The developing countries could benefit from this “brain drain”, should the countries of origin and the countries of destination sign treaties to encourage “the repatriation of knowledge and skills” (brain circulation). The diaspora networks play an essential part, such as in the case of the Indian migrants who started some companies and returned to their country of origin (OECD, 2016).

Within the European Union, migration tends to be permanent, from poor to rich countries, leading to a massive reduction of the qualified labour force in the countries of origin, whereas in the countries of destination the number of qualified people in on the

rise. Since the year 2000, the European states have witnessed the highest migration rate, for instance 8.3% in Romania (UNDESA, 2013: 4).

As for the educational level of the emigrants, one third of them, aged less than 15, have got no higher education, mostly because the majority of the jobs on offer, available to the migrants are not in the primary sector (UNDESA, 2013: 5).

In 2010-2011, the number of the emigrants with higher education, originating in the OECD states was 31 million, 13 million more than in 2000-2001. As compared to 2000-2011, in 2010-2011 there can be noticed an increase of the number of emigrants with higher education, originating in the following areas: Asia and Oceania, the European states which were not members of the OECD and Central Asia, the Middle East and North Africa, the OECD, Latin America and the Caribbean, Sub-Saharan Africa (OECD, 2015: 26). The number of the highly qualified emigrants originating from Asia and Oceania in 2010-2011 was 8.3 million, in the European states which were not members of the OECD, in Central Asia, in Latin America and in the Caribbean, the number of emigrants with third level education went to 3.9 million, respectively 3.8 million. The most significant increase of the number of highly qualified emigrants was in the Sub-Saharan African region. This number almost doubled as compared to the rate of 940.000 in 2000-2001 (OECD, 2015: 25-26).

In 2000/01 – 2010/11 in the OECD member states, the top five countries with highly qualified emigrants stayed the same, and in 2010/11, it consisted of India (2.2 million), the Philippines (1.5 million), China (1.5 million), the United Kingdom (1.5 million) and Germany (1.2 million) (OECD, 2015: 25-26).

In 2010/11 Romania was among the states which saw the number of emigrants with higher education increase at a significant rate: 108%. besides Romania, there are also some other countries with impressive migration rates: Brasil (105%), Poland (114%), Columbia (116%) and Pakistan and India (123%) (OECD, 2015: 26-27).

It is also worth noting the fact that 46% of the total number of emigrants originating from Asia and Oceania had higher education.

Regarding the gender of the highly qualified emigrants, in 2010/11 there were more than 16 million women (whereas in 2000/01 there were 9 million less), as compared to the number of men: 15 million as compared to the 9 million registered in 2000/01 (OECD, 2015: 29).

In 2010/11, the favourite countries of destination for the highly qualified emigrants were the United States of America, the United Kingdom and Canada, these three countries hosting 62% of these emigrants (OECD, 2015: 29).

Over the past few years, an important element of the international migration and of the ever-growing phenomenon of "brain-drain" was the students' migration. In 2012 at the level of the OECD states there were 2.7 million international students, more than in 2008, when there were merely 2.2 million students studying abroad (OECD, 2015: 29-30).

### **The evolution of "brain drain" and "brain gain" in Romania**

In Romania, this *brain migration* phenomenon has become increasingly important after the year 2007, upon admission to the European Union. The main reason was the fact that it is easier to leave the country to make a better living in the Western countries. This phenomenon cannot be analysed in terms of "good" or "bad", due to the fact that, from a migrant's perspective, this decision is good for them, but bad for the country. The main reason for the negative impact of migration upon our society is the fact

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that the elite will no longer stay home, in Romania, which will lead to a shortage of scientists in various fields such as medicine or the IT industry. In our view, this phenomenon should be reduced as much as possible, because it can obviously not be stopped.

An analysis of the Romanian residents, based upon the statistical data provided by the National Statistics Institute, reveals a considerable change between 2002 (21.723.710 inhabitants) and 2013 (20.020.074 inhabitants), namely a difference of approximately 1.7 million inhabitants (approximately 9%) (NIS, 2014: 5). It can be noticed the fact that, following Romania's admission to the European Union, between 2007 and 2008, the number of Romanian residents decreased by approximately 500.000 (2%) (NIS, 2014: 5).

If we take into consideration various sets of information from several databases (the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the World Bank, 2011; the International Organization of Migration, 2008; Ilie, 2014: 66) it is correct to give an estimate figure of 3 million Romanian residents left to live abroad over the past 27 years.

Nevertheless, the data of the national census in 2011 revealed a number of 1.113.269 Romanian emigrants, 727.540 of whom had been gone abroad for more than 12 months and 385.729 temporary emigrants (NIS, 2012).

According to the National Statistics Institute, the main category of Romanian emigrants consists of people aged between 25 and 64 years old, both in 2002 and in 2012. The second category consists of people aged between 15 and 24 years old, being the second proportion both in 2002 and in 2012 (NIS, 2014: 13).

At the same time, Romania is affected by population ageing. In 2010 the average age was 38.3 years old, whereas in the European Union the average was 40.9 years old. Under the current circumstances, by 2060, Romania will come second in Europe, when referring to population ageing, the demographic dependency ratio reaching a level of 64.8%. Therefore our country will have to adopt a set of measures to prevent the migration of young people towards the Western countries and to facilitate the increase of the birth rate.

Holland and his collaborators, in their study “Labour mobility within the EU - The impact of enlargement and the functioning of the transitional Arrangements” in 2011, estimated that, for the time period between 2004 and 2009 the highest country leaving rate was in Romania (7.3%), as compared to the net rates of EU-2 and EU-8. (Holland et. al, 2011; 252).

In a report entitled “Social Affairs and Inclusion, Employment and Social Developments in Europe. 2011” it is mentioned the fact that Romania has the highest mobility rate, of over 11%, even including the 7-year period (between 2004 and 2011), when the mobility rate was 6% (European Commission. DGE, 2011: 253).

In 2010/11 Romania was among the states with the highest rates of emigration towards the OECD member states, many of these emigrants having benefitted from higher education. Thus, in 2000/01 there were 268.200 highly qualified emigrants, whereas in 2010/11 there were 557.100 emigrants, which adds up to a 108% increase. The emigration rate of the highly qualified people was 16% in 2000/01 and 21% in 2010/11 (OECD, 2015: 26-27).

Regarding Romania's status as a destination country for the highly qualified emigrants, the UN 2013 report highlighted a surprising situation. Thus, it showed that, by 2010-2011, Romania received 109.000 highly qualified emigrants, most of whom originated in Asia and Africa. Apparently, the number of highly qualified people who

have left the country by 2011 was less than 10% of the highly qualified Romanian citizens (UNDESA, 2013).

The Western countries are fully aware of the advantages of employing young people from less developed countries. The people chosen for being employed are often excellent in their respective fields of study. The advantages of the Western countries consist of the fact that the immigrants are often paid less, they do not require expensive training, and the employing companies attract highly qualified people, thus contributing to the development of the host country.

In a paper published in 2011, entitled "Al patrulea Val. Migrația Creierelor pe ruta Romania-Occident" ("The Fourth Wave. Brain drain on the route Romania- the countries of the West", the authors notice the fact that the tendency of "brain migration" from Romania is oriented towards the well developed countries such as: the United States of America, Great Britain, Germany and France. These countries are the first four choices of Romanians (Alexe et. al, 2011: 9).

The migration of the Romanian citizens, whether or not they have higher education, has led to serious problems in Romania. In the long run, the social and economic effects of this mass migration are negative: population decline as a result of a deteriorated age structure of the population; faster population ageing due to the fact that the second-generation migrants, the offspring of the current migrants, choose to live abroad because they have studied there; many divorces; low level of remittances due to ever less frequent contact with the family members left behind, and because of the frequent instances of entire families deciding to move abroad (Ilie, 2014: 65-66); a loss of the money invested in training the young people who decide to emigrate; increasing community and regional discrepancies throughout the Romanian territory, as poor villages and counties become even poorer than those which have benefited from the money the migrants have sent home (Sandu, 2010).

In terms of the direct effects that migration has upon the Romanian labour force, there can be mentioned: a deficit of labour force; a diminishing number of tax payers; returning emigrants employed illegally or informally; strong pressure upon the national retirement system ("It is estimated that the proportion of the people aged at least 65 will double from 15% to 30% by the year 2060 and that the number of working people will diminish by 30%, thus leading to strong pressure upon the national retirement system, medical services and long-term healthcare") (MLFSPE, 2015: 3); pressure upon the medical services (in 2008, the density of doctors for 10.000 inhabitants was 19 and 25 in 2011, as compared to 33 in the EU); fields of activity which are seriously damaged by the massive migration of the labour force, such as healthcare, education or research (Ilie, 2014: 65-66), both in terms of efficiency and of personnel.

In Romania, one of the sectors seriously affected by the brain drain in healthcare. Out of the 50.000 doctors who are currently (in the year 2010) working in Romania, approximately 2000 migrate each year to the Western countries. In March 2016, in an interview for DC News, the President of the Romanian College of Physicians, Gheorghe Borcean said that 14.000 Romanian doctors have chosen to move to the Western countries over the past 15 years, which means that 2 or 3 doctors leave the country every day.

Another issue which is in close connection to brain drain is the fact that many young people go abroad to pursue their university studies. According to the existing statistical data, almost 40% of them no longer consider returning to their country of origin in order to exercise their profession (Digi24, 2015). In the line of the efforts Romania is making to diminish the risk of Romanian graduates staying abroad, it is worth mentioning

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the SMART Diaspora project, initiated in 2014 by the League of Romanian Students Abroad (LRSA). “Strategia Multidimensională de Atragere în România a Tinerilor din Diaspora” (SMART Diaspora = the multidimensional strategy of attracting diaspora students back to Romania) is a public political proposition aiming at valuing the strategic potential of the highly qualified young people who have studied abroad and at facilitating their contribution to Romania's economical and social development” (LRSA, 2014). Here are some of the propositions in the SMART Diaspora project: “Financial facilities offered upon (re)settlement in Romania, such as fiscal deductions over a given amount of time; “fellowship” and “internship” programmes conducted in state institutions; “online” recruiting for those candidates to official positions who are abroad; a more dynamic process of the recognition of degrees and diplomas awarded abroad, etc”(LRSA, 2014).

In spite of the obviously negative aspects of migration, in general terms, and of brain drain in particular, the Romanian Government seems to be unaware of these aspects, as it has yet failed to implement any public policy in order to reduce the migration phenomenon.

### **The opinion of the people in Craiova regarding the phenomenon of “brain-drain”**

This section presents the results of a field research, meant to see how the people in Craiova feel about the phenomenon of “brain-drain”. The research was conducted by means of the inquiry method by using a questionnaire. The lot of inquired people consisted of 250 inhabitants of the city of Craiova. The data were collected in the spring of 2016.

The working hypothesis was the fact that the low salaries and the shortage of employment opportunities are the main reasons for the migration of the highly qualified people in our country. Therefore, the first objective of our research was the identification of the reasons which lead to the increase of the number of emigrants among those who have graduated from an institution of higher education.

The second hypothesis was the fact that the brain drain has some rather negative effects upon the national economy, the most obvious of which being the fact that it deprives the Romanian society of highly qualified specialists. Under these circumstances, we wanted to identify how the people in Craiova perceive the effects of brain drain upon our society.

Starting from the dependency and systemic theories, we expressed the hypothesis that most of the highly qualified migrants in Romania (which is a developing state) tend to emigrate to the developed countries. This led to another objective, namely to identify the opinion of the people in Craiova related to the countries that these highly qualified migrants choose as their destination.

The same theories mentioned above led us to express the hypothesis according to which most of the highly qualified migrants who come to Romania (which is a developing state) originate in under-developed countries. Therefore, the fourth objective of our research was to identify the perception of the people in Craiova regarding the phenomenon of “brain gain”, namely to identify the states of origin of the immigrants who come to Romania after having graduated from an institution of higher education.

Another working hypothesis was expressed, based upon the theory of the dual and segmented labour market. It inferred that the phenomenon of “brain drain” is less significant than the migration of the people who search for jobs in the secondary sector. Thus, another objective of our research was to identify the opinion of the people in Craiova regarding the difference in numbers between migration in the primary sector (brain drain),

and migration in the secondary sector (jobs which are instable, under-qualified and in hard work conditions).

The sixth working hypothesis was the idea that the field of activity which is the most seriously affected by the phenomenon of brain-drain is healthcare. Therefore, the sixth related objective of our research was to identify the opinion of the people involved in the inquiry regarding that field of the national economy which is the most seriously affected by the migration of highly qualified Romanian graduates.

**Table 1. Based on your own knowledge, in which sector of the international labour market do Romanian emigrants work?**

Choices	Percentage
<i>The primary sector</i> (basically characterised by stable jobs, decent work conditions, generous benefits and the possibility of promotion)	7.6%
<i>The secondary sector</i> (instable, under-qualified jobs, hard or difficult work conditions and low possibility of promotion)	90.8%
DK/DA (Don't know/ Don't answer)	1.6%
Total	100%

**Source:** Data collected from authors field research conducted between 5th to 20th of April, 2016

When asked in which sector of the international labour market Romanian emigrants work, 90.8% of the people in Craiova mentioned the secondary sector (instable, under-qualified jobs, hard or difficult work conditions and low possibility of promotion), whereas only 7.6% of the respondents chose the answer according to which the Romanian emigrants can find a job in the primary sector, basically characterised by stable jobs, decent work conditions, generous benefits and the possibility of promotion.

**Table 2. Based on your own knowledge, to what extent is "brain-drain" a serious reality of our society?**

Choices	Percentage
To a very high extent	9.6%
To a high extent	65.6%
To an average extent	14.4%
To a small extent	4.8%
To a very small extent	4%
DK (Don't know)	1.6%
Total	100%

**Source:** Data collected from authors field research conducted between 5th to 20th of April, 2016

When asked to what extent brain-drain is a serious reality in our country, most respondents (65.6%) chose the answer according to which "brain-drain" is a serious problem to a high extent, 9.6% chose the answer "to a very high extent", whereas 14.4% of the interviewed people answered that "brain-drain" is serious to an average extent. A mere 6.6% of the interviewed people mentioned that in Romania the phenomenon of "brain-drain" is serious to a small extent (4.8%) and to a very small extent (4%).

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**Table 3. What impact do you think ”brain-drain” has on Romanian society?**

Choices	Percentage
A negative impact	72.8%
Both positive and negative impacts	17.6%
A positive impact	6.4%
DK (Don't know)	3.2%
Total	100%

**Source:** Data collected from authors field research conducted between 5th to 20th of April, 2016

Regarding the impact of brain-drain upon the Romanian society, 72.8% of the respondents considered that the impact is ”negative” and 17.6% expressed an opinion according to which the phenomenon has both positive and negative effect. A mere 6.4% felt that the impact of this phenomenon is a ”positive” one.

**Table 4. In your opinion, which is the most negative impact of brain-drain on our country?**

Choices	Percentage
The loss of specialists	64.8%
The loss of the money invested in training the young people	19.2%
The loss of the taxes which the migrants could have paid	11.2%
A diminishing birth rate	4%
DK (Don't know)	0.8%
Total	100%

**Source:** Data collected from authors field research conducted between 5th to 20th of April, 2016

64.8% of the interviewed people considered that the main negative aspect of ”brain-drain” is the loss of specialists, 19.2% - the loss of the money invested in training the young people, whereas 11.2%, respectively 4% mentioned ”the loss of the taxes which the migrants could have paid” and ”a diminishing birth rate”.

**Table 5. In your opinion, which field of activity is most seriously affected by the phenomenon of ”brain drain” in our country?**

Choices	Percentage
Healthcare	74.4%
Education	6.4%
IT	17.6%
Industry	1.6%
Total	100%

**Source:** Data collected from authors field research conducted between 5th to 20th of April, 2016

74.4% of the people in Craiova who took part in this inquiry mentioned the medical sector as being the field of activity most seriously affected by the phenomenon of “brain-drain”, followed by ”IT” (17.6%), education (6.4%) and industry (1.6%).

**Table 6. In your opinion, which is the main reason for the highly qualified people to leave Romania?**

Choices	Percentage
Lack of employment opportunities	55.2%
Low salaries	20.8%
Bad conditions of the social systems (healthcare, education etc)	11.2%
Corruption	11.2%
Bad work conditions	1.6%
Total	100%

**Source:** Data collected from authors field research conducted between 5th to 20th of April, 2016

For 55.2% of the respondents, the main reason for which the highly qualified people leave our country is "the lack of employment opportunities", for 20.8% of them - "low salaries", for 11.2% - "the bad conditions of the social systems (healthcare, education, etc.)", for 11.2% - "corruption" and for 1.6%, "the bad work conditions".

**Table 7. In your opinion, which category of states is favoured by the highly qualified Romanian migrants?**

Choices	Percentage
The developed countries	96%
The developing countries	2.4%
DK (Don't know)	1.6%
Total	100%

**Source:** Data collected from authors field research conducted between 5th to 20th of April, 2016

96% of the people in Craiova who took part in the interview said that most of the highly qualified Romanian people migrate towards the "developed countries", whereas a mere 2.4% considered that Romanian migrants would choose a "developing country".

As for the state of choice, most of the respondents mentioned Italy (25.6%), Spain (24%) and Great Britain (22.4%), Germany (12.8%) and France (11.2%). Only 4% of the interviewed people mentioned other states (the USA, Canada, Belgium, Greece, the Netherlands, Denmark).

**Table 8. In your opinion, which category of states is the origin of the highly qualified emigrants who come to Romania?**

Choices	Percentage
The developed countries	9.6%
The developing countries	63.2%
The under-developed countries	24.8%
DK (Don't know)	2.4%
Total	100%

**Source:** Data collected from authors field research conducted between 5th to 20th of April, 2016

## From “brain drain” to “brain gain”. Where does Romania stand?

In order to find the opinion of the people in Craiova regarding the phenomenon of “brain gain”, we asked them a question intended to identify the category of states which is the origin of the highly qualified people who come to Romania. Thus, 24.8% of the respondents considered that the highly qualified emigrants come from the “underdeveloped countries”, 63.2% of them mentioned “the developing countries”, whereas 9.6% chose the “developed countries”.

### Conclusions

The first assumption was partly confirmed. The phenomenon of “brain drain” is mainly caused by the lack of employment opportunities, according to the interviewed people. In the inquiry, they mentioned that, in our country, the massive loss of medical specialists, who emigrate to the states of Western Europe, is rooted in the precarious salaries in the Romanian healthcare system, as well as in the poor infrastructure in the Romanian hospitals and in the “unorthodox” practices of some doctors.

The second working hypothesis was confirmed. 72.8% of the respondents consider that brain-drain has a negative effect upon Romania's economy. 64.8% of them mentioned that the main negative impact of this phenomenon is the fact that it deprives the Romanian society of its best professionals. There are also people who believe that another negative effect is the loss of the money the Romanian state invested in the training of the highly qualified Romanian migrants.

The third working hypothesis was also confirmed. 96% of the respondents acknowledged the fact that most of the highly qualified people tend to leave Romania (which is a developing country), to go to the developed states. Some of the states mentioned by the interviewed people are: Spain, Italy, Great Britain, France, Germany etc.

The fourth hypothesis was confirmed as well. 63.2% of the respondents mentioned the fact that most of the highly qualified immigrants who come to Romania (which is a developing country) originate in developing countries.

The fifth working hypothesis was also confirmed. Most of the interviewed people (90.8%) believed that the phenomenon of “brain drain” is less intense than the migration in the secondary sector.

Even the sixth working hypothesis was confirmed, with a high proportion of the respondents mentioning the healthcare system as among the most seriously affected fields of activity in our country, due to the phenomenon of brain-drain.

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## ORIGINAL PAPER

# Student-Centered Education and Paradigmatic Changes

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### Abstract

The paradigm of the education centered on student and his learning activity triggered changes on designing and structure of the educational process, from approaching educational outcomes, as a transition from the focus on the acquisition of knowledge to the effort to form competencies or to more essentialised organizing of the contents, changing teaching methods, the way in which the assessment is done and, most prominently, to a more flexible networking. Within the policies and practices of higher education institutions in Europe and the world the teacher is considered increasingly as a guide for learning and a factor in the professional development of the students and our article advocates for the application of this principle in higher education in Romania, analyzing, first, how was shaped this trend of redesigning the training, compared to traditional perspective. Then, there are presented the practical possibilities of implementation, contextual impediments or limitations and its benefits. From the perspective of the academic teachers, this focusing on students exceeds the formal limits of academic activity, the teachers acting to advise them depending on their real, particular needs. The multiple strategic options of teachers and students have roots in the humanism, constructivism and instructionism, making a good connection with the specifics of today's information society that uses modern communication resources.

We considered also as useful to know the students' perception about the level to which they consider that they are involved and especially, engage themselves in improving the instruction process. The necessity for a more active involvement of the students is that, in order to cope with the rapid changes and demands of the academic environment, the student must be responsible, to be directed by clear goals, be persistent, to regulate her/himself, be flexible in thinking, to be selective and to exploit the resources he can use optimally.

**Keywords:** *student-centered learning, reflexivity, change*

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## **Student-Centered Education and Paradigmatic Changes**

### **The paradigm of centering on student**

Student-Centered Education is now a trend to guide the teachers' activity in academia and the adoption of a paradigmatic perspectives, requires manifestation of opening to the scientific investigation of this phenomenon and favorable attitudes towards searching and discovery of ways in which it can be put into practice.

From a conceptual point of view, several Romanian authors (Cojocaru, Seghedin, Predescu and Domunco, 2006: 59) identified the following understandings of the Student/pupil-Centered Education (SCE): paradigm with a major impact on the maximal valorization of the human resource and to increase the quality of educational and instruction activities; ethics and deontological position which consists in valuing the subject of learning; strategic option based on empowering of the subject of learning in the educational process; approach modality to instructive-educational process, based on the needs, interests, aspirations of the learner. Thus, the authors cited show that the purpose of this paradigm is the optimal valuing of potential of the subject of learning. From a pragmatic point of view, as active strategy, SCE requires building in a real time a positive and significant learning experience, in a democratic, non-directive relation. As a subsystem of education, the Student-Centered Instruction (SCI) is both a mentality and a culture within an institution of higher education. Such a perspective is largely related and supported by the constructivist theories of learning. SCI is characterized by innovative methods of teaching aimed at promoting learning through communication with teachers and other students involved in the learning process, methods that consider students as active participants in their own learning, developing their transferable skills, such as problem solving , critical thinking and reflective thinking (Attard, Di Iorio, Geven and Santa, 2010: 7).

The collocations in the literature about centering on student in education include, sometimes, different shades of concentration on topic or process: from the education focused on the educated (as the first stage which draws the attention to the subject of education), to the education centered on the pupil/student (which emphasizes the individualization training requirement) and to the learner-centered instruction. It is also important to note that the paradigms, understood as functional assemblies of concepts, norms, rules and methods used by the scientific community in a certain period of time to explain and resolve a certain educational problem (Kuhn, 1962), change themselves. Student-centered instruction, which highlighted the active role of the learner, is completed today by the interactive instruction, bringing again to the attention of educators the importance of networking, under its collaborative form.

### **A brief history of the principle of centering on the educated**

After Attard et al. (2010) sustaining the centering on the educated one is attributed to Hayward since 1905, and this idea was later supported by many others, including: Piaget, 1926; Dewey, 1956; Knowles in 1978; Rogers in 1980. The focus on educated has been imposed largely thanks to the psycho-humanist perspective, which showed that the learning must be assumed by the person himself: „The only man who is educated is the man who has learned how to adapt and change; the man who has realized that no knowledge is secure, that only the process of seeking knowledge gives a basis for security. Changingness, reliance on process rather than upon static knowledge, is the only thing that makes any sense as a goal for education in the modern world.” (Rogers, 1983: 104).

In the first part of the nineteenth century the psycho-centric concept starts to outline itself in Pedagogy, in general and in the modern Didactics, especially (as opposed to the traditional concept of teacher-centered type). According to the psycho-centrism, the student, both, as subject and object of education acquires what is new if he is engaged in a personal effort (Ionescu, 2009, cited by Trif, 2012).

Moreover, the postmodern Pedagogy emphasizes the role of education subject to relate himself critically, but committed to his own training by promoting the acceptance of variants, indeterminacy, ambivalence, originality, contextualism, decentralization. From the latter point of view, the requirement of focusing on knowledge, learning and assessment is present in the constructivist theory of instruction (Bransford, Brown and Cocking, 2000) or gets close to the transformational learning, facilitated by a coach (Zeus, Skiffington, 2002), to that learning which changes the learner's mentality, authentic learning, that one met in a practical situation where the student encounters in real life.

Elena Joița (2010) explained that this paradigm was created as a reaction to traditional, standardized, behaviorist teaching at the discipline imposed, to strict programming, to centering on transmitting an enormous amount of knowledge, and the change was driven by both, the observation of the insufficiency of this approach and the impact of technological development and communication in educational environment. Therefore, it is necessary for teachers "to modify the relations with the finalities, curriculum, educated ones, methodology of training and education, to assume new roles at the leadership level, to anchor the training in various contexts (...), to process the given content by the efficiency of learning content given at each educated, to report it to the application of theory on various issues, practical, effective situations, to carry out verifications in the complex situations, which to mobilize and integrate the acquisitions (...)." (Joița, 2010: 97).

In the academic environment the adaptation is double: the university, by the teachers, changes its offer by reporting to its students, and the students change their practices to meet the academic learning requirements. The new changes on teachers' roles bring forward the management of the learning by facilitating it and the self-formation, and this approach creates the student opportunities to develop his independence and autonomy in training. From the standpoint of the social constructivism, A. Woolfolk (1998) is among those advocating for the importance of the student in the training process. In constructivism, the methodology ensures, through leadership, the educational success, as shown by several studies (Clarke, 2013), which take into consideration the adaptation to the context which the training is made in: educational relations, human diversity, time, conception on people, even those domestic factors indicating the resistance to change. Therefore the student-centered instruction requires competencies of meta-learning, asking students to think about their own learning.

In the higher education, the mechanisms that help imposing the SCI are: organizing the higher education after Bologna system, the student mobility and principles supported by documents of the committees for higher education. In the Leuven Communiqué, the student-centered instruction involves "to put the accent on the interests of learner, new approaches to teaching and learning, effective support and guidance structures" (2009: 3). Bucharest Communiqué (2012) emphasizes the role of the innovative methods of learning to ensure the centering on student and the Romanian Agency for Quality Assurance in Higher Education/ARACIS (2013) addresses the student-centered instruction as a basic principle in ensuring the quality of each academic institution.

## Student-Centered Education and Paradigmatic Changes

### Characteristics and strategies of focusing on students

An interesting analysis of SCR meanings (Trif, 2013: 31-32) highlights the focus on: needs of students; autonomy and control in learning; responsibility of student; self-knowledge, self-explanation, self-fulfillment; individualization, flexibility coming from the teacher. Lea, Stephenson and Troy (2003) identify the following characteristics: proposing an active learning (not passive); emphasizing the deep learning and understanding; increased personal and professional responsibility of the student; increasing the autonomy of the learner; interdependence between teacher and student; manifestation of the mutual respect in student-teacher relationship; a reflective approach to the teaching-learning process, both from the student and the teacher; placing at the center of the instructive activities, the learning understood as a process, according to its principal factors; understanding the importance of counseling, student guidance for choosing the most appropriate pathway of studies according to the learning needs. Thus, the student-centered instruction focuses on: reflexivity, differentiation, knowledge and adaptation to needs, experiences, different learning styles, as supported relation of teachers with their students. Gibbs (1995: 23) shows that the student-centered learning "offers students a greater autonomy and more control on the subjects, methods of learning and study pace."

Focusing on student means a two-way relation. Students use different learning strategies determined by the teaching strategies, therefore at their level is still required the presence of guidance on how to learn. Even more, the differentiated instruction is useful because "the harmonious plurality or unifying differentiation, as a principle, send us to the idea of respect the people equality in access to different directions, but each capable of maximum development opportunities [...]" (by Peretti, 1996, as cited Maciuc, 2003: 322). Such a differentiation takes into account knowing and respecting the students' preferences, their skills, teacher avoiding what is predetermined. The teacher can achieve the differentiation by varying the aims, contents, methodology, assessment, environment as a whole and the student, by the way he relates to the extension of knowledge, the depth of understanding, by the pace and used learning style (adaptation by Crețu, 1998 ), by adjusting his skills and attitudes. Therefore, the student-centered learning supports a creative learning, as a form of learning which aims at solving problems with uncertain character, by exploring alternatives, brainstorming and finding solutions, using creative imagination. A creative, critical and reflective learning can be achieved by experiential learning (patented by Kholb, 1984) and determines it in a generative way

Responsibility and accountability. In SCI teachers assess their own way of teaching and the assessment models no longer supports standardization, as there is a variety of contexts and the results are interpretable (Cosserrat, 1998, cited by Keane, 2015). In their turn, students can not learn if they do not have this responsibility. This is a new model of training management, where the student uses his freedom of choice to take own responsibility. SCE and SCI involve also the management of universities, it is about creating a favorable environment to obtain quality in education, by offering study programs according to the market and individual needs, providing material endowment, involvement in research or propose other types of practical activities and especially the consideration of the feedback given by students.

From a socio-cultural point of view, focusing on student requires a stronger relationship between student and teacher, among students-students, as reflective, critical participants to their education: "Teacher-student relationship depends largely on the real authority of the teacher, in the eyes of his students. This authority is gained through

competence, morality, thinking flexibility and consistent in terms of values promoted and requirements addressed. (Diaconu, 2004: 12).

**Concrete ways of implementing SCI:**

A) Knowledge of previous experience and students' motivation (interests, aspirations);

In order to motivate the students, the following actions can be used: inclusion of students in designing attractive courses; student involvement in solving certain problems, with a higher level of difficulty, for the respective discipline; presentation by students of different careers that might be available to them after graduation; get students aware about the importance of their work and its context in an applied situation, where they demonstrate their value to others; use own research to develop the learning experience of students, by queries about the methods used and openness to alternatives; inviting society representatives with expertise and experience on a particular field of study, to link learning and practical experience in their profession with the experiences gained during their study.

B) Use certain applied, active, interactive methods, stimulate reflection and meta-cognition, extension of learning field beyond mandatory content, space and time, beyond the conventional means of classroom/seminar;

Extending the learning space and use of information technologies led to the integration in teaching methodology of some methods of following type: projects, problem solving method, the "aquarium" method, use of graphic organizers (charts, cognitive maps), brainstorming, different variants of debates, presentations on electronic support, the "cube", taking roles, reflection (Brockbank, McGill, 2007) etc. The choice of methodology has, besides teaching valences, a series of consequences in terms of academic training of students, but especially for their professional training, the responsibility for this training being undertaken by educational institutions (Table 1).

**Table 1. Methodology supporting student-centered instruction**

During classes	Apart classes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Discussions in groups of two</li> <li>- Transforming initial discussion groups in larger groups</li> <li>- Cross-overs (mixing students in groups)</li> <li>- Use meditation type groups (tutorial)</li> <li>- Round tables (one by one, each student speaks)</li> <li>- Writing reflections on what they have learned (lasting 3-4 minutes)</li> <li>- Presentations made by students                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Poster Presentations</li> <li>- Role plays</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Designing charts of mind-map types by students</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Independent projects</li> <li>- Group discussions</li> <li>- Mutual mentoring students by other students                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Teamwork</li> <li>- Debates</li> <li>- Field visits</li> <li>- Internships</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Journals of reflection for learning                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Computer assisted learning</li> <li>- Writing media articles</li> <li>- Develop a portfolio</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

Source: Attard et al., 2010: 22

## **Student-Centered Education and Paradigmatic Changes**

C) Regarding the assessment, SCI uses mainly: formative assessment, building assessment, of peer-type, alternative modalities such as: homework, portfolios, individual or group projects, self-proposed themes, examination with opened book, self-assessment, mutual assessment.

D) Request of feedback from students to assess and improve teachers` performance (by discussions, application of questionnaires, filling grids/sheets with quality indicators) is another way. For example, discussions held with all staff about what needs to be stopped, started or continued. Here students can express different assessments, but an agreement on requirements for teacher can be reached.

E) Use of Information and Communication Technology/ICT: Power Point activating presentations, accessing the Internet during school hours and spare time, using e-mail to communicate in order to support learning;

F) Type of participatory management where the teacher earns a real, recognized authority;

G) Making experience exchanges, constructive criticism; Keane (2015) suggests the latter action to be performed in an equal-to-equal manner, not in a quantitative variant, but qualitatively. His proposal refers to: Reason for requesting a peer review, Strengths and weaknesses of peer reviews, Outcomes for the lecturer, Outcomes for teaching practice, Possible improvement in subsequent quantitative evaluations, Possible improvement in subsequent student pass rates.

### **Assessing the implementation of SCI**

A model of implementation would require (according to Attard et al., 2010) the following phases: 1) Analysis of problem: if a change is needed; 2) Identification of roles for different categories of actors (they can have informative role, can be responsible directly, can have an advisory role or the role to approve/reject certain decisions, actions); 3) Activating mechanisms of change, by thinking carefully about the costs and benefits; 4) Application of strategies for overcoming the barriers to change; 5) Implementing change and 6) Assessing impact of change. In a specific context, which included the questionnaire-based survey method, combined with focus groups method, for a small sample, formed by a group of students in the third year, at University of Craiova, we aimed to know their perceptions and assessments about the stage of student-centered instruction.

The survey was used on 28 students, and the same students were divided into three discussion groups during the focus groups conducted later. The research sample was done randomly, based on the voluntary consent of subjects to answer questions.

Our hypothesis was that focusing on student needs improvement. Incidentally, in The Black Book of application of Bologna Process (2006), the student organizations from various Romanian universities highlight various problems, mostly concerning the deficiencies in implementation of the teachers-students partnership in university environment. Lea et al. (2003) argue that one of the problems with the student-centered learning is that it is rather an aspiration than a reality.

The assessment criteria used in the applied opinion questionnaire (adapted from Attard et al., 2010) were related to following components: a) Implementation of procedures to ensure the quality of education, by consultation with students; b) Focus on learning outcomes; c) Studies mobility and recognition of prior learning; d) Social dimension of academic training; e) Teaching and learning methods used; f) Academic assessment methods; g) Learning environment; h) Acceptance of changes.

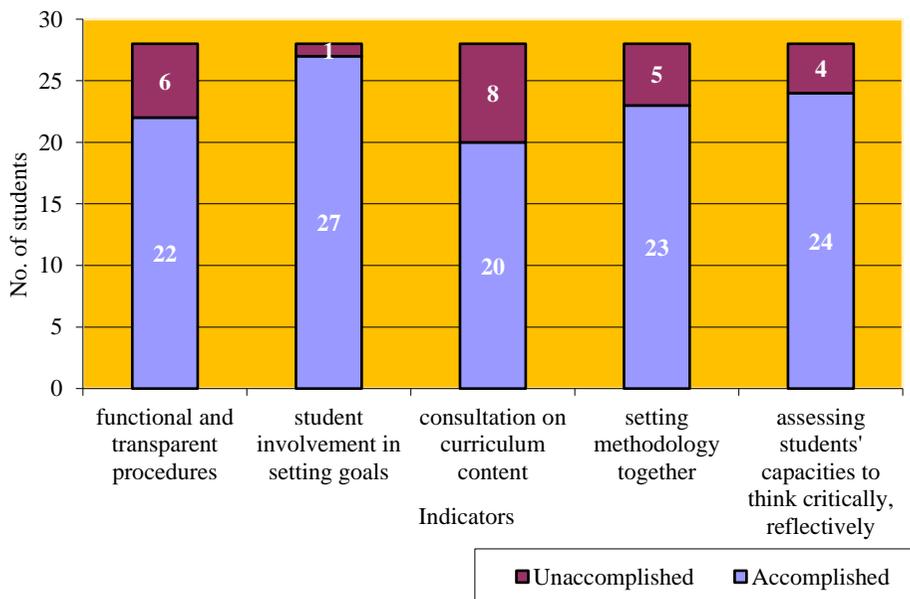
The assessing scale for each criterion associated with these components included following values: Very Much, Much, Average, Less and Very Less, At All, but given the small number of people surveyed, we regrouped their responses into two categories or levels: Accomplished (for values very much, Much, Average and Unaccomplished (for appreciations at values Less and Very Less or At all).

The students' opinions and assessments have indicated the following:

a) The application of procedures to ensure the quality of education through consultation with students

The applied items were: *a.1. There are functional and transparent procedures in faculty, through which students can give feedback on the educational process?* *a. 2. Students are involved in setting goals?*, *a.3. Students are consulted on the content of curriculum?*, *a.4. Students are consulted on teaching and assessment methods used?*, *a. 5. Teachers appreciate the capabilities of students to think critically, reflectively, to propose solutions?*

**Chart 1. Procedures for ensuring the quality and consultation with students**



**Source:** Authors' own research

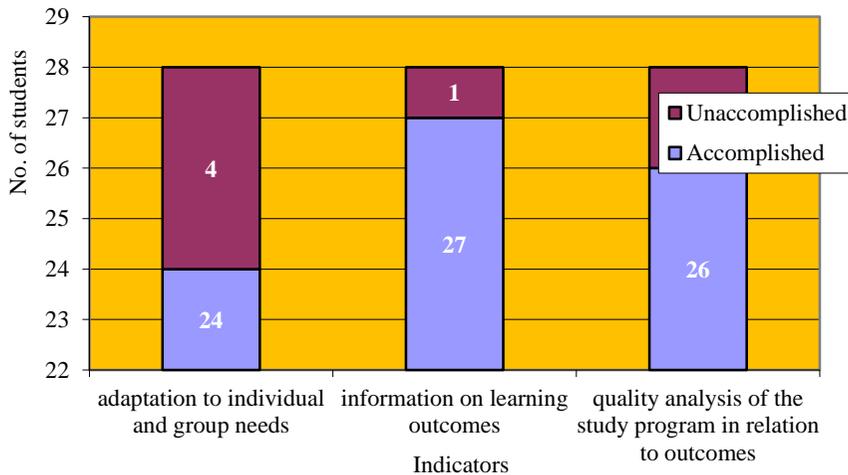
The individual responses, especially for the first item, were dispersed, but at least 20 of the 28 respondent students show that their teachers consult them on objectives and methodology, on curricula in general (Chart 1). The best scores are assigned, by the students, to the assessment practice of teachers on their ability to think critically, reflectively, and this leads directly, to an increase of the mutual respect, and indirectly confirms the application of certain procedures for quality assurance by consultation with students.

b) Focusing on learning outcomes

## Student-Centered Education and Paradigmatic Changes

The items used were: *b.1. When the learning outcomes are set, are taken into account the student needs and diversity of the group of students?*, *b.2. Before starting a the study of a discipline, students are informed briefly on expected learning outcomes?*, *b.3. Quality analysis of a study program considers the further use of learning outcomes?*

**Chart 2. Focusing on learning outcomes**



**Source:** Authors' own research

This aspect of teachers and students focusing on clear learning outcomes is better achieved (Chart 2), compared with the previous component. Moreover, according to the methodology of drafting the questionnaire, some questions are for control and the previous answers regarding the consultation of students in goal setting are correlated with the information communication about the learning outcomes

### c) Studies' mobility and the recognition of prior learning

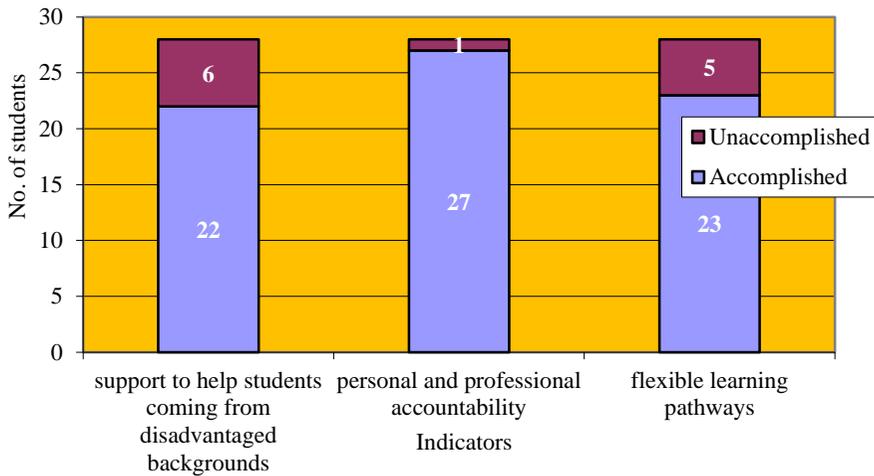
In the micro-research sample there was one person being foreign student and three students who have benefited from Erasmus mobility, but all the participants expressed their opinion on the question *c.1. Students coming through mobility programs receive support to succeed in adapting to the new cultural and linguistic environment?*

It is showed almost unanimously (27 of 28 students) that teachers provide support for adaptation to mobility and recognize prior learning.

### d) The social dimension

The main psychosocial aspects analyzed (Chart 3) were: *d.1. There are special support measures to help students from disadvantaged backgrounds?*, *d.2. Students take personal and professional responsibility towards the activities of academic education ?*, *d.3. Learning paths are quite flexible and thus allowing combining work, family life and studies?*

**Chart 3. The social dimension**



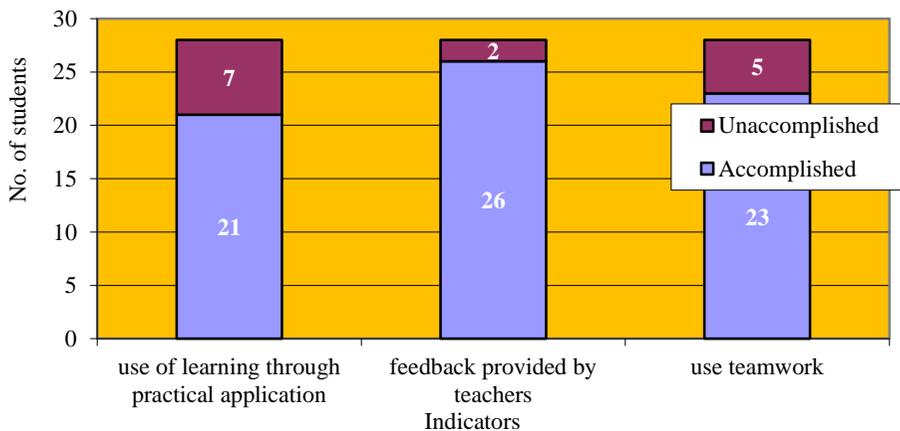
**Source:** Authors' own research

From the position of self-esteem, our students have indicated that they assume the responsibility for the academic work and the social support of teachers is done by 80%.

e) Methods of teaching-learning

It is a highly visible indicator, often pursued by students, especially since they have received, in addition to the specialized training, a pedagogical training. The questions were: *e.1. The curricula use the learning by application in practice ?*, *e.2. Teachers give you feedback on what you have learned, about your performance.?*, *E.3. Teamwork is used in education?*

**Chart 4. Teaching Methodology**



**Source:** Authors' own research

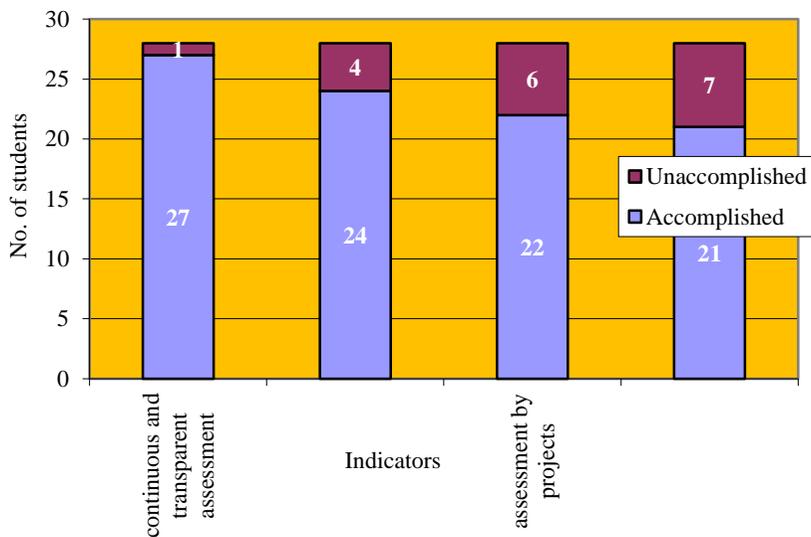
## Student-Centered Education and Paradigmatic Changes

The student answers (Chart 4) made reference to one of the existing limitations and perceived by a significant part of them (25% of them): the existence of a pronounced informative education without correlation with practice. Also, detailing the views obtained during the focus groups, we found that the teachers request for students teamwork during courses and seminars, but not that much as student consider appropriate.

### f) Method of assessment

The items applied were: *f.1. Students assessment is continuous and transparent?*, *f.2. Self-assessment and mutual assessment are used in the student assessment process?*, *f.3. Students assessment is undertaken through projects ?*, *f. 4. In the students assessing process are used tasks simulations and real-life situations (applicable in everyday life)?*

**Chart 5. Methods of assessment**



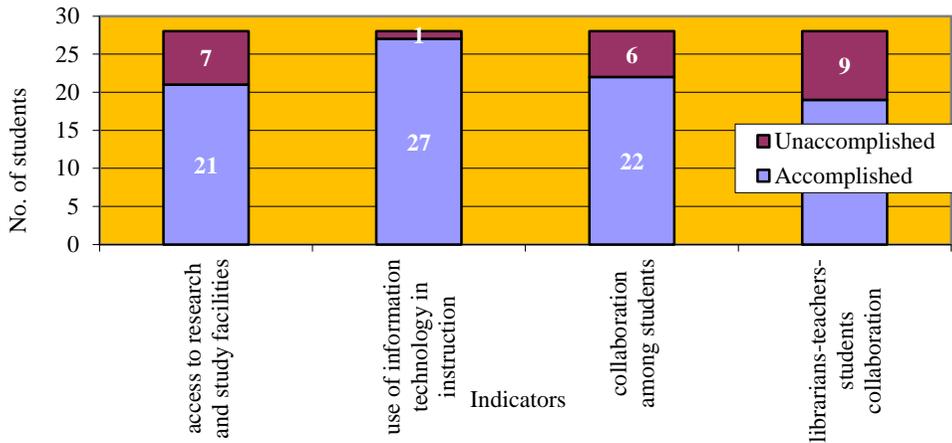
**Source:** Authors' own research

The assessing dimension (Chart 5) is of a great importance for students, and they were able to express a critical point of view, being assured of anonymity about their identity. It is gladly that there is a continuous, transparent assessment, but not all teachers use self and mutual assessment. We notice that the items f.3 and f.4 correlate themselves with the inadequate aspects, previously identified, on the insufficient correlation between theory and practice.

### g) Learning environment

It was investigated with the following questions: *g.1 Students have access to research and study facilities?*, *g.2. Teachers and students use information technology in education (internet, email etc)?*, *g.3. There is collaboration among students to succeed in learning?*, *g.4. There is collaboration among librarians and teachers to facilitate students learning?*

Chart 6. Learning Environment



Source: Authors' own research

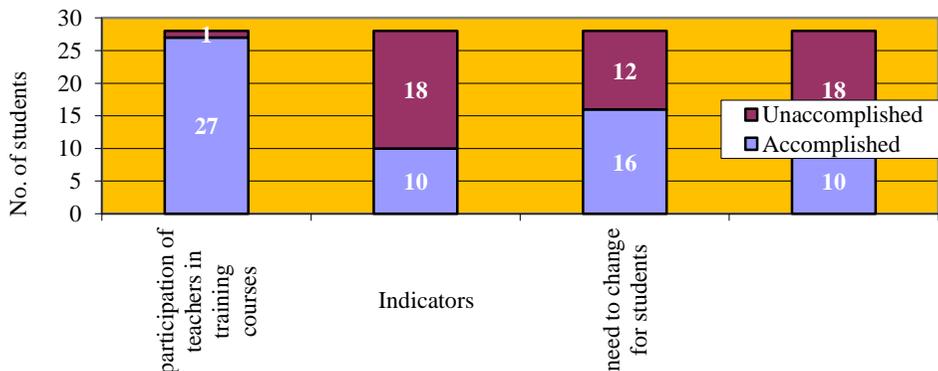
The access to the spatial, material, human, information resources (Chart 6) is made, on average, for 80% of students. The rest of them has explained that there is an academic collaboration for the use of information technology in training (internet, e-mail etc) in dyad or small group, but the classical resources of libraries are not useful, given the perishability of their informational content.

h) Acceptance of change

This component included the questions: *h.1. Your teachers have participated in trainings that upgraded their practical training?*, *h.2. Teachers do need to change themselves? If so, what aspects?*, *h.3. Students must change themselves? If yes, what aspects?*, *h.4. Other components of the education process need changing for a truly student-centered education? If yes, which ones?*, *h..5. Student-centered instruction has advantages. If yes, which ones?*, *h.6. student-centered instruction has drawbacks, limits? If yes, which ones?*

It is interesting that the students' opinions about the change are balanced divided, this being necessary for approximately half of them (Chart 7).

Chart 7. Acceptance of changes



Source: Authors' own research

## **Student-Centered Education and Paradigmatic Changes**

The distribution of the responses indicates us that, the decisive role to implement SCI rests with the teacher, who needs more pragmatism in achieving training, but also students should increase their involvement level in teaching activity. It is also desirable to change some components, meaning that the curricular programs should be more centered on the relation with the real life, or that improvements in the material base are desirable. The centered training has several advantages, including the fact that the students reach the deep learning, which helps them in the professional and personal development, motivates them, but has its limitations or difficulties in its effective achievement, the main ones being linked to the consumption of resources (human, temporal).

Considering the sample size and methodology used, our study was observational only. Overall, the students have confirmed the need for the student-centered education to become a reality better demonstrated in practice, indicating here the difficulties and their own deficit on accountability, assuming, sometimes with more extended motivations, related to the usefulness of the academic studies, to get a job, in the social and economic context from Romania and Oltenia region.

### **The impediments and benefits of the student-centered education**

The impediments, validated by both the theory of the subject covered, as well as the empirical approach outlined above, are: administrative obstacles, for example, large numbers of students within a group, the lack of financial support to provide educational materials and resources; the existence of other priorities in academic education, from the perspective of the teacher or the student, meaning that time and effort are not allocated for learning, there are some competitive tasks: for teachers – research, for students – work commitments; the decision-making system too centralized or too decentralized, the misunderstanding of SCI, negative attitudes towards the concept, application of teacher-centered practices, or centered on the contents taught, on the assimilation of knowledge rather than building competencies; finally, understanding differently the vision of future.

ICS benefits refer to: motivating students to integrate into the academic life of the community by improving the communication, taking into account the critical ideas of students, by practical research collaborations; make everyone accountable in training, the teacher, but especially the student; the increased activism: it is known that students learn more when they realize demonstrations, debates, applications, than by listening or reading; - Earnings in taking participation, through the taking decisions mechanism, self-determined learning: self-proposed, self-planned, self-managed, self-assessed; increased independence in learning; building transversal skills related to the teamwork, efficient verbal and written communication, sharing of tasks into priorities and critical analysis of solutions are components of lifelong learning competencies; by alternating strategies, methods, means, modes and forms of organization, man can get a more flexibility, a better adapt to different learning needs and styles (regarding the pace, time, space etc.); reduced academic failure or abandonment of university studies; - For teacher the inner motivation of professional development will also be improved, and his role and status will be more appreciated by students.

### **Conclusions**

There is a number of misconceptions or fears arising from the pessimism regarding the application of the training focused on student, concerning: the idealist character of this principle, resistance to change, the large amount of resources needed, the impossibility to be applied in large groups, "undermining" the teacher's role, large volume

of tasks requested to students, increase the effort of the teachers as using active and interactive methods, difficulties in the selection of methods, trans-disciplinary character of curriculum, suitability for certain areas, the limited amount of contents learned, lack of empowerment of academic teachers in related disciplines (Psychology, Epistemology, Sociology), organizational difficulties (in terms of finding space, time, programs compliance) etc., but these can be overcome by creating the culture and practices favorable for learning. The difficulties are inherent, but they are compensated by the benefits of focusing on the student.

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## ORIGINAL PAPER

## The Construction of Children's Literature during the Yugoslav First Five-Year Plan

Berislav Majhut\*

### Abstract

The radical elimination of bourgeois children's literature in 1945, coupled with the need to start educating children in a new Communist spirit, created in Yugoslavia a huge gap that could not be filled with the works of local authors. These are the reasons for a strong reliance on the massive translation of Soviet children's literature. Soviet children's literature compensated for the lack of tradition in certain literary genres and provided to Croatian (at that time, Yugoslav) children's literature narrative models. At the same time, it provided guidelines and correctives to social practices. While highly socially engaged works of children's literature by local authors were published before World War II, following the war they were revised and adjusted to new circumstances. In a similar manner, the translations of Soviet authors published before World War II were retranslated and ideologically adapted. After World War II, the books by Soviet authors made up more than half of all published books. The Russian origin of a book confirmed its ideological correctness, so that even Russian manuals for growing fruits and vegetables, related to a different climate, were translated. However, after the 1948 the break-up of Yugoslavia with the Soviet Union, children's literature was affected by a wave of revisionism. Although books were still translated from Russian (as Yugoslav production still did not reach the satisfying levels), only those that could fit in the new Yugoslav situation were selected for translation. The works translated earlier were thoroughly revised in order to be compatible with the new circumstances. Therefore, not only did the Communist ideology radically change the picture of children's literature but also continually revised its own production in line with the changing circumstances. Under the Communist regime the task of adjusting timeless works of art to the special needs of a particular political moment was never completed, and thus these literary works could never acquire their final form.

**Keywords:** *Soviet children's literature, Yugoslav children's literature, ideology in children's literature, ideological adaptations of translated literature, Croatian children's literature after Second World War*

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## The Construction of Children's Literature during the Yugoslav First Five-Year Plan

In 1947, Viktor Cvitan and Dragutin Franković published a booklet titled *What Should My Child Read? (Što da čita moje dijete?)* containing a list of books recommended as good reading for children and youth. The list of 196 books contained a hundred books by Soviet authors and eight by Russian authors. Seven years later, in 1954, Ljudevit Krajačić published a booklet titled *Let us Offer Children a Good Book (Dajmo djeci dobru knjigu)* that had a similar purpose. Krajačić recommended 166 titles, among them eleven works by Russian authors, and not a single one by Soviet authors. The aim of this paper is to shed light on what occurred in the seven-year span between 1947 and 1954 with Soviet translated literature in former Yugoslavia. In other words, our aim is to examine the way Soviet translated literature made from absolute domination to its complete disappearance from Yugoslav school required reading lists.

In former Yugoslavia, the end of World War II and the victory of the National Liberation Army did not entail only the victory over Fascism and Nazism but also the victory of the social revolution. New circumstances and the building of a socialist society created an urgent need to educate new generations in the communist spirit. Something unprecedented was occurring: a new society was being built, a society that completely denied tradition, instead of using it as its basis. The past was denounced as a deceptive manipulator in the service of the governing class and could not be used as a groundwork on which a new reality would be built.

In our country, to educate means to revolutionize, that is to emancipate the manner of the child's thinking from the technical customs of thinking determined in the past, to emancipate it from delusions. At the basis of these delusions lies a centuries-old experience of a conservative life, based on a class struggle and an ambition of individuals to protect themselves and to fix individualism and nationalism as "eternal forms" and laws of social life.

The education of children should be organized in such a manner that from their early childhood children are resolutely, even when playing, forced to suppress conscious and unconscious desires for the past.

To be more precise, the entire aristocratic and bourgeois past and all its fundamental values should be rejected. What is valid for the whole of society should be valid for children's literature, as well (Gorky, 1945: 11-12).

The attitudes expressed by Gorky were embraced in Croatian/Yugoslav practice. In children's and youth literature, entire genres vanished: classical fairy tales, trivial adventure novels, books with religious content. After a fierce attack in the Yugoslav daily *Borba* (Combat), the cartoon was considered Western consumer goods.

In February 1948, the manager of the Municipal Library in Zagreb submitted a report on the reorganization of the library's collection of books. The library conducted the reorganization of its collection in order "to become a genuine library for the people". The purging of the library's collection, which contained 70,000 book copies, was carried out in March 1947.

All harmful and worthless books had to be removed from the library...[...] About 16,000 copies of various no-good, reactionary, ideologically uncommitted, atrocious, pseudo-scientific literature, were eliminated from the library's collection. (Kancijan, 1948: 47)

However, in addition to the disappearance of entire literary genres, a large number of authors also vanished, either because they were banished from public life or were even

physically eliminated. A list of authors for children who were allowed to publish contained about ten authors. Therefore, owing to the urgent need to provide adequate reading for children, who had to be raised in the new, communist spirit, there appeared an enormous gap that had to be filled with appropriate content. The only viable solution was to rely on those who had already had more experience with similar problems: Soviet children's literature. In almost no time, the libraries and bookshops were flooded with books for children by Soviet authors. This made it possible to satisfy a need for large production of books that were published in printing runs of 15 to 20 thousand copies and printed in several editions. In addition, this made it possible to satisfy a need for literary models that could be followed by Croatian authors and used as models in practical life.

In the years following World War II, the unquestionable authority of the Soviet Union was essentially indispensable. The victory of the communist Soviet Union over Nazi Germany provided legitimacy to the Yugoslav communist regime in the eyes of the majority of the population, who were either apolitical or highly frightened and antagonistically disposed towards the communist government. Such a mood was, *inter alia*, a result of decades-long propaganda that represented communists as the greatest social evil. In the eyes of the skeptical or indifferent local population, the powerful Soviet infrastructure, able to produce thousands of tanks and aircraft and crush the German military machine, provided legitimacy to the Yugoslav Communist Party that had no experience in managing a peacetime economy. Therefore, in the post-war period, the Sovietization of Yugoslav society, which aimed to become a communist society, was indispensable and had to be conducted on all levels: not only on the strategic level of society management but also on the level of everyday life .

A good illustration of this might be found in the schedule of holidays to be celebrated in schools, which was published in *People's Education (Narodna prosvjeta)* on January 18, 1946. Of 15 days that were marked as holidays, six referred to Soviet holidays, two to international holidays, four to Croatian anniversaries and three to Yugoslav anniversaries.

Libraries were also deeply involved in carrying out their educational tasks. In addition to the "passive" imposition of the Soviet content through the selection of books available in libraries and their prominent status in various exhibitions organized by libraries, Soviet books were "actively" pushed into the hands of readers:

The activity of librarians – agitators is evident in the following episode: a 15-year old boy, asked for *The Idiot* by Dostoevsky, as he had no idea what to choose for reading and the title intrigued him. At last, he was glad to leave the library with *How the Steel was Tempered* under his arm (Kancijan, 1948: 48)

At the time when Yugoslav literary heroes had not yet entered the scene, i.e. prior to 1953<sup>1</sup>, giving prominence to Soviet heroes and their superiority over other literary heroes was sorely needed in children's literature. For example, *Son of the Regiment (Sin puka)*, a novel by Valentin Kataev, first published in the Soviet Union in 1945, was published in Yugoslavia in 1946. Its hero, Vanya Solntsev, an orphan adopted by the military unit at the frontline, was a perfect literary realization of the child-hero, a concept which, though very present in Yugoslav society in the years following World War II, was not depicted in literature . A large number of children joined Partisan units during the war.

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<sup>1</sup> The first Croatian war novel for children, *Pirgo* by Anđelka Martić, was published as late as 1953. It was followed by *Modri prozori (Blue Windows)* by Danko Oblak, published in 1958, and *Courier from Psunj (Kurir s Psunja)* by Gabro Vidović, published in 1959.

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After the war they were perceived in the same manner as during the war: as being equal to adults.

War victors and those who took up the task of building a new society imposed the picture of the child they created during the war: this is a picture of the child-hero who performed war tasks even in the fiercest battles. In the new circumstances, during the period of the post-war reconstruction, this child stood shoulder to shoulder with adults during the reconstruction of the country.

Pioneer units were formed with the aim of taking part in the reconstruction that was under way all over the country. The image of the heroic child, a relevant participant in society, is particularly noticeable in the pioneer press. The first pages of children's magazines were most often reserved for resolutions and reports from the congresses of the Alliance of the Communist Youth of Yugoslavia (*Savez komunističke omladine Jugoslavije*) or the Communist Party of Yugoslavia or for addresses by the Party leaders. The lexis, syntax and argumentation used in these articles were not in the least different from those used in articles addressed to adult readers.

However, a considerably larger number of children had not taken part in war operations but had lived their lives in urban or rural environments. It was urgently necessary to introduce these children to their new social role and to provide them with heroes they had to look up to. Large masses of children, who could not be easily influenced by political speeches and meetings, or various forms of pressure or promises of a better social status or employment, had to be mobilized. To a certain extent, this was achieved through school curricula.

In the circumstances of war poverty, the easiest and most efficient way of mobilizing children was to offer them mental **dolls** of love and hate. These mental dolls offered protection in inhuman conditions in which such children lived. Often, the only crutches the child could rely on in the struggle for survival were, on the one hand the personalities of loved commanders or of Comrade Tito and on the other, the personalities of demonized inhuman enemies. However, in the post-war period, such mental dolls proved to be a highly efficient means of mobilizing the children who were not involved in war operations. They were also taught how to love Comrade Tito on the one hand and how to "relentlessly hate" other protagonists they became familiar with at school, in particular in the classes of native tongue and history. To whom was this "relentless hate" targeted? From 1945 to 1947, "towards enemies of the homeland, towards all those who try to destroy our national-liberation struggle"; in 1948, "towards the enemies and oppressors of the working people"; in 1950, "towards all that is reactionary and inhuman"; in 1951, "towards the enemies of our homeland and destroyers of peace"; in 1956, "towards imperialists and other enemies of our socialist homeland".

However, in order to be able to efficiently love and relentlessly hate, one has to take a certain standpoint, to take over a certain role, identify with a particular character, from whose position one can love and hate. In an article by Croatian children's writer Danko Oblak *How Vojkan Defeated Winnetou* (*Kako je Vojkan pobijedio Vinetua*), published in 1947 in *Pionir* (*The Pioneer*), a boy called Vojkan stands in a bookshop. Suddenly, he imagines that popular literary characters from the children's books lying on the bookshelves have become real people involved in a fight.

"But you cannot give real adventures, exciting and true adventures", says angrily "Son of the Regiment" and steps, along with "Družina Pere Kvržice", in front of Old Shatterhand. "Look at him? Nothing but an idle vagrant. What a gun he has, an ancient cannon! And look at my brand new machine gun, it can fire 70 bullets

at a time. I'll kill you all like flies! The Apache stirred. Their eyes flashed with a belligerent glow...(Oblak 1947: 12.)

In this fictional direct confrontation the characters from trivial literature (such as Winnetou) are completely inferior to the machine guns of the heroes of Soviet children's literature. While Croatian/Yugoslav literature could not offer protagonists who could inflame children's imagination and make children identify with them, such heroes could be found in Soviet literature. Soon *Timur and His Squad* (*Timur i njegova četa*) by Gaidar, *Boy with Narva Frontier* (*Dječak iz Narve*) and Pantelijevo were published<sup>2</sup>. Soviet novels provided protagonists who could be used as literary depictions of the child-hero or its derivations, such as pioneers, boys from semi-military collectives or collectives similar to the military. The main idea in Gaidarov's novel *Timur and His Squad*<sup>3</sup> is that Timur and the boys he organized into a closely knit gang are doing good deeds and protecting families whose fathers and husbands are in the Red Army. *Pionir* (1947)6:1 published a picture of young people working on the rail tracks, accompanied with the following text: "Let us organize full and continuous help to the families of the youth who take part in youth worker brigades and go to work on the youth rail track Šamac – Sarajevo. Let us help their families to cultivate their fields and farms." However, at the beginning of 1948, the relations between former Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union suddenly changed for the worse. According to Bilandžić's interpretation (see Bilandžić 1985: 151 and further), the conflict was caused by Stalin's ambitions to achieve complete control over Socialist countries and consolidate his position in the aggravated Cold War circumstances. Stalin managed to control the countries in which the Red Army defeated Nazism. However, Yugoslavia, where by the end of World War II the resistance movement grew into the Yugoslav People's Army, a respectable military power, expected equality and partnership relations among communist countries. The conflict escalated with the Resolution of the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) adopted on June 28 1948. The Resolution stated that due to complete misconduct of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party, the Yugoslav Communist Party was expelled from the union of brotherly Communist Parties. The Yugoslav Communist Party was called to dismiss its Central Committee and elect a new internationalistically oriented leadership.

On its Fifth Congress held in Belgrade from July 21 to July 28 1948, the Yugoslav Communist Party rejected the qualifications of the Cominform. Suddenly, the warm brotherly relations of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union became so tense that they were on the verge of an armed conflict. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia was in a great trouble. That the situation was serious is evident from the fact that all segments of society were mobilized, even the Pioneers' Union. The magazine for children, *Pionir*, on the cover page of its issue published on August 15 1948 had a picture of children bathing and jumping to the sea. The second page had a full page portrait of Comrade Tito, "the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia". Below the headline "Long Live the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia led by Comrade Tito" there followed a list of all members of the Central Committee, a list of all candidates for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and a list of

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<sup>2</sup> A large number of other works by Soviet authors appeared. For example, *My Dear Boys* (*Moji dragi dječaci*) by Lav Kasilj, *Hearts of the Brave* (*Srca smjelih*) by Kotov and Ljaskoski, *Adventures of a Little Boy* (*Doživljaji "malog"*) by Likstanov, etc.

<sup>3</sup> The novel was published in Belgrade in 1946 by Nopok publishing house, and readers of *Pionir* could learn about this new book in issue 39, p. 10.

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the members of the Central Revision Commission. On the fourth page<sup>4</sup> a speech delivered by Comrade Tito after the election of the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was printed:

Long Live the Communist Party of Yugoslavia! (A long and loud applause and chanting Tito-Party).

Long Live the Soviet Union led by the great Stalin (A long applause and several rounds of chanting Stalin-Tito. All the delegates rise and sing The Internationale) (Pionir (1948)14: 4).

This period was marked with the concept of the child-hero. In other words, the child was perceived as a little adult and the children's magazine addressed children as if they were adults. However, at no point were the motives and purposes of the Communist Party Congress hinted at. No clue was given that the reason for the Congress is the attack of the Soviet Union and the countries of the people's democracy against the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. On the contrary, readers of *Pionir* must have been convinced that the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia lived in perfect harmony.

In the field of children's literature, "a long applause and chanting Stalin-Tito" resonated for some time, at least for a year. Only in the middle of 1949, the authorities mustered the courage to speak about what really occurred in the relations with the Soviet Union. An article published in June 1949 in *Pionir*<sup>5</sup> may be a good illustration of how great the shock and collective trauma were:

You knew that we were under attack by imperialists because they lost control, because the society that we build, eradicates any form of abuse and fights for peace and socialism. But at school you learnt different things about the socialist state, the Soviet Union, about the countries of people's democracy and it must have come as a surprise that the attacks against our country and the Party came from these countries. It has been a year since the historical Congress of our Party [the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, held from 21 to 28 July 1948], which gave a decisive and clear answer to all slenderers, which proved that Yugoslavia was able to build socialism relying on its own powers. [...]

Among other things, some leaders in these countries are saying that our Party raises the children to hate the Soviet Union and other peoples, that it teaches them to love only their own people. The love of our pioneers towards the Soviet Union, its Army, and Soviet pioneers need not be explained in many words<sup>6</sup>.

At the third meeting of the Cominform held in November 1949 a new resolution titled "Yugoslav Communist Party run by murders and spies" was passed. One of the conclusions reads:

The spy group led by Tito, Ranković, Kardelj, Đilas, Pijade, Gošnjak, [...] represents the enemy of the working class and peasants, the enemy of the people of Yugoslavia (Bilandžić, 1985: 160).

At this time, the Yugoslav Communist Party had already conducted the most brutal purges of all its members who gave any sign that they might have any understanding

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<sup>4</sup> On page five a speech by pioneer Brane Marković, leader of the platoon "Danilo Jauković" held at the Fifth Congress of the Party was printed.

<sup>5</sup> Even after 1949 in children's literature the connection both with the Soviet Union and Stalin was retained.

<sup>6</sup> Pionir (13-14), pp. 3 Pero Ivačić: *At the Anniversary of the Fifth Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party*.

for the attitudes expressed by the Cominform. The notorious detention camp on the island of Goli was opened and according to some statistics about 40,000 people were detained there. One of the theses of this study is that, despite the radical and brutal destalinization of Yugoslav society, prompted by the confrontation between the communist parties in the Cominform and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, this process ran considerably slower and more discreetly in children's literature. Thus, after the split with the Cominform, titles by Soviet authors continued to be published until 1951, when the publishing of the books by contemporary Soviet authors was abruptly stopped and publishers shifted their focus on publishing of world and Croatian/Yugoslav classic works. The leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia managed to resist the pressures and remained in power. Having rejected the thesis that there is only one, Soviet road, towards a classless society, Yugoslavia announced it would take its own road to socialism, according to which the state-owned property became social ownership and workers' self-management was introduced. In art, the doctrine of social realism was rejected, in particular after the legendary speech of Miroslav Krleža at the Congress of Yugoslav Writers in Ljubljana in 1954. The process of destalinization of the Party and Yugoslav society was unrelentless and rigorous. However, on the surface, in particular in the children's world these processes were considerably slower and mitigated. Thus, at the same time when Yugoslav writers responded to Soviet writers (January 15 1949) and their criticism that the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party betrayed the interests of the working class and international proletariat, *Pionir* in its issue of January 1 1949 published an article<sup>7</sup> with a picture of Stalin surrounded with children. The text below the picture reads: "In the Soviet Union, man is highly appreciated and that is why enormous attention is paid to the education and life of man. Pioneers have the opportunity to enjoy various entertaining activities, since the Bolshevik Party and Stalin take care of it. Every citizen of the USSR takes loving care of the life of pioneers, as they are seen as future adults that will be able to build Communism." (*Pionir* (1949)1)<sup>8</sup>.

It is evident that the developments in the relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union ran at two speeds: at the faster speed in the adult world and at the slower speed on the level of children's consciousness.

The first book by Sergei Mihalkov to be published in Croatian translation was *The Red Neckerchief (Crvena marama)*, a drama piece published on June 30 1949. Elena Prokhorova defines the literary efforts of Sergei Mihalkov in the following way: "If the subject of Mihalkov's works is state iconography, the target is the child who is learning the fundamental lexicon of the empire and its everyday practices." (2008:288) Therefore, at the time of the fiercest attacks of Stalin against the Yugoslav Communist Party leadership, *Novo pokoljenje (New Generation)*, the largest Croatian publisher of children's literature, published a book by a children's author who was Stalin's ideological follower. Taking into account general circumstances at the time, it is hardly possible to interpret this as ignorance or an oversight of the publisher. In particular, if we know that in the following year, 1950, another book by Mihalkov, *A Special Task (Posebni zadatak)*, whose aim also was to glorify Stalin, was published by the same publisher. These decisions must have

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<sup>7</sup> This was the last article in *Pionir* devoted to Stalin.

<sup>8</sup> In the same issue of *Pionir* the Resolution of December 16 1948 on the merging of the Association of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia and the People's Youth of Yugoslavia into one organization was published. Actually, this meant that all youth in Yugoslavia were communist. The system, feeling endangered, tried to take over absolute control.

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been brought with the blessing of the Party leadership, with the aim of sending the message that there were no deviations from the Communist road and that, through the messages inculcated in children, the Yugoslav and Soviet future were fundamentally linked.

*The Red Neckerchief* is a drama piece devoted to the 25th anniversary of the Organization of Young Pioneers (*Всесоюзная пионерская организация имени В. И. Ленина*) that was established on May 19 1922. Therefore, it abounds in ideological axioms. For example, in *Dunja's Neckerchief* (*Dunjina marama*), a story by Danko Oblak, Dunja is a pre-school child. She has an 11-year old brother, Bojan, who no longer wants to wear a blue neckerchief, a symbol of belonging to pioneers since some older boys mocked him that he was a kid. Dunja is distressed because of this and at the end of the story she manages to convince her brother that it is important to wear a blue pioneer neckerchief. However, in Mihalkov's drama piece, the reader learns that the pioneer neckerchief is "part of our red communist flag" (Mihalkov 1949:83), and that to be a pioneer means that one wants to become a communist. So it is completely unclear how Bojan's blue pioneer neckerchief fits into this.

Mihalkov's drama piece is actually an answer to the question what constitutes "a happy childhood". A happy childhood is not about "eating bottled fruit, going to the cinema every other day and going to the seaside every summer" (56). Happiness is when you become what you want to become. (57)! Some time ago, in capitalism children had to work hard and had no opportunity to become what they wanted to become. In America, if you are born as a black, you are not a human at all. In the Soviet Union, however, irrespective of the material status of your family, or even if you have no family, the state will help you to make your dreams come true. It is enough that you have a wish. That is why at the admission ceremony for new pioneers the cheers "Young pioneers, be ready for the Lenin-Stalin cause! Hurray!" are heard. (131)

Let us now sketch the third period, in which children's literature by Soviet authors lost its unquestionable authority. In 1952, Croatian editor and poet, Grigor Vitez, referring to the past years noted: "In the years following our Liberation we had an unusually large number of translated foreign books for children, almost exclusively by Russian authors: publishers were of the opinion that choosing these works they could not fail in terms of the purity of ideas expressed. Thus, in addition to truly valuable works, quite a number of works which were of average, or even poor, value were translated and published." It should be noted that Vitez refers to "the purity of ideas expressed" which made it possible to translate and publish even low quality works, without any questions raised.

In the period of the Sovietization of Croatian/Yugoslav children's literature every word of Soviet authors was piously absorbed. Works by Soviet authors depicted the reality that was desired by the Yugoslav Communist regime. On the other hand, the works of Croatian/Yugoslav socially engaged authors who wrote before World War II were republished in the post-war period and had to be adapted to the demands of the new reality. Let us quote several randomly selected examples: *Poletarci*, a novel by Josip Pavičić, published in 1937, had to be completely adapted before it was republished in 1949. In a similar way, *Deca Velikog Sela*, a novel by Mate Lovrak, was first published in Belgrade in 1933 and underwent considerable changes in its first post-war edition in 1946.

Books by Western authors were censored and adapted to the needs of Yugoslav Communist society. Thus, *Bambi*, *Heroes of Paul Street*, *Winnetou*, and *Heidi* were heavily adapted, with no guilt feelings on the part of publishers. In the period after 1951, books by Soviet authors shared a similar destiny, this time because of different ideological

motives. The attitude towards Soviet authors was deprived of the respect characteristic for the period of Sovietization.

The whole process from the glorification of Stalin to radical destalinization may be revealed if we examine the translation of *Son of the Regiment*, a novel by Kataev, and a drama piece under the same title.

In 1947, Belgrade-based *Prosveta* published a translation from Russian of *Son of the Regiment*: a drama piece in three acts. At the very end Enakiev dies on the stage and addresses his last words to Vanya.

Enakiev: Thank you!... Vania, come here, lean to me, listen what I am going to tell you. You were a good son of the scouts. You were a good son of the artillerymen. You were my dear, good son. But, in the first place, always and everywhere, you must be a true son of your mother – your Fatherland! You must be a true son of the best son of our Motherland – the great STALIN!...

[...]

Enakiev: Vanjusha! Go! Go! .Bravely, the bugle calls! Bidenko, give him a hand, help him! Go, Vania! Step bravely forward! ..  
APOTHEOSIS

Vania and Bidenko climb the „stairs of the Suvorov Military Academy.“ Banners, trumpets, music.

The end.

In this drama piece, as in the novel published a year before, Stalin's leading role in war is repeatedly emphasized. Thus, in the Croatian translation of the novel from 1946 the artillerymen yell:

Fire on damned German soil – fire!

Hold on! Fire!

For the Motherland! For Stalin! Fire!

Death to Hitler! Fire! !" (Kataev, 1946: 104)<sup>9</sup>.

Both in the Serbian edition from 1973 and the Bosnian one from 1971, the words „For Stalin!“ are omitted.

At the end of the novel *Son of the Regiment*, the commander of the regiment presents Vanya with the captain's shoulder straps from the uniform of his beloved dead captain Enakiev, telling him “ But, listen: always and everywhere in the first place you must be a true son of your mother – your Motherland! You must be a true son of the best son of our Motherland – the great STALIN!“ (128).

In all the editions of *Son of the Regiment* published after 1948 the words of the best son of our Motherland – the great STALIN!“ were omitted.

In later editions, the entire end of the novel full of pathos is completely changed. At the end of the novel, Vanya climbs the staircase decorated with red flags to meet an old war general.

It was hard for him to run. But the old man gives him a hand. The old man is clad in a grey military coat, laid over the shoulder, in boots with spurs and a diamond star on his chest, a grey lock over his beautiful, frowned forehead.

He takes Vanya by the hand and leads him up the staircase to the top, where among the potrgani war banners from four victorious wars, stand Stalin with a brilliant marshall star, glittering and glowing under his army coat.

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<sup>9</sup> Both in the Croatian and Serbian editions from 1946 all references to Stalin were retained.

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Under the flat brim of the cap protruding, blinking eyes look at Vanya with a demanding expression. But under the dark moustache Vanya notices the firm and fatherly smile and it seems that Stalin is telling him: "Come on, shepherd boy. Step lively!" (Kataev, 1946: 132).

In the later editions, the entire end of the novel (from the words "It was hard for him to run...") is omitted. To conclude, we have portrayed three periods in the reception of Soviet children's literature in Croatia/Yugoslavia: a) the period of strong Sovietization of Yugoslav children's literature that lasted from 1945 to 1948. This period was marked with a strong presence of Soviet authors, whose works provided models both for the future literary production and for everyday practices (demobilization of children who participated in the war, the organization of the Pioneers' Union, the relations between pioneers and the youth; b) the period of cooling in the relations with the Soviet Union that lasted from 1949 to 1950. In this period, the number of the books by Soviet authors decreased but still the minimum of relations with the Soviet Union were maintained; c) the period after 1951, when the works by Soviet authors were published again, but they lost the status of authority which provides models for literature and everyday life. Rather, the choice of the books, as well as the interventions into the texts, show that the main concern was to adapt them to the demands of the reality, as shaped by the Communist regime in Yugoslavia.

In histories of Croatian children's literature, overviews of the decades following World War II are scantily written. As a rule, overviews of this period boil down to the pejorative qualifications of the propaganda literature, lacking any wish for a closer analysis. Usually, the later period of children's literature spanning from 1956 is analyzed, without the critical examination of the prior period, an exceptionally turbulent and unprecedentedly experimental period. As if the later period was not built on the groundwork of the prior, suppressed time. How can we, then, really understand the later period built up on the previous one and all the later periods if we do not try to critically examine the beginning?

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## ORIGINAL PAPER

# Cultural Racism: A Conceptual Framework

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### Abstract

The term ‘racism’ is omnipresent in the current everyday discourse. The concept was conceptualized in different sciences but continues to raise debates and controversies. This paper is a contribution to the conceptual delineation regarding the racism and other phenomena associated with it, such as ethnocentrism and xenophobia, focusing especially on the term of ‘cultural racism’. After outlining a framework for defining this term and depicting the main features of racist thinking processes, such as essentialization, reductionism and absolutization, the paper gives particular attention to the discussions regarding the question if cultural racism is a new form of the ‘classical’, biological racism, or represents a different phenomenon, and this would be the reason why, in the scientific discourse, there should be used another, more adequate term, which should replace the problematic word ‘racism’. The main arguments of the theoretical perspectives which sustain each answer are presented, thus highlighting the key aspects of the contemporary racism. Furthermore some remarks are made regarding the approach and research of this phenomenon and it is emphasized that emergent questions require further investigation both for the theoretical development and the practical application and anti-racist strategies.

**Keywords:** *racism, cultural racism, racism without races, ethnocentrism, xenophobia, essentialization*

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## Introduction

Presently, the term “racism” appears frequently both in the media and political, as well as in the everyday discourse. The debates opened by this concept cannot be ignored by the scientific approaches, even more as the term generated many controversies, and the developed – more or less scientific – theoretical perspectives were used to support or justify practical action and controversial political interventions. Compared with the investigation of other ideologies, the approach of racism is more complex, precisely because the terms on which it is based and on which it relies, in particular those of “race” and “races classification/ hierarchy” are debatable and objectionable. Based on such terms and often allegedly “in the name of science” were justified not only different forms of discrimination, but also – in addition – extreme forms of segregation, expulsions and extermination of certain groups of people. Under these circumstances, scientific discourse should delineate itself from other discourses and should investigate this phenomenon using scientific methods and procedures.

The present paper addresses the conceptual and theoretical problems of contemporary racism and especially the concept of “cultural racism”. This topic is still of great interest within sociology and other social sciences. There are delineated the ways in which the issue of racism has been sociologically conceptualized and the main significant theses and theoretical approaches concerning the phenomenon of cultural or “differential” racism. The central aspect which I follow is the question if there exists a shift from an era of the classical biological racism to that of the emergence of new cultural forms of racism.

In the first part of the paper there are discussed the key definitions of racism, and are addressed other concepts, such as ethnocentrism and xenophobia, from which the term “racism” distinguishes itself. The following section gives an outline of the significant issues relating to contemporary racism, focusing especially on the conceptualization of the cultural (neo) racism and on the main features of racialist thinking processes, such as essentialization, reductionism and absolutization. In the third part there is discussed the question if the current forms of cultural racism represent a new phenomenon or they are a manifestation of the proto-racism. In the last part of the paper the key aspects of the contemporary racism are highlighted and some remarks about its research are made.

## 1. Conceptual framework

Firstly, the conceptual framework of the issue of racism is outlined by discussing some common definitions of “racism” and its delineation from other concepts such as “ethnocentrism” and “xenophobia”.

### *1.1 Definitions of racism – from narrow to extensive definitions*

The term “racism” is one of the most controversial and ambiguous concepts in the social sciences (see Mac Ghail, 1999; Sow, 2008; Koller, 2009; Fredrickson, 2011). Being frequently imprecise and unreflected, and even banalized as a result of its political usage and overloading in mass-media (Taguieff, 2005c), this term also generates many problems with regard to a scientific definition. According to Taguieff (2005c: 549), since it is not possible to reach a whole, universally applicable definition, an appropriate approach would be that any science that makes use of this term to delineate its conceptual content.

In a narrow definition, for example, R. Miles (1982; 1991) suggests that the various meanings and uses of “racism” should be scientifically limited for analytical

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reasons by referring exclusively to it as to an ideological phenomenon. Miles bases his viewpoint on the fact that “the analytical value of a concept is determined by its utility for the description and explanation of social processes” (Miles, 1991: 103). Racism refers to practices and processes of exclusion, though this is, according to Miles, an overstretch, which “on one hand does not have sufficient separation sharpness, on the other hand makes the determination of deterministic relationships more difficult” (ibid.).

In order to achieve an analytical accuracy, racism should be therefore understood as a representational phenomenon, and so should be determined not by its function, but by its ideological content. According to Miles, this ideological content consists, on the one hand, of a process of racial construction, which means that one or more biological features are used as a criterion for the description of a collective group, these characteristics being regarded as natural and unchanging and attributed as the intrinsic differentiation opposite to other groups (ibid.: 105). On the other hand, all the people who belong to this collective group are attributed additional, negative – both biological and cultural – characteristics and consequently “the presence of such a group appears to be highly problematic: it is presented ideologically as a threat” (ibid.: 106).

C. Lévi-Strauss (1983; 1988) has also a narrow view on racism by defining it in the sense of “classical” meaning. He considers racism as a precise doctrine that can be summed up in four points (Lévi-Strauss, 1988: 208): firstly, a correlation between genetic heritage and intellectual skills and moral attitudes is constructed; secondly, it is claimed that this heritage, on which these skills and attitudes are dependent, is common to all members of certain groups of people; thirdly, these groups, referred to as “races”, may be hierarchized according to the “quality of their genetic heritage”; fourthly, these differences entitle the so-called “superior races” to dominate, exploit, and even annihilate the other races. Compared to Miles’ point of view, this definition takes into account not only a theoretical but also a practical component of racism, since it involves actions and behaviors. Nevertheless, according to this definition (cf. Taguieff, 2005c: 558), no racism could exist in the present, at least not as a significant phenomenon concerning the social and political sphere.

In the same direction, but with a greater covered area, G.M. Fredrickson (2011) asserts that racism has two components: difference and power. In the first place, racism corresponds to a delimitation of the alleged own human group from all “Others”. In this respect, “They” differ from “Us” permanently, and these differences are not bridging (Fredrickson, 2011: 19). As the differentiation is always in favor of “Us”, this feeling of difference provides a motive, respectively a justification, to treat the “inferior Others” unjustly or cruelly.

The spectrum of possible consequences of this interplay of attitude and action ranges from an unofficial, but continuous practiced social discrimination, to genocide; between them lies something like the racial separation, which is sanctioned by the government, colonial subjugation, exclusion, expulsion (or “ethnic cleansing”), and enslavement (Fredrickson, 2011: 19-20).

In this understanding of racism one can see a much broader range of meanings. Fredrickson no longer talks about the role of biological / genetic features as differentiation criteria. Thus is this definition more imprecise, but it gives the concept of racism a broader range of coverage by considering also cultural characteristics as starting points. In addition, this author emphasizes the element of power: racism appears where a group of people has power over other groups. It is, therefore, a matter of domination and

subordination, of “racists” and their victims (ibid.: 20). Last but not least, one can note that, in this perspective, the “function” of racism (in the sense of Miles’ understanding) is emphasized, namely, what actions are carried out in the name of racist attitudes.

The coverage area of the concept of racism is even more extensive in other comprehensions. The term is sometimes also used without having specified an analytical framework, especially in the everyday, media and political discourse. Thus “racism seems to have become today a *passé-partout* under which seemingly any discrimination of the «others» can be subsumed” (Priester, 1997: 13). The broad use of the concept of racism makes it an approximate synonym for exclusion, rejection, discrimination, hostility, hate, intolerance, phobia or contempt (Taguieff, 2005c: 555). In the French language are used (ibid.) e.g. terms like “racism against the youth”, “racism against the elderly”, “racism against women”, “racism against homosexuals” or “racism against the French”, etc.. From this point of view, it becomes more difficult or even impossible not only to develop relevant scientific approaches, but also to develop accurate, anti-racist strategies at the actual, practical level.

### ***1.2 Delimitation of racism from ethnocentrism and xenophobia***

Before approaching cultural racism, I am discussing two other concepts which have comparable meanings to that of racism: ethnocentrism and xenophobia. These terms are often used in a confusing way as synonyms for racism. Whereas all these concepts refer to the problematic relationship between “Us” and the “Others”, still they do not overlap.

The concept of “ethnocentrism” was introduced in 1906 by W.G. Sumner in his book *Folkways*. According to Sumner, one can denote ethnocentrism as the perception according to which the group of people, to which «We» belong, is the center of the world, and the measure to which we refer in order to judge others (Sumner, 1906: 13). As a result, each group of people got their own pride and own vanity, claims their superiority, regards contemptuously the outsiders, and believes that only their *folkways* are good, whereas those of others, if they are at all noticed, are despised (ibid.).

Ethnocentrism implies therefore, on one hand, a fundamental distinction between each particular group and other groups, or between “Us” and all members of the category “Others” (“They” or “Non-We”). On the other hand ethnocentrism presupposes furthermore a focus on one’s own group and an overestimation of the qualities that are exclusively assigned to it. This leads to self-preference and contempt and intolerance towards others. According to this definition, ethnocentrism indicates a global, universal phenomenon (equally cognitive, affective, evaluative, and normative) (cf. ibid.).

Other, later definitions of ethnocentrism (see Lévi-Strauss, 1961; Taguieff, 1997; Ferréol, 2005; Fredrickson, 2011) retain the fundamental elements already described by Sumner. Ethnocentrism is based on a strong identification of the individual with his group and on a certainty of one’s own superiority of a certain number of values, opinions or ideas. It can be considered as an attitude, as a mental disposition or as a behavior, which is accompanied by the rejection of cultural diversity (Ferréol, 2005: 285). Etymologically, the term “xenophobia” means fear and, in a broader sense, hostility to all that is alien, and especially to foreigners themselves (Jucquois, 2005: 672). If the meaning of the Greek word “phobia”, from which the concept originates, is taken into account, xenophobia would fit into a large category of phobias. However, in the humanities and social sciences it is regarded above all as a collective attitude and not as an individual neurosis (ibid.). However, there are many disputes regarding its definition. According to Taguieff (2005c:

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553), xenophobia refers to fear, hatred, and resentment towards foreigners, and generally to everything that is foreign or different, or what belongs to the “Non-I”. Taguieff points out (*ibid.*) that the term “heterophobia” instead of “xenophobia” would be preferable because it does not imply a privileged relationship with nationalism.

According to Jucquois (2005: 675), xenophobia contains negative and “pessimistic” views either against certain ethnic groups or against all other ethnic groups. This author speaks about three characteristics of xenophobia: firstly, the fear generated by the perception of a danger from a supposed “contamination” and the threat that this contamination would be for the own ethnic group; secondly, in response to this fear, the will to resist this threat, in the form of various political, legal and social dispositions; finally, the feeling of a gradual “invasion” or an imminent upheaval of demographic equilibrium.

From these conceptual delineations one can notice that ethnocentrism and xenophobia have similar elements with racism, but are not identical with it. The differences are both in content as well as in terms of their origin. Regarding the content, racism is more than ethnocentrism or xenophobia, because it refers not only to feelings, attitudes and behavior, but also to an ideology, in the sense of a – often elaborated – worldview, that can become a doctrine. There are no ideologies or doctrines of xenophobia or ethnocentrism, but of racism (Priester, 1997: 13). In other words, racism involves ethnocentric and xenophobic views, but it is more than a rejection of the foreigners (xenophobia in a broader sense) or “self-preference” of one’s own group and undervaluation of others (ethnocentrism in a broader sense). According to Taguieff (1988), racism also implicates a “fear of mixing” or implies a “mixophobia” – a term introduced by Taguieff (1988: 353) in order to denominate this fear and subsequently a “sacralization of the differences”. Beyond the convictions of the superiority of one’s own group and xenophobia, racism presupposes a fear of “mixing”.

In terms of the origin and history of the three terms, many authors (Memmi, 1972; Taguieff, 1988; Priester, 1997; Fredrickson, 2011) consider that ethnocentrism and xenophobia exist since ancient times and they are universal phenomena, common to all human beings. While the emergence of racism can be dated, this is not possible with xenophobia (Memmi, 1972: 915). Fredrickson (2011: 193) emphasizes that, compared with xenophobia, racism is a historical construct “whose career can be traced over the period from the 14th to the 21st century”. According to the same author, ethnocentrism and xenophobia could be seen as a precursor of racism in many respects (*ibid.*: 231). However, Taguieff (2005c: 566) questions whether the “mixophobic” attitude, which is specific to racism, is indeed a social-historical construction, or is also an universal attitude spread throughout the human species. This still remains a topic of discussion among scientists.

### **2. Cultural racism – an overview**

In the following section are presented various aspects and explanations regarding racism in present. There are brought into focus especially the concept of “cultural racism” and the main processes of racist thinking: essentialization, absolutization and reductionism.

### *2.1 From biological inequalities to cultural differences. Towards a definition of cultural racism*

„Classical” racism, which focuses on the concept of biological inequality, was characterized by the support of state and law, explicit examples being the national socialist government in Germany, racial separation laws in the American Southern States up to the 1960s, and the regime of apartheid in South Africa. However, as Fredrickson (2011: 13) notes, racism is not a phenomenon of the past, because it does not need this state and legal support, nor is it an ideology of biological differentiation and inequality. Forms of discrimination and rejection of people emerge or even flourish, including in societies free from racism (ibid.). It is a matter of attitudes and behaviors of rejection and that does not necessarily rely on biology in order to underpin the subordination of some people or groups of people. Instead, the ethno-cultural origin is absolutized to discriminate, marginalize, segregate, exclude, or exile (Taguieff, 2005b: 499). These attitudes and behaviours are called cultural racism (ibid.).

Above all, this phenomenon has emerged in connection with the “problem” of immigrants (ibid.), that is, as a reference to “supposedly deep-seated cultural differences” (Fredrickson, 2011: 13), in order to justify the hostility against these and their discrimination. What is reproached to some categories of immigrants is the fact that they are not culturally “assimilable” and consequently constitute a danger of disorder for society and for the national group (Taguieff, 2005b: 500). In his analysis of the new current forms of racism, P. A. Taguieff (2005b) uses the term “neo-racism”, more exactly, “differentialist cultural neo-racism” to specifically designate this global phenomenon, this emerging ideological configuration. Taguieff sees in the “racism against immigrants” only an illustration, among others, of precisely the neo-racism.

The numerous situations in which people are rejected, discriminated or expelled show that racism can also be based on other than biological grounds, especially with respect to cultural differences and ethnic or ethno-national identities. This phenomenon can come up to the extent that groups of people are essentialized, the differences are absolutized and declared as “innate, indelible and unchangeable” (Fredrickson, 2011: 15) and allegedly antagonistic in relation to the “predominant culture” (Taguieff, 2005b: 500). This is denominated by Taguieff (ibid.) as a “cultural / ethnic heterophobia”. That is internal and selective, and works neither because of the idea of the “races”, nor because of the emphasizing of some inequalities, but because of the essentialization and absolutizing of the differences between groups of people. As in biological racism, the fear of mixing is also present in the cultural (neo) racism because this “mixing” (or “hybridization”) would be supposedly destructive for the “pure identity” (ibid.: 501) of the prevailing group. The “mixophobia” requires the effort to distance oneself from the “others” or simply to eliminate them.

This (neo) racism may not highlight inequalities but differences, it does not lack though the construction of a permanent hierarchy of different groups of people. That happens because some people and groups are regarded as not “adapting/ fitting” to the prevailing national culture. It reflects the assumption, which can be regarded as strategic and instrumental overestimation, that these groups, which are characterized by diverse “other” cultural characteristics, cannot “integrate” in the prevailing culture, and consequently a coexistence with them is impossible.

In this point of view one can see that – although the term “racism” has an inescapably linguistic link with that of “race” – (neo) racism/ cultural racism is not based

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on “races” but on culturalistic essentialized groups of people. Therefore emerged the term “racism without races”, which is also used to designate the new racist manifestations.

As Fredrickson (2011: 232) points out, “culture can be essentialized to such an extent that it has the same deterministic effect as the skin color”. However – in order to avoid confusion between racism and ethnocentrism and “to speak truly about racism” (ibid.) –, Fredrickson considers that two additional elements are necessary. On one hand, there should be present a conviction that the differences between the ethnic groups are permanent and indelible. Otherwise – if conversion or assimilation is a real possibility – we can talk about cultural or religious intolerance, but not about racism (ibid.: 233). On the other hand, there must be a political and social aspect of ideology, that is, an “exercise of power in the name of a «race» and the resulting patterns of domination or exclusion” (ibid.). According to Fredrickson (2011), the (neo) racism/ cultural racism can be defined as the phenomenon which appears “when an ethnic group or a historical collective attempts to dominate, exclude or eliminate another group on the basis of differences, which are considered hereditary and immutable” (ibid.: 233).

### *2.2 Essentialization, reductionism, absolutization – processes of cultural racism*

In all noticeable aspects racist thinking appears as a paradigmatic representation of essentialist thinking, since it implies at the same time a somatic-biological essentialization of different “Others”, and a permanent segregationist behavior (Guillaumin, 1972: 77-78). Essentialization refers to the tendency to construct substantial genera / species (“Jew”, “Black”, “Aryan”, etc.) by considering the visible differences as permanent and unambiguous signs of belonging to one or the other category (Taguieff, 1988: 155). This leads to a transition from a distinct physical aspect to a specific genetic substance and furthermore to different mental abilities and skills (ibid.: 156; Taguieff, 1997: 65-66). The criteria, as proved by the visible differences, which are regarded as natural and unchangeable, and on the basis of which the essentialist categorizations and classifications are developed, can vary and they can be both phenotypical and cultural (Taguieff, 2005a: 38).

Thus, the process of essentialization means, on one hand, to accept only one or some of the characteristics of human groups as essential, and furthermore to assign other specific features or abilities to these groups by virtue of these essential characteristics. On the other hand, all members of these groups are considered alike/equal, the differences within the groups are homogenized (Mac to Ghail, 1999: 10), the multiplicity of the individual features is not considered and the situational factors are neglected (Taguieff, 2005b: 510). In the construction of the essentialized human identity it is appealed to firm or essential characteristics which are supposed to persist continually (Mac an Ghail, 1999: 7).

Basically essentialization requires a double process of reductionism: people are reduced to one or a few (“significant / enduring / inherent”) characteristic(s), whereas human groups are reduced to uniform, homogeneous, one-dimensional collectivities. In this way, for example, all migrants would be similar, and they would be culturally incompatible or incapable of integrating into the dominant culture, and are therefore of concern to society.

In addition, besides essentialization and reductionism, a process of absolutizing the differences contributes to cultural racism. In the light of the fact that in neo-racism the differences and not the inequalities are emphasized, Taguieff (1988) introduces the concept of “differential neo-racism” to describe the present racist phenomenon. Cultural

differences can be both perceived and simply invented, and are absolutized to such an extent that they appear as irreconcilable. The coexistence of the people who belong to different cultural groups appears to be not only problematic but also impossible. Therefore, cultural racism (Taguieff, 2005b: 501) implies an absolutizing of perceived or invented differences between essentialized groups of people.

### **3. Approaches to current racism: is cultural racism a new phenomenon, or is it a manifestation of (proto) racism?**

As already mentioned, there is a risk of ambiguity when using the concept of racism, because its extent was overexpanded to describe various forms of discrimination and exclusion, as well as ethnocentrism and xenophobia. Furthermore, it has been shown that in the present a new form of racism is emerging – or at least defined as such – namely cultural racism. This phenomenon is often designated also by terms such as neo-racism, differentialist racism, or racism without races. Under these circumstances there is a question which is still controversial in the various scientific disciplines: is this (new) phenomenon indeed a form of racism, or is it something different, for which perhaps another concept should be used? This question was raised with regard to racism as early as the beginning of the '80s (Taguieff, 2005b: 499). Assuming that the term of “cultural (neo) racism” is adopted, some clarifications are necessary regarding its conceptual value and its empirical validity.

#### ***3.1 Arguments for the thesis of a new, different phenomenon***

When approaching racism, one should outline and establish an analytical framework and rely on a coherent definition of racism. Proto-racism or biological, “classical” racism was defined as an ideology based on biological or genetic criteria. If one chooses this analytical framework, racism is understood in a narrow sense, as in the earlier mentioned definitions and approaches of Miles and Lévi-Strauss. They emphasize the role of biological criteria in the ideological construction of racism.

In this analytical framework, the thesis that cultural racism should not be classified in the generic conception of racism appears to be justified, since it lacks basic elements: in pointing out the differences, it does not refer to the (biologically assigned) “races”, but to essentialized groups of people; it does not presuppose “racialism” or “racialization”; it does not appeal to biology or genetics to argue the existence of hierarchies and superiority/ inferiority, but to the absolutizing of cultural differences in order to establish the supposed incompatibilities, etc. While cultural racism resembles classical, biological racism in terms of its manifestations, its affiliated practices, the implied emotions or passions (such as hatred, fear, contempt, etc.), the consequences, yet – in this analytical framework – they are different phenomena, because they are based on different ideologies. And assuming that racism is primarily understood as an ideology, and this ideology originates from biological criteria, cultural racism would be excluded from the “umbrella” of racism.

Another argument relates to the fact that the use of the term “racism” could be misleading, given its link with the ideas of classical racism, namely, the biological criteria on the basis of which human beings were hierarchized, the existence of “races” and the justification of racial classifications, etc. Thus, the term “racism” should only be used to describe what it originally defined (i.e., what biological/ genetic racism depicted). For the new phenomenon, which is based on cultural criteria, a new concept should be developed.

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Finally, a linguistic argument must be mentioned: one cannot help not to establish a link between the words “race” and “racism”. Since the new racism no longer puts the “race” up for discussion – a term which has fallen into disgrace anyway –, the reuse of the concept of racism appears justified only in a metaphorical sense (as in “racism without races”), but not in the scientific analytical frameworks. Under these assumptions, the use of the term “racism” would be inappropriate.

### *3.2 Arguments for the thesis of one and the same phenomenon*

If one proceeds from a comprehensive scope of the concept of racism, as the above-mentioned definition of G.M. Fredrickson (2011), then cultural racism is only a manifestation of racism, and the only difference compared to biological racism would be the criteria which are used to determine and justify the differentiation and hierarchization of human groups. It would be one and the same ideology that propagates differences, inequalities, discrimination and abuses of some categories of people, apart from the fact that it is not based on the idea of the “race”, but rather the “culture”. The “race” or other “encodings” of the “race” represent a pretense for differentiation and hierarchization, and in this case the pretexts are not essential, but what they cause: assignment of (negative) characteristics to some groups of people, attitudes, behaviors and actions against these people, which emerge as exclusion, discrimination, exploitation or expulsion. In this respect, it is not the differentiation criteria that come to the fore, but the manifestations, practices, and consequences, which are the same.

Culture can be to such an extent “reified and essentialized that it becomes the functional equivalent of the concept of «race» (...). A deterministic cultural particularism can have the same effects as a biologically based racism” (Fredrickson 2011: 18).

Provided that “mixophobia” (fear of mixing and of harm of the “purity of descendance”) is common to both biological and cultural (neo) racism, Taguieff (2005c) argues that the difference between them does not refer to the foundation, but apparently to the form and rank, in that cultural racism can be interpreted as an “euphemism of biological racism” (Taguieff, 2005c: 564).

Furthermore, other arguments for the thesis of the expression of the same phenomenon relate to the fact that cultural racism is not entirely lacking (pseudo) biological elements. J. Solomos and L. Back (1996) consider that “race” is nowadays coded as “culture”, and the central feature of this process is that it “fixes and naturalizes the characteristics of social groups, and it is embedded in a pseudo-biologically defined culturalism” (quoted by Fredrickson, 2011: 18-19).

On the other hand, different viewpoints suggest that – conversely – “classic” biological racism also referred to cultural and differential parameters. M. Wiewiorka (1995) doubts that cultural or differential perspectives are new in racism. He mentions that the ideology of anti-Semitism in the Third Reich appealed to cultural elements, for example, by considering that Jews “corrupted the Aryan culture and race”. Therefore the “final solution” regarding them was not to give them the lowest place in society, but to destroy them. According to Wiewiorka, there exists only one racism that often combines different versions of the association of cultural differentialism and social unegalitarianism. Likewise, M.J. Hickman (1995), based on an analysis of racism in the UK, found that both anti-Semitism and racism against Irish show that there is nothing new in terms of cultural differentiation as the basis for racist discourse in this country.

In addition, K. Priester (1997) also argues that cultural racism is not a new or different phenomenon, because racism has always been culturally and differentialist.

From the beginning, modern racism has not only biologically argued (*in the original underlined*). Recognized racial ideologists (...) have always sustained – independently of any biological “natural selection” optic – the possibility of an “inner Judaism”, namely the adaptation of non-Jews to so-called Jewish behaviors through cultural contact. Even in paroxysmically intensified Nazi racism, the moment of the cultural (*i.o.u.*) differentness of the Jews and other discriminated minorities was always present (...). When the Nazis set out to define who was a Jew at all, they took as a basis a cultural (*i.o.u.*) trait, which was designated by the religious affinity in the third generation (...). And even regarding the Sinti and Roma the focus was not on their biological “race” but on their culture, their way of life, their customs and traditions as “travelling people” (Priester, 1997: 25).

In reflection of this thesis racism is a combination of biological and cultural arguments, some of these being highlighted. Therefore, there exist different manifestations of this phenomenon. Moreover, the term “race” as such is not essential; its meaning can be coded as “culture”. Racist attitudes and practices can only work on the symbolic level.

### **Discussion and conclusions**

The main focus of this paper was the concept of cultural/ differential (neo) racism and the question of the extent to which cultural racism differs from “classical” (proto) racism. As a first conclusion, it can be stated that the term “racism” is one of the most controversial and ambiguous concepts in social sciences. The phenomenon of racism can be assessed in a broad range of understandings, from narrow definitions, which consider racism merely as a representational phenomenon, as an ideology that uses one or more biological features as a criterion for describing collective groups in order to undertake racial construction, to comprehensive definitions, which take into account not only the ideological content of racism, but also its specific emerging attitudes and actions, as well as the forms and practices of discrimination that are justified thereby. However, it can be concluded that when racism is analyzed, one should resort to a clear and coherent conceptual framework to delimit racism from other phenomena such as ethnocentrism or xenophobia.

It was delineated that if racism would be understood with the “classical”, biological meaning, it would not be a significant social and political phenomenon in present. However, it has been ascertained that racism is not an issue of the past, and the “era of racism” is not over, since other forms of racism, not necessarily relying on biology, but especially on “culture”, emerged and are even – still – flourishing. It is still debated, whether these forms of racism, which essentialize cultural characteristics, reduce human groups on homogeneous, one-dimensional collectivities and absolutize ethnicity and cultural differences, represent actually another phenomenon, or merely different manifestations, with different stresses and accentuations, of the same “old/ classical” racism. It has been shown that there are different views that put arguments in place to sustain one or other of these positions.

However, it is not the existence of the phenomenon of cultural racism queried, which has resembling forms, practices and consequences as biological racism, but the accuracy of using the term “racism” for its description. It can be argued relevantly in both directions. For example, there is a reason to omit the term “racism” on grounds of its

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misleading due to its link with the concept of “race” and the idea of racial construction and classifications based on various biological criteria. On the other hand, there are several argumentations for the fact that both biological and cultural racism represent one and the same ideology – only differently justified – and therefore the term “racism” should be maintained. Starting from such conceptions, one should be less concerned with the ontological question of whether “races” actually exist or not, and instead should focus on the impact of the ideology. In this respect, racism is a combination of biological and cultural ideological arguments, coming into different manifestations by emphasizing some of these arguments. In addition, “race” is nowadays encoded as “culture”, and culture can be essentialized to such an extent that it has the same deterministic effects as skin color or other biological differentiation criteria.

In conclusion, the debates about racism continue in the present, and they still create different theoretical assumptions and approaches. However, in order to outline a coherent scientific framework with regard to cultural racism, as well as to other terms that are based on contemporary racism, questions that require further investigation are emerging. They refer, on one hand, to theoretical approaches and more precise explanations regarding the factors that maintain racism and contribute to racist thinking, provided that on the legal and “objective” levels racism should no longer exist. On the other hand, there would be investigations necessary that could yield practical and feasible findings and results needful for effective anti-racist strategies and measures.

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## ORIGINAL PAPER

# Victorian Women in Literature

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### Abstract

Many authors began to write about the sufferings and endurances of women in the Victorian Age. More and more novels focused heavily on traditional, typical Victorian female characters and their interactions. As to the movement for the emancipation of woman from the unjust burdens and disabilities to which the five authors made it a subject to reveal the benign qualities of woman, Hardy, Thackeray, Gaskell, Trollope and George Eliot also focused the condition of woman, besides Charles Dickens and the Brontë sisters – with a remarkable account of the social institutions of Victorian London. This does not mean that those novelists held feminist ideas, they simply he wanted to give woman her feminine privileges and rights. This study aims to explore most important Victorian writers who wrote about woman to seek the accuracy of Victorian views towards women. Charles Dickens was a pioneer in dealing with the kind of woman that was identified in that era. We also include Thomas Hardy and Charlotte Brontë who had different ideas in this point.

**Keywords:** *emancipation, female characters, feminism, Victorianism, women writers*

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### Introduction

When England faced the French and the Industrial Revolutions one after another in the 19th century, suffering was mainly restricted to the poor, women and children. Those who were forced to work for gaining the daily food, they were working under bad conditions. In the early nineteenth century and as a contrivance to protect women from the exploitation in the street, a new gender ideology arose in which “women were apparently restricted to the home, or ‘private sphere’, while men’s field was defined as the ‘public sphere’” (Thane, 1978: 1). While it restricted women’s activities and opportunities, women nevertheless occupied public and carried on public activities.

Marriage for countless women at that sometime means happiness and stability, whereas many Victorian theorists, philosophers, and commentators call marriage as a legally binding contract. Kames has this view, “Marriage is a contract still more important, as the happiness of one’s whole life may depend on it” (Kames, 1800:148).

In Victorian period, the view on women was around an image of women as both inferior and superior to men. They did not have their legally rights, they could not vote and had to pay workforce that appeared after the Revolution. Women forced to do their domestic sphere, they should clean, home, food and raise their children. The husband controlled all the property. The rights and privileges of Victorian women were very limited for both, the single and married. She faced many kinds of verbally and physically violence, and she did not have the right to divorce. The educated class especially the writers appeared to stand against the injustice law. Victorian culture exhibits in both literature and visual arts an accruing interest in nineteenth-century women's periodicals has found expression over the last decade in countless volumes of literary and historical scholarship. Many authors began to write about the sufferings and endurance of women in Victorian Age. Their novels focused heavily on traditional, typical Victorian female characters and their interactions. Nancy Henry mentions in *Victorian Literature and Finance* :“ It would be difficult to consider women and investment in the nineteenth century without invoking the model of ‘separate spheres’, by which many historians and literary critics have understood and interpreted Victorian culture. The simultaneously public and private nature of financial acts seems to obviate the distinction between a public/male sphere and a private/female sphere. And yet, the activities of investing women, especially their presence in ‘the City,’ frequently called up the rhetoric of separate spheres in the Victorian press” (Henry, 2007: 112).

Elizabeth Lee, in *A Literature of Their Own*, summarizes that Elaine Showalter shows how women’s literature has evolved, starting from the Victorian period to modern writing. She breaks down the movement into three stages – the Feminine, a period beginning with the use of the male pseudonym in the 1840s until 1880 with George Eliot’s death; the Feminist, from 1880 till the winning of the right to vote in 1920; and the Female, from 1920 till the present-day, with a new stage of self-awareness about 1960 (Lee, 1997: 3). It was the most important historical culture, reflected in the fictions of that era. As the nineteenth century was an age rich in fiction, it was the most enjoyable way to appreciate the textures of Victorian life. It is worth to read Victorian novels and, because of woman’s precious weight in Victorian fictions, the researcher finds it valuable to write about this kind of culture.

As to the movement for the emancipation of woman from the unjust burdens and disabilities to which the authors made it a subject to reveal the benign qualities of woman, there were novelists (besides Dickens) such as the Brontë sisters, with a remarkable

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account of the social institutions of Victorian London. In addition, Hardy, Thackeray, Gaskell, Trollope, Brontë and George Eliot also focused on the condition of woman.

### Dickens's View on Women

There are many female characters in each novel, of Charles Dickens's novels employ characters from diverse social classes of Victorian England, each character developed enough for the audience to convey his outlook according to the way he constructs his female characters: “. His words also bring to light his views on the women of his time . A great deal of criticism has connected Dickens' female characters in novels with women in his life” (Bashi, n.d :1).

Dickens's novels employ female characters from various social classes of Victorian England. Each character is developed enough for the audience to make an assumption about Dickens's observations on domestic and social conditions. He was one of the most significant novelists of the Victorian age, and he aimed to accommodate and promote his characters to reflect that time. This does not mean that Dickens nourished feminist thoughts, he simply wanted to give woman her feminine privileges and rights.

As a novelist, he was anxious about the victims of his society and the way in which their lots can be improved. Dickens reacted towards the bad situations by employing figures to convey pessimistic historical vision, as the tragic symbol for human fate in the nineteenth century. He therefore chose to construct representative victims of legal institutions to draw attention to flaws in his world and the changes that might be made to improve social conditions. My intent is to write on the situation of woman in the nineteenth century in society and the society's views towards her.

Nineteenth-century English life is a recurrent theme in the novels, and versions of novels that abound in contemporary images. Alexander has a parallel idea, when he writes that in the nineteenth century:“There had been crazes for the Gothic novel and with Scott's fiction, yet it was only in the 1840, with Charles Dickens, that the novel again reached the popularity” (Alexander, 2000: 272). The attractiveness of Dickens' realistic novels seems to go with the expansion foundation of middle-class realities. Regarding the woman, Xiang argues that: “Most writers portrayed the nineteenth-century British woman as a naive, accepting figure with strong concerns about living up to the given societal ideals for a respectable woman”(Xiang, 2008: 5).

Dickens must have many opportunities of observing; his social pictures would have been imperfect without them. He has his considerable thoughts reflected in his great novels. He presents the destructive, abused, angelic, true mother , and the evil woman. But he prefer the angelic and utopian woman, whom he rewards with happiness.

“This idea of virtuous womanhood as possessed of innate, God-given powers to uplift, regenerate and redeem, which is so ubiquitous in Dickens's writing, is inextricably bound up with his celebrated idealization of the domestic. It is always in terms of personal relationships, especially within a family grouping, that woman, for him as for most Victorians, realized her full moral and spiritual potential” (Slater, 1983: 309).

Dickens speaks through his characters and so they become his mouthpiece, and behind each female character there is an aim which he wants to achieve. By representing his own points of view, feelings, thoughts and opinions, he means to cure the society. Dickens gives the reader an opportunity to recognize the greatness of the characters as well as to express his ideas about the behaviors and characteristics of women as a group.

It is obvious from Dickens' speech his forming of the characters in his novels in order to fit his purposes. He said:

"I believe it may be said of an author's attachment to the creatures of his own imagination, that it is a perfect model of constancy and devotion, and is the blindest of all.[I have], an earnest and true desire to contribute, as far as in me lies, to the common stock of healthful cheerfulness and enjoyment....I believe that Virtue shows quite as well in rags and patches, as she does in purple and fine line. I believe that she and every beautiful object in external nature, claim some sympathy in the breast of the poorest man who breaks his scanty loaf of daily bread...These creatures have the same elements and capacities of goodness as yourselves, they are molded in the same form, and made of the same" (Darwin, n.d: 65).

Dickens knew what he was talking about. In his later novel *Little Dorrit* (1857), he conveyed the kind of angelic female character represented by Amy Dorrit through whom Dickens concentrated on the human good and evil deeds, and how those deeds could draw the fate of human happiness or death. Concerning this character, Dickens serves the idea that the woman's ability has more to do than what the society supposes her to be. Emmy is reflected as the precursor of all humanity, an innocent character who achieves good deeds not only to her family but to the people around her. "In the sound of her voice, in the light of her eyes, in the touch of her hands, so Angelically comforting and true!" (Dickens, 2009: 787). As it happens with Dickens's characters, inner life is presented through being externalized and acted out. *Little Dorrit* illustrates one of the central and most important themes in Dickens's novels, that environment can act as a catalyst in term of influence and likeness. Amy presents him all her money to help him triumph over his distress, but he rejects her offer. After this caring and protective act, Little Dorrit swears to Arthur her perpetual love and this declaration allows Arthur to endure his dreadful prison period. She gives him a new hope and optimism in life.

Dickens proves that his heroine is a considerable woman for her moral manners, as she is praised by Mr. Meagles: "little, quiet, fragile figure ... that her young life has been one of active resignation, goodness, and noble service" (Dickens, 2009: 846).

The reader of the novel can observe deeply how she can help the prisoners in the jail. Amy takes it upon herself to care for and help others to the best of her ability. Little Dorrit seems to want someone to care for as a vital and important part of her existence. She lacks the pride and self-importance that are so apparent in heroines. Milbank's belief that "Dickens takes as given the close association of woman and home, and sees women as the group who might be able to extend their natural mothering and housekeeping tasks from the domestic to the public realm. In this, Dickens is close to feminist of the time, which used the ideological identification of woman with morality as an argument to extend their moral influence and values to the market-place and public institutions" (Milbank, 1992: 90).

### **Hardy's View of the Weak Woman**

The nineteenth century was an age rich in fiction, and the novel was the most enjoyable way to appreciate the textures of Victorian life. It is worth reading about Thomas Hardy and his personal view about the Victorian woman, his art, his poetry, and his novels of ingenuity, fantasy and romance. "Hardy is the best Victorian psychologist of creativity because of his relaxed form and moral detachment : emotional and sensuous detail is

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common in other great Victorians"(Hardy, 2000: 47). Remarkably, Hardy could expose the woman's struggle in circumlocution techniques.

The novel *The Mayor of Casterbridge* is not a moral expanse, the novel's plot reveals the consequences on kinds of characters with different moods, non-moral level of a quality of character, a condition of existence Henchard and on the opposite side of , we find the conventional women. *The Mayor of Casterbridge* begins with a scene that dramatizes the analysis of female defeat as a function of capitalism this opening scene of such heartlessness and cruelty that it still shocks readers today. Hardy presents Susan as a woman who shows little emotions, firmly woman, brings a dark secret that suffered of Henchard's doom. Hardy's heroines become more completely Hardy's voice to recognize and judge the world. Thomas Hardy was providential enough to get such an opportunity.

Hardy's women can't be studied only under the influence of love. Love is another force which causes pain for the woman, she may be forced to vice because of her emotions. Hardy tends to study the woman psychologically by both her heart and soul. For him women are more the creatures of instinct and impulse than men. This very realism of Hardy is seen in the fact that women in his novels suffer more than his men. The woman endorses the society's injustice then ends her life with a tragedy. His estimate of women is superior, but tempered and conditioned by devoted observation of the realities around him. From the very beginning, Hardy imagines the cheapness of woman through his husband:

“Well, then, now is your chance; I am open to an offer for this gem o' creation.”

She turned to her husband and murmured, “Michael, you have talked this nonsense in public places before. A joke is a joke, but you may make it once too often, mind! I know I've said it before; I meant it. All I want is a buyer” (Hardy, 1996: 9).

Susan is treated with scorn by Henchard, and there are direct indications from the narrator that Henchard is suspicious about her mental power, her way through the novel is one of continued triumphs over coming circumstance, then she succeeds in improving her worldly situation; she guesses the true age and situation of her surviving daughter so as to establish her in wealth before her own death. “idiotic simplicity” (Hardy, 1996: 17).

“Henchard's wife acted for the best, but she had involved herself in difficulties. A hundred times she had been upon the point of telling her daughter, Elizabeth-Jane, the true story of her life” (Hardy, 1996: 79).

“Her simplicity – the original ground of Henchard's contempt for her – had allowed her to live on in the conviction that Newson had acquired a morally real and justifiable right to her by his purchase – though the exact bearings and legal limits of that right were vague” (Hardy, 1996: 80).

Present-day society's conditions and attitudes have been compared to the treatment of Susan, Lucetta, and Elizabeth-Jane. In *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, Allingham considers: “Thomas Hardy attempted to make Victorian society more aware of its treatment of and attitudes towards women. This object he effected through the chief female characters of the novel” (Allingham, 2003: 2).

During the events, he conveys that women in their different estates are consistently revealed either as unimportant workers or as pawns in male power-games in this late Victorian novel. Thomas Hardy portrays these females with an effort, and describes their tragedies to criticize society. Hardy, as Xu Xiang argues, “exposes the weakness of human beings. He thinks that one reason for the characters' tragedy is the

weakness of their characters” (Xiang, 2008: 3-4). Martin Blocksidge has a different view on Hardy, he commands that “Hardy’s view of human nature and the likely outcome of human endeavor is almost unremittingly tragic” (Blocksidge, 1991: 4).

Hardy was different from Dickens in exposing physical love and susceptible to female charm. According to Alexander, “His characters, rather than showing psychological development, are made of simple elements and experience a variety of emotions as plot and situations act upon them. His mixing of genres invokes a greater variety of dimensions than other novelists” (Alexander, 2000: 302) because he lived much of his life out of doors so he could observe unbelievable or accidental scenes.

### **Brontë’s Attitude on Woman**

Charlotte Brontë (1816-1855) was particularly drawn, by experience as well as by imagination, to the troubles of the unmarried and monetarily poor women. She dramatises those cases in *Jane Eyre* (1847) and *Villette* (1853). Charlotte Brontë wrote under the masculine pseudonym Currer Bell. She was received with great praise, and this is one of the reasons that allowed her to write about the injustice on woman. Eventually, the position of women in Victorian society became a major political issue; as a result, there appeared many prominent women Victorian novelists, and some of the problems which women faced are inevitably reflected in their work.

Approximately at the time when *Jane Eyre* was published, mid-Victorian England was concerned in a great deal of argument about social reform. For instance, a group called the Chartists published a ‘People’s Charter’ in 1838 calling for universal male suffrage and Karl Marx and Frederich Engels completed the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1850) in which they discussed the working class to grab power. A number of texts identified as the ‘Condition of England’ novels engaged creatively with social and political change including Charles Dickens’ *Dombey and Son* (1846–1848), Elizabeth Gaskell’s *Mary Barton* (1848) and Anne Brontë’s *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* (1848).

In *Jane Eyre*, Brontë certainly explores a variety of contemporary issues; such as the ill-treatment of children and the role of the church in Christian faith. Furthermore while the focus of the text is definitely on Jane’s inner life and personal battles, the problems, she faces were shared by many real-life women who struggle to get her earn the daily foodstuff in spite of the little choices on hands in poor society. *Jane Eyre* is a first-person autobiography of emotive, narrative, and at times mythic power, tells the story of the easy tutor. Jane, The orphan heroine suffers, is tried many times, and triumphs. After difficulties in her early life, falls in love with her employer, Mr Rochester. They marry, Jane deserves her final happiness.

Charlotte Brontë found an appropriate device to expose her rejections against the educational system, hypocrisy, humiliation and bigotry, this device was to write *Jane Eyre*, which was a revolt to find the heroine way as an independent woman. Jane is victorious at the end of her story because she has maintained narrative influence and power. Her achievement lies in her ability to narrate a text that forces her to confront Entrhancement, she is as Angela Hall-Godsey says: “Jane is the power behind her own narrative” (Hall-Godsey, 2008: 44).

Brontë believes that a woman should give the opportunity to work as a teacher, this view comes as her feelings when she was a teacher at some period in her life. The teaching field is the only way occupation that the woman may success in, it is the social

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work and respectable duty of the middle class woman. Jane Eyre was so lucky to love her employer. In their relationship, they broke all the social boundaries.

In her fiction, Brontë establishes a comparison between self-controlled woman represented by Jane and the animalistic character represented by Rochester's first wife. She also introduces a different and new voice of passion. When she was a child, Jane was a far impassive kid, and she suffered from fear and the aggressive treatment of the adults. Charlotte Brontë reflects her life, and the Victorian injustice rules towards the child and woman. They both suffer from poverty, sickness and fear. Her terror appears in a parallel terror with Jane's. Alexander mentions that Brontë was the first novelist to convey a landscape connecting to her own experience, and he adds: "The seriousness of Brontë's effort to define woman's emotions besides the power and vigor of her affecting world are instantly accessible to anyone" (Alexander, 2000: 275-76).

Alison Milbank's study articulates that *Jane Eyre* is "the search for a feminine identity that is genuinely challenging, and ultimately redemptive for human kind in general" (Milbank, n.d, 141). Although Charlotte Brontë was always conscious of the economic and emotional deprivations felt by the single woman, Jane Eyre is strongly and positively to blame of her own life. Charlotte Brontë paints a grim picture story of a respectable middle-class spinster, its central character experiences a number of extraordinary things in a life full of movement and quest. Her fiction is not merely written for the feminine but to all the people in community.

Kornstein's thesis (2003) exposes Brontë's struggle for autonomy as a largely isolated woman living with a tyrannical father and, later, within a brief marriage. Her novel reflected her own character with the passion and fervor and her life and strong, but never guiltless spirit. Her first novel, *Jane Eyre*, shows Brontë struggling with the issue of civilizing passion, her own as well as her characters. At that point Brontë insists on the conflict of the woman with her natural desires and social condition: the conflict between Passion and Reason. She has the tendency to share the deepest secrets of her soul with the readers (Kornstein, 2003: 11).

She could "be an agent of her own sexual development" (Hall-Godsey, 2008: 10) by understanding the suffering of her own lack at her own hand. Charlotte Brontë explored the desires directly which are taken in her personal life. By using the female character 'Jane,' Brontë "defied the Victorian conventions of middle-class femininity" (Kornstein, 2003: 11) because she lived and spoke as she wanted according to her wishes.

When a woman takes the responsibility of writing amidst her domestic duties, she "must not hide her gift in a napkin; it was meant for the use and service of others". Gaskell believed that

"if a woman were blessed with the ability to write, then she must labour to do what is not impossible...and God would bless her endeavors. Brontë's constant struggle to achieve respectability as a woman in a 'man's profession' left her feeling isolated and vulnerable, longing to escape and to experience true freedom" (Gaskell, 1908: 238).

She used writing also as a mean to practice castration. Hall-Godsey has written about this subject:

"Writing equals castration, Writing allows women a moment in which to carry the mark and make the mark simultaneously-the proverbial double-edged sword... In the case of the female characters in the novels of Charlotte Brontë, the author exhibits a passionate level of violence toward his/her female characters. As an author, Charlotte Brontë created a world that, in its textual

reproduction, becomes a history of female self-castration by writing under a man's pen" (Hall-Godsey, 2008: 10-14).

As Juliet Barker writes in her book *The Brontës: A Life in Letters*, "Brontë's desires to love and be loved were often shrouded by the desire to be independent and treated equally as a woman. She wished that women of the time would not sit idly by waiting for a husband to "rescue" them. Writing to William Smith Williams of her aggravation with such women, she encourages him to trust his daughters to make "their way honorably through life. Advocating respectable work for women, she says, "Teachers may be hard-worked, ill-paid and despised – but the girl who stays at home doing nothing is worse off than the hardest-wrought and worst paid drudge of a school." "Families of daughters sitting waiting to be married, I have pitied them from my heart. She suggests that these women obtain a hobby on which to focus their energy so "idleness" will no longer be a factor. Brontë's desire is, "I wish all your daughters – I wish every woman in England had also a hope and motive" (Barker, 1998: 241-42).

It is obvious to the minds that Brontë wanted to change the past and bad conditions of woman in that time as she herself had suffered of them. Brontë speaks through Jane, declaring:

"Women are supposed to be very calm generally: but women feel just as men feel; they need exercise for their faculties, and a field for their efforts as much as their brothers do; they suffer from too rigid a restraint, too absolute a stagnation, precisely as men would suffer; and it is narrow-minded in their more privileged fellow-creatures to say that they ought to confine themselves to making puddings and knitting stockings, to playing on the piano and embroidering bags. It is thoughtless to condemn them, or laugh at them, if they seek to do more or learn more than custom has pronounced necessary for their sex" (Brontë, 1981:101).

The influence of *Jane Eyre* set on the reader's capacity for emotional attachment of the storyteller's experience. The reader's engagement in the novel is implicit as an identification with its heroine. An analysis of the life of Charlotte Brontë and the following reconsiderations of her work show the connection between the author's life and art. The audience receives the storyteller as the author herself, she shares the same emotional experience. Charlotte Brontë faced critics because of the resemblance between her and first-person narrator. In using a forceful first-person narrator, she adds additional pressure on the readers who are not of the same class or gender as Jane to experience a variety of oppressive situations alongside her, adding to the novel's sense of social critique. One reviewer talks about the bond that is established between character and reader Brontë tries by her novels to change the Victorian's view towards woman. It is a declaration of the narrow and violent systems of the 19th century society.

Nancy Henry mentions: "Many of the same Victorian authors embraced capitalism in their daily lives, and whether we find their involvement inevitable or hypocritical, it is a fact that complicates our understanding of the culture's attitudes toward the economic system that so influenced their lives" ( Henry, 2007: 113-114).

*Jane Eyre* gave Charlotte Brontë the opportunity to express the cruelty of the society and institutions; writing *Jane Eyre* she was also able to tell a story in the first person of a young woman who could change her life to the unusual. In chapter 31, she declares through Jane, the bad conditions of the woman student in that age: "My home, then, when I at last find a home – is a cottage, a little room with whitewashed walls and a sanded floor" (Brontë, 1981: 611). But in spite of this, she lives her days with satisfaction.

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She can coexist with all the students in her classroom, and she feels that she's well liked in the neighborhood.

In Victorian times, women were supported by their husbands if they were lucky enough to get married, and they did not have financial sources. They didn't have a whole lot of choice in jobs, and they couldn't make very much money. Jane could do, by her own strength, what the Victorian woman should have done, she has earned and advertised her way to financial and psychological independence and became rich. She could conquer her natural desires through will-power. Even when she returns to Rochester at the end of the novel, she is still promoting her liberty. Jane tells Rochester:

"I only want an easy mind, sir, not crushed by crowded obligations... I shall earn my board and lodging, and thirty bound a year besides. I will furnish my wardrobe out of that money, and you shall give me nothing but..."

"Well, but what?"

"Your regard,..." (Brontë, 1981: 452).

The three Victorian authors used literary elements in order to make us better understand the role of women in the Victorian Era, and to create for us many of our mental images of the period. Each of them wanted to present the Victorian woman according to his/her personal observations, and they succeeded to portray the often conflicting outlooks imposed on them by society.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

## Promises and pitfalls for the health journalism in Romania

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### Abstract

The present article starts from Reese's thesis (1997) according to which journalism is an activity of collecting empirical information, in which various activities have developed (Reese, 1997: 423). The paradigm of journalism is seen by Schudson (1997) as a model that governs the collection of information. In his seminal work on journalism as profession, Schudson (1997) assessed that the true parading of journalism is revealed through practice and is based on some excellence criteria related to the impact of this activity on the public (Schudson, 1997: 8). The article has as its aim to identify the peculiarities of health journalism in Romania. We have started from the assumption that in this case, the health journalists are crossing borders with social and investigative journalism – many of them are migrating from social topics to strict medical topics coverage. Once specialised, they offer a closer and more accurate perspective of the health medical system they covered in their everyday activity. In order to see what are the main traits of health journalism in Romania, we have analysed a set of 24 interviews conducted in February-May 2014. The interviews were made with journalists working directly with the health system representatives and care providers, as well as with health authorities and institutions. The results showed that journalists had declared general negative perceptions about the medical system in Romania. They have defined the Romanian health system as a dysfunctional one (although the aim of the interviews it is not to criticise the system or the professionals), a system which is "in a profound and structural crisis". Also, the journalists have stressed the lack of patient education in relation with their doctors - the "bribe" being seen as the cornerstone of this relation. The future of health journalism in Romania is seen in a rather positive way, due to the main educational aim of this type of journalism.

**Keywords:** *Health journalism, journalist's role, Romanian medical system*

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### **Introduction**

The mass media provide the public with significant amounts of health information, but press coverage of health stories are often assessed by scientists as inaccurate, superficial, or sensationalized (Klaidman, 1991; Suchman and Wilkes, 1997). Journalists accuse, on their turn, the research community of obstructing, misguiding, or even failing to alert the press of important findings (Wiltse, 1992; Suchman and Wilkes, 1997).

As existing literature shows, (Gasher et al., 2007) health journalists typically focus more on individual than social factors as sources of health disparities. Illness is often framed as a personal, rather than a social problem (Howell and Ingham, 2001). At the same time, the “medicalization” of societies is a recent and relevant social phenomenon relating to the growing influence of the medicine establishment in the way individuals see and interpret reality focusing on individual and collective health problems. This is a characteristic of the medical theory born in the 19th century that comprehends the intent of prescribing people new ways of living, behaving, and acting.

The media have contributed strongly to that “medicalized” reality, accepting and reproducing the “medicalized” speech of the health sources. We start from Reese’s thesis (1997) according to which journalism is an activity of collecting empirical information, in which various activities have developed (Reese, 1997: 423). Accordingly, we took as granted the paradigm of journalism as is was seen by Schudson (1997) as a model that governs the collection of information. In his seminal work on journalism as profession, Schudson (1997) assessed that the true parading of journalism is revealed through practice and is based on some excellence criteria related to the impact of this activity on the public (Schudson, 1997: 8). The article has as its aim to identify the peculiarities of health journalism in Romania, namely the barriers and opportunities media professionals face when they cover health issues in their articles and programs.

### **Theoretical framework**

The existing literature on the journalists’ professionalism showed the existence of a huge gap between the general, (e.g. public) expectations and the media professionals training. As many studies showed (McCleneghan, 1997; Voss, 2002) only some of the journalists are trained in the subjects they cover, this being especially true in health-related and medical domains (Voss, 2002). Within the general framework of existing literature related to news production processes one can notice that the number of those which address the implications for public health directly is rather scarce.

Many researchers (Nelkin, 1996; Schwitzer et al, 2005) assess that this limitation of medical and health-related issues is inherent to the present media landscape. Accordingly, some authors (Nelkin, 1996; Kline, 2006) pointed out the divergences existing between health professionals and journalists as regards the values and goals of their work and the difference among them as regards some general concepts (such as, validity, objectivity and significance) which guide their daily activities.

When Kitzinger and Reilly (1997) analysed the existing barriers to increasing quality of health and medical reporting they pointed out to the lack of so called “technical training” for journalists and the influence of external factors (mainly commercial) on the selections of stories. Furthermore, one can add at those limitations the the time constraints of news production (Larsson et al., 2003; Schwitzer et al., 2005) which made difficult for some newsrooms to cover health and medical issues in a proper way.

Despite the existing divergences between the two specific profession some researchers (Hodgetts et al., 2008; Schwitzer et al., 2005; Cooper & Yukimura, 2002)

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had showed that journalists' concerns and aspirations are frequently similar to those of the health professionals. In fact journalists' activity is extremely complex, especially as regards the tensions between economic and structural imperatives on media organisation and journalists' own sets of values and commitments (Larsson et al., 2003; Finer, Tomson & Bjorkman, 1997).

In order to define the journalists' role we start from Briddle's (1986) role theory's definition as:

...patterned and characteristic social behaviors, parts or identities that are assumed by social participants, and scripts or expectations for behavior that are understood by all and adhered to by performers. (Biddle, 1986, 68).

According to Hayes (2007) there are some public roles which have been assign to journalist and those are: facilitating democracy, gatekeeping, framing and agenda setting (Hayes et al, 2007).

To understand those roles one must take into account the interconnection of "roles, values and content" (Hayes et al., 2007: 263) in journalism and the existence of "essential shared values" within this professional field (Elliott, 1988; 2009). The interrelations between the roles, values and contet are normative and they set the limits for the bevahour of this professional group.

Among the most invoked values associate with journalists' profession is the effort to obtain a balanced, accurate, relevant and complete reporting of the facts and to grant the necessary information for a good governance and proper civic life. Giving the fact that those values are assessed as providing criteria by which journalists' actions can be judged some principles were stated as guides of actions in this profession. With direct relevance to our subject we can mention that the "Association of Health Care Journalists" from the USA had devised a "Statement of Principles" in 2004. The "Statement" had as its main aim to improve the quality, accuracy and visibility of health care reporting in mass media (Schwitzer, 2004). The journalists' role in health domain was defines as such in this document:

We are the eyes and ears of our audiences/readers; we must not be mere mouthpieces for industry, government agencies, researchers or health care providers. (Schwitzer, 2004, W12).

### The research questions

Building on the existing literature, we sought to explore the journalistic practices that comprise reporting on health generally in Romanian media. Our research questions were:

RQ1. How do Romanian journalists view health and medical system in Romania?

RQ2. What opportunities and barriers do journalists face when reporting on health issue in Romania?

### The research project

The data collection phase of the study was carried out over a six-month period from February to May 2014. It was conducted mainly by ethnographic in-depth interviews. According to Belk, Wallendorf and Sherry (1989), this approach could fulfil the need for more naturalistic research, as was the case with our project.

Participants were 24 Romanian journalists who work in audiovisual, print and online media, 18 female and 6 male journalists. Participants were drawn to the study using "purposeful sampling" (Patton, 1990), which emphasises sampling for information-rich

cases. Half of the sample (12 journalists) worked for maximum five years in the Romanian media and only two have worked more than twenty-one years as journalists.

**Table 1. Experience as journalists in Romanian mass media (N=24)**

	Frequency	Percent
Less than a year	2	8,3
2-5 years	10	41,7
6-10 years	3	12,5
11-15 years	4	16,7
16-20 years	3	12,5
Over 21 years	2	8,3

**Source:** Authors' own set of interviews with Romanian journalists – February-May 2014

From the total sample 10 journalists were free-lancer journalists and 14 were employed at a media outlet.

**Table 2. Type of media where the journalist is employed (N=24)**

	Frequency	Percent
Newspapers and magazines	6	25
Audiovisual (Radio and TV)	8	33,3
Web	3	12,5
Mix	7	29,2

**Source:** Authors' own set of interviews with Romanian journalists – February-May 2014

One-third of them (eight journalists) worked in audiovisual media, six were employed in newspapers' newsrooms and only three made on-line journalism. Following the existing procedure in the sociological field (Pandit, 1996) we coded the transcribed interviews at two levels: open coding and axial coding. Open coding refers to that part of the analysis dealing with the labelling and categorising of phenomena, as indicated by the data. The products of this coding procedure are concepts – the basic building blocks in Grounded Theory construction (Pandit, 1996; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The rationale of this procedure can be summarised as it follows: while open coding separate the data and obtains concepts and categories which already exist in the text, at the level of the axial coding one have connect between a category and its subcategories, by re-assembling the concepts and categories (resulted from open coding) into new concepts (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

### **Analysis of the result**

Four axial categories were related to the question related to characterisation of the Romanian medical system in a single word, which is a part of our RQ1.

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**Table 3. Characterisation of the situation within the medical system in a single word**

Open Coding	Axial Coding
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ambiguous;</li> <li>- Precarious situation;</li> <li>- Down to the ground;               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ill;</li> <li>- Collapse.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	The situation of the medical system is characterised in a negative way; the medical system itself needs to be cured.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- A catastrophe;</li> <li>- Vicious circle.</li> </ul>	The chances to get out the catastrophic situation are minimal, due to the fact that the existing solutions do not solve all problems at the same time; the problems appear at the same time in the whole system.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Continuous transition;</li> <li>- Reform.</li> </ul>	The instability is a negative factor and it is rooted in the prolonged transition of the entire social system.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Critical;</li> <li>- The system face a crisis;               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Crisis;</li> <li>- Disaster.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	A large set of extremely negative assessments.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Negligent;</li> <li>- Delay.</li> </ul>	The human factor is responsible for the negative aspects of the medical system.

**Source:** Authors' own open and axial codings of the set of interviews with Romanian journalists – February-May 2014

According to Romanian journalists the medical system itself needs to be cured, there are multiple problems existing at the same time within it and the main responsibility of this situation belongs to the “human factor”.

*At present the medical system in Romania is not...ahh...functioning in a proper way, and this is due to multiple factors. We can assess the Romanian health system as a complex system which suffers shortages for different reasons.*

The vast set of assessments used in relation to medical system comprised negative attributes such as “critical situation”, “crisis within the medical system”, “disaster”, “delay in changes”etc.

*I think it is a domain in crisis. The brief explanations are very strong: under-financing of the medical research programs, problems with health insurances, unpropoer medical conditions in medical institutions.*

*If I choose a word to describe it I think the best one is “precarious”. There are many explanations: low efficiency due to the low quality of services the system offers, the fact that there are no sufficient resources for modernisation and the hygiene conditions that are lacking....Of course, the list can continue.*

The second key theoretical theme of the study, explanations for the existing situation within the Romanian medical system addresses also the first research question (RQ1). There, evidence from the study data suggests that the journalists assessed existing situation within the Romanian medical system as dependent on a variety of factors, a situation that was revealed by our axial coding of interviews.

**Table 4. Explaining the existing situation within the Romanian medical system**

Open Coding	Axial Coding
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Hospitals are in ruins;</li> <li>- Mix between health in under-developed countries with the developed ones;</li> <li>- In some hospitals things had been changed, while in other the situation is the same – there are many factors at stake;</li> <li>- Problems related to drugs in hospitals;</li> <li>- Hospitals with many problems;</li> <li>- Medical system with lack of financing;</li> <li>- Poor conditions in hospitals.</li> </ul>	<p>The health system is in crisis as material resources, as modernity, as regards the relation between doctor and patients.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Very poor quality of services;</li> <li>- Disaster;</li> <li>- Low efficiency;</li> <li>- Frequent changes within the system;</li> <li>- Lack of resources for modernisation;</li> <li>- Health services at a very low level;</li> <li>- Poor hygiene within the system;</li> <li>- Health insurance at a minimum level.</li> </ul>	<p>Financial shortcuts of the system; the budgetary allotments are small due to the lack of public interest and the system of health insurances does not function in favour of the patient.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Underfunding of the system;</li> <li>- Lack of funds within the system;</li> <li>- Dezastrous financing of the system;</li> <li>- Chronical underfunding.</li> </ul>	<p>The limited financial resources lead to the lack of utilities within the hospitals and the existence of old technologies.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Lack of drugs and medicines;</li> <li>- Misallocation of money within the system;</li> <li>- The money from within the system are dropped into black holes.</li> </ul>	<p>The lack of the control regarding the resources leads to errors and favours illegal acts.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Old mentality based on bribe;</li> <li>- Bribe;</li> <li>- Doctors who practice their job for money;</li> <li>- Doctors' corruption;</li> <li>- The doctors ask for bribe and the patients give them that.</li> </ul>	<p>The informal payments for medical staff are deeply rooted in the way in which patients assess their relations with doctors and nurses.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Changes which influences the patients;</li> <li>- Patients cannot obtain drugs prescribed by doctors;</li> <li>- Patients buy everything they need for treatment in hospitals;</li> <li>- Patients are treated badly.</li> </ul>	<p>The patient is not seen as the basis of the health system and he/she is considered as the last piece, which is not taken into account when political or/and financial-based changes are made within the medical system.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The crisis due to the lack of personnel;</li> <li>- Doctors' migration;</li> <li>- Massive migration of doctors and it is possible</li> </ul>	<p>The general context is shaped by doctors' migration and the reasons are generated by the underfinanced of</p>

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<p>that in twenty years we shall have no medical staff in Romania;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Small salaries of the doctors;</li> <li>- Lack of doctors and the closing of hospitals;</li> <li>- Lack of medical staff.</li> </ul>	<p>the system, small salaries, the corruption within the medical system and the lacks of technical facilities in medical institutions.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The complicity among politicians, doctors and patients;</li> <li>- A high degree of political dependance for the medical system;</li> <li>- Changes made without a previous analysis.</li> </ul>	<p>The interests that drive the health system are external to it and they are not compatible with its mission.</p>

Source: Authors' own open and axial codings of the set of interviews with Romanian journalists – February-May 2014

The health system is seen as being in a deep crisis. That situation refers to its material resources, lack of resources and the relation between doctor and patients.

*In my opinion we are far behind from other countries, and I point here to the way in which hospitals looks, the ways in which patients are treated, or the ways in which things are going in general.*

*I am thinking at the situation from Romanian hospitals...You are afraid to get sick in Romania and to ask for an internment. In state-owned hospitals the patients has to buy himself or herself the drugs prescribed by the doctor and in the private hospitals...there the costs are so high so many Romanians could not afford even a single night for internment.*

Romanian journalists assessed that the informal payments for medical staff – so-called “spaga” (bribe) is so deeply rooted in the way in which patients assess their relations with doctors and nurses that it became a part of the health system.

*The patient who is facing the lack of drugs in the hospitals, with informal payments (bribes) and also with an old mentality ... this patients think that if they did not pay they would not be well treated by the doctors but they do not try to see what happens in the situation in which they did not give those financial attentions.*

*I am thinking also at the medical staff, staring with nurses who did not even move a finger if you did not “pay attention” to them and ending with doctors who did not care about you if you do not pay...in fact they are not doing otherwise their job. At this one must add the lack of professionalism of a lot of people in the system. Unfortunately Romania is facing at present a mass migration, or even an exodus, of doctors who, for an attractive sallary go abroab without looking back. For that reason only second-hand doctors remain here.*

Many journalists also assessed that the patient is not seen in Romania as the basis of the health system. Much more, he/she is considered as the last piece of this system, an element which is not taken into account when political or/and financial-based changes are made within the medical domain.

*This is the truth: there is bribe in the system, Now, if one think, how to say...the patient sustains this situation. If you go as a patient to a doctor you know in advance that you have to „give money”. And if you do not give (money) you think that they will not treat you well...well, as a professional, as a doctor, you should not link your activity to the informal payments.....*

Other two axial categories which resulted from our study are “the limited financial resources” (which lead to the lack of utilities within the hospitals and the existence of old technologies) and “the errors and the illegal acts” (both being possible due to the lack of control regarding the resources within the system).

*Even if some medical institutions receive financing these money are wrong used in some regions or enter into the pocket of some people who had to win some auctions for sanitary materials or equipments.*

The second research question of our study refers to the opportunities and barriers the journalists faced when they cover health issue in Romania. At the axial coding stage, several categories emerged, as showed in Table 5 and Table 6 from bellow.

**Table 5. Challenges faced by Romanian health journalists**

Open Coding	Axial Coding
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-To express the reality as objective as possible;                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The fight for truth;</li> <li>- The message should not be distorted.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	To maintain objectivity, to present the truth and to catch the attention of the audience.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The influence exercised by the advertisers and by the newsroom;</li> <li>- The resistance towards external influences;                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The senzationalism;</li> <li>- The lack of time and space,</li> <li>- The access to information;</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Lack of time for adequate documentation;</li> <li>- The impossibility to reach the medical staff;</li> <li>- The lack of economical security.</li> </ul>	To highlight the truth is a complex process wich requires time, resources, cross-checkings, solid documentation and resistance in front of newsroom and advertisers’ influences.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To be on the point;</li> <li>- To be understood by the audience;</li> <li>- To present the infromation in an attractive way for a larger audience;</li> <li>- To succeed in catching audience’s attention;</li> <li>- A great dependance on the audience’s requirements.</li> </ul>	To keep the accessible language for the audience and to reach a large audience.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The use of special language;</li> <li>- Lack of specialisation;</li> <li>- The technical language which can nbot be understood;</li> <li>- The lack of journalists trained in health issues;</li> <li>- The multitude of issues within the domain.</li> </ul>	The lack of specialisation for journalists who migrate from other domains.

**Source:** Authors’ own open and axial codings of the set of interviews with Romanian journalists – February-May 2014

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For some journalists to maintain objectivity, to present the truth and to catch the attention of the audience are one of the main challenges they faced when present health-related issues in media.

*Well, one of the challenges is to face the influence of advertisers and editors. They put pressure on the budget, they can change the production of the entire show, sometimes the advertisers do not agree with what you did, there are also pressure that you have to “commercialize” serious issues.*

*Think of three different subjects: a star diagnosed with a disease, the results of a study made by a doctor and a foreign study made on international epidemics. What do you think will rise the ratings for your media? It depends very much on the way in which you can pack the information in a way that is both sensational diverse and have also geographically impact. But I fear that the first topic will find many readers, and the second too little people able to understand the relevance of it.*

Also, “to highlight the truth is a complex process” is another axial code of barriers faced by Romanian journalist which emerged from our study. Respondents argued that it requires time, resources, cross-checkings, solid documentation and resistance in front of newsroom and advertisers’ influences.

*To summarize (the challenges): insufficient time, the focus only on sensationalism, the economic influences (e.g. you can not approach a topic related to a special company because it has connections with the publication where you are employed) or political (e.g. you cannot can not made comments about the actions of the Minister of Health that could be assessed as inappropriate when the minister belongs to a party which supports your publication).*

*That’s the challenge of journalism: to tell the truth, to fight to find the truth and do not let yourself be manipulated by older executives, chiefs and so on. And in the case of health journalism I think the situation is the same.... we are all journalists, we face the same problems, no matter what is the topic.*

When they refer to the problems faced in health-related media coverages the respondents also invoked “the lack of specialisation for journalists”, adding that many of them in fact had migrated from other domains to the medical one.

*It's very important to have journalists who are specialised in a domain. For example, I am not a specialist in law and then I turn to the professionals who are the best in this respect, and often call and still appeal to my former colleague in this field when I need to approach more serious topics. The same is true related to the health system... the people I've already met over time, but the real way ... it's very important to be specialised in one area ... I when I get into a topic very quickly and there are risks sometimes ... I try not to get wrong, but the risk is that, being specialised in ... I learned to work at a different pace. For example, when it comes to things that are urgent, such was the case with those which had to*

*happen at Giulesti maternity, you have to do your job in a half an hour or an hour. In such a short time you have to know a lot about the topic as you have to cover it in a correct way because you also have to face competition in approaching the same issue. So it's important to have journalists who are specialised in such a field as is health-related problems.*

**Table 6. Opportunities for Romanian health journalists**

Open Coding	Axial Coding
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The possibility to correctly inform the people;</li> <li>- The increase of public awareness related to health-related issues;                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The opportunity to educate the people;</li> <li>- The possibility to educate the people;</li> </ul> </li> <li>- It helps the journalists to be more empathical;                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- It is more human.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p>The opportunity to inform the public and the audience needs health-related information.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The chance to change something within the system;</li> <li>- The possibility to make prevention among people;</li> <li>- To present a news in such a way that it leads to a change within the system;                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education for health and prophylaxis</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p>The opportunity to educate people and to determine a change within the medical system.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To present in an accessible way the issues to the audience;                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To help the patients;</li> </ul> </li> <li>- To have the contact with the people within the medical system;</li> <li>- You can pack the reality the way you assess as a right one.</li> </ul>	<p>The responsibility towards the audience is great and the journalists have the opportunity to translate the issues into an accessible language for the people.</p>

**Source:** Authors' own open and axial codings of the set of interviews with Romanian journalists – February-May 2014

“The opportunity to inform the public and the audience needs health-related information” is the main axial code resulted from our analysis of opportunities for the Romanian health journalists. Original codes covered by it refer to the possibility to correctly inform the people, the humanisation of journalistic work, the stress put on the empathical side of media professionalism.

*Increasing public awareness about what is health and what are health needs. The fact that life expectancy of the people is increasing. Simply put: if the people at a young age have motivations relate to job, house, family and so on, for the people over 50 years, things start to go very much towards health concerns. And as we, as a country, have begun to have a constantly increasing ageing population, the number of people interested in health-related issues is increasing, they are more and more aware that they need the access to information relevant to this area (e.g. health)..*

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Another axial code related to opportunities for health journalists is “the opportunity to educate people and to determine a change within the medical system”. This covers ordinary codes of educating people for prophylaxis, the possibility to make prevention among people and the presentation of a news in such a way that it can lead to a change within the system,

*For me, it is important chance to change something in the system. I coordinated a campaign, “We have life in our blood” that led to the establishment of the Registry of the Stem Cell Donors in Romania and we also supported several campaigns for fundraising for the Association “Give Us Life” and we gathered nearly three million of euros for the campaigns. All the money gathered in that way had been invested in hospitals in Romania, in the construction of a Laboratory of Cytogenetics Molecular Diagnosis, to buy the latest technology for the Department of Neonatology at the “Polizu” Hospital, and in the expansion of the Department of Bone Marrow Transplant at “Fundeni” Hospital, in the buildings of the sterile rooms within this Sections.*

*The greatest opportunity is to pack the information in such a way that the news or the article can produce a change in the system.*

The opportunity to translate the medical issues into an accessible language for the people is linked to the responsibility towards the audience’s correct information, according to some journalists.

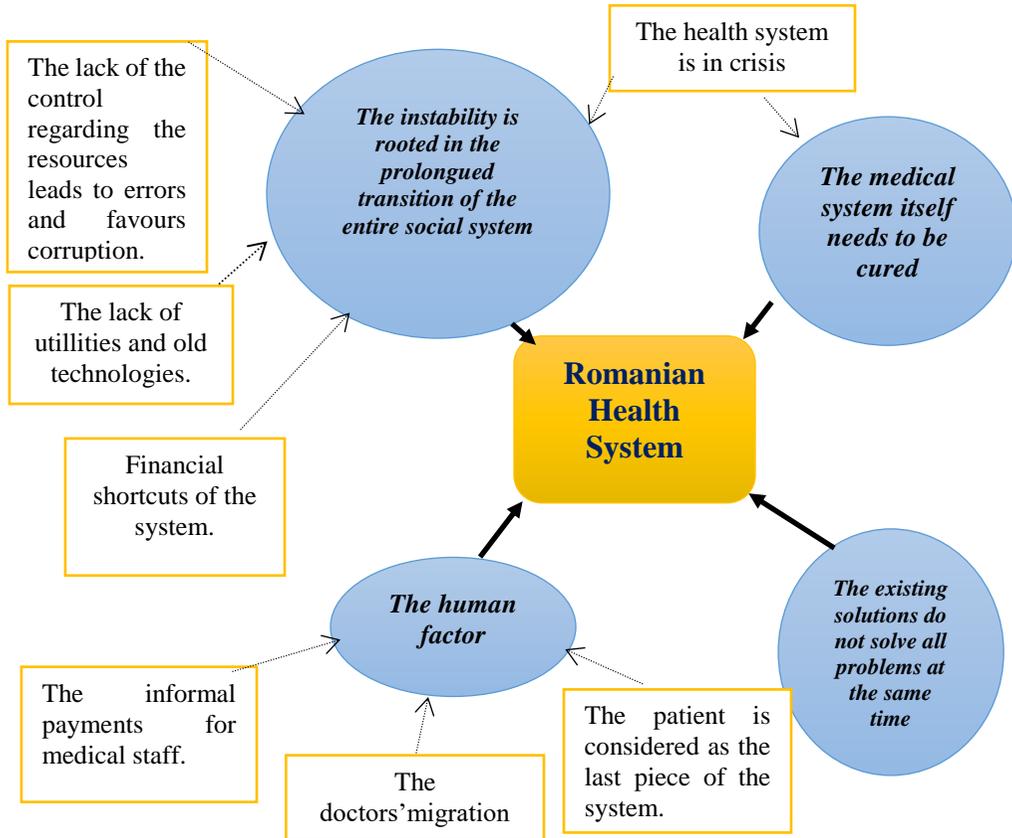
*The doctors with whom I work, who come to discuss important health issues in my show always face this problem: how much they can change the medical language to make it intelligible but to keep the essence... and so it is a problem... They have to be careful and do not vulgarise very much their medical language.*

### Discussion

In the stage of theory building through ordinary and axial codings, the challenge is to interpret the data to develop an understanding of the meaning of the concepts, to juxtapose them against each other and consequently to identify the relationships and interactions between them (Galal, 2001). Interactions among categories are rendered by means of “scenarios” that describe how they occur at various levels and how they influence each other.

We used in our project the model of the categories related to Romanian health system’s assessments shown in Figure 1.

**Figure 1. A diagrammatic model of the categories related to the assessments of Romanian health system**



Note: “ → ” stay for a strong relationship among concepts;  
 “ ⇨ ” stay for a weak relationship between concepts.

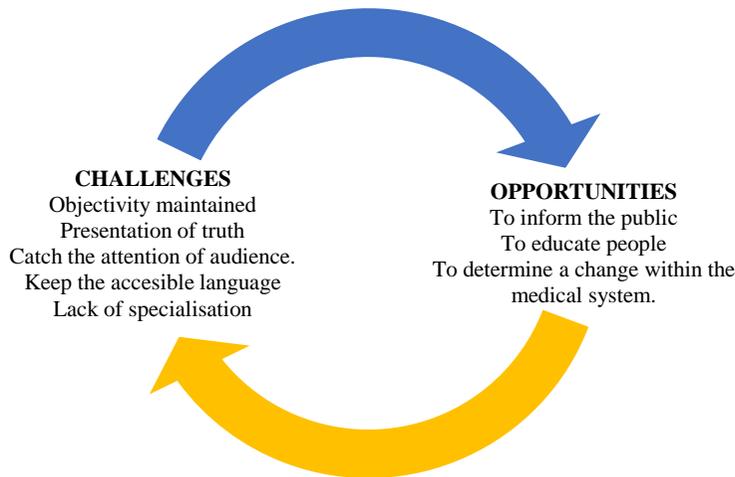
**Source:** Authors' own modelling based on the open and axial codings of the set of interviews with Romanian journalists

As can be seen in this Figure, the main concept “The Health System” is described in its complexity by our respondents, the main sub-concepts that explain it being “the human factor”, the fact that the solutions at work now in this system cannot solve all the problems at once, the instability of the domain which is linked to a never-ending transition and the fact that the medical system has to be “cured” as any other patient.

The potential for the integration of categories lies in the exploration of action/interaction dimensions and meanings, and as a consequence of this approach, it was possible to establish the themes of promises and pitfalls for health journalism in Romania as shown in Figure 2.

Our analysis reveals that the relations between challenges and opportunities in the field of health-journalism are a rather “circular” one, each elements being dependent on others.

Figure 2. A possible model for challenges and opportunities for health journalism in Romania



**Source:** Authors' own modelling based on the open and axial codings of the set of interviews with Romanian journalists

### Conclusions

Media (either in its “traditional” shape – as print, television and radio – or as “new means of mass communication”- such as the Internet) have an extremely important role as a mechanism in communication about health issues (Gunther, 1998). Following McCombs and Shaw (1972) one can notice media’s power in setting the agenda of public debates about health, illness, diseases and public vs. private health systems world-wide. Therefore, in our opinion, the study of health-related news can improve and advance the understanding of journalists’ and health practitioners as participants in health literacies and educational projects. The participation of health journalists in media-related processes can promote public connectivity and understanding of health issues. Starting from the Barzilai-Nahon’s thesis (2006) that news is shaped by all of those who wish to participate in the process of newsmaking we assess that, in health domain the public (e.g. various audiences of the media) has to be not only a passive receiver of medical information but also co-participant in the general dialogue about health-related issues. One can think at a new understanding of journalists’ role as “gatekeepers” in which the media professionals are part of a networked environment alongside with what are now called “media users”, e.g. audiences (Singer, 2006; Hoskins and O’Loughlin, 2011).

As Holton et al. (2013) observe, many business organisations are already attempting to harness the power of network gatekeeping, circumventing the news media to directly share and contextualise news for their audiences. This form of engagement connects individuals with organisations through context and across social media, building networks where content and conversation connects individuals in ways that serve to enhance the image of the organisations who open them up to the public. At most, individuals become willing brand ambassadors for the organisations based on their experiences and connections within a like-minded community. At the very least, they recognise a new opportunity for engagement and the endeavour put forth by the

organisation. This creates, as Holton et al. (2013) argue, an example for the news media to take note of. The results of our study show that Romanian journalists had declared general negative perceptions about the medical system in Romania. They have defined the Romanian health system as a dysfunctional one (although the aim of the interviews it is not to criticise the system or the professionals), a system which is "in a profound and structural crisis". Also, the journalists have stressed the lack of patient education in relation with their doctors - the "bribe" being seen as the cornerstone of this relation.

Our results confirm the fact that in Romania health journalism tends to become a specific profession. It includes the newsmaking process, which allows alternative circuits for the dissemination of health information (Briggs and Hallin, 2010). As our respondents showed, the future of health journalism in Romania is seen in a rather positive way, due to the main educational aim of this type of journalism.

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ORIGINAL PAPER

**The executive power during King Carol II  
Monarchical Authoritarian Regime  
Case study: Constantin Argetoianu's Government  
(September 28<sup>th</sup> – November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1939)**

**Mihaela Ilie\***

**Abstract**

The appointment of Constantin Argetoianu as prime minister was made in a difficult period both internally and externally: on the one hand, Romania was facing a governmental crisis determined by the assassination of Armand Călinescu, Premier at that time, and, on the other hand, earlier that month – September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1939 – the Second World War had started in Europe.

In our study, we will focus on the measures taken by Constantin Argetoianu regarding the single political party established by King Carol II – National Renaissance Front – and, also, on the unfavourable circumstances that the new Prime Minister had to manage. The study has five sections, as follows: the context that led to the nomination of Argetoianu as President of the Council of Ministers, the appointment of the government, the policies that the new Prime Minister tried to implement, the stage of development of the single political party and the decisions taken by the government representatives concerning the reconstruction of the National Renaissance Front; last but not least, we will try to identify the reasons that determined Constantin Argetoianu's resignation.

**Keywords:** *King Carol II, Constantin Argetoianu, executive power, internal policy, National Renaissance Front*

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## **The executive power during King Carol II Monarchical Authoritarian Regime...**

### **Introduction**

In our paper we present and analyze the government led by Constantin Argetoianu and the measures he has taken as prime minister, focusing on decisions related to the political party created by King Carol II – National Renaissance Front (FRN in Romanian).

For the beginning, we present the context in which Constantin Argetoianu is brought at the head of the government, namely after the assassination of Prime Minister Armand Călinescu and after the brief government of General Gheorghe Argeșanu, responsible for punishing those who were guilty of murder. The second section contains the appointment of Constantin Argetoianu as President of the Council of Ministers. In this part we present the appointing decree and also the component structure of the Cabinet, which proved to be quite close to the formula of the previous government. The third part is dedicated to the measures the Argetoianu government has taken in the field of foreign policy, taking into account the extremely difficult situation which dominated international relations after the outbreak of conflicts in Europe. Here we also examine the decisions the new President of the Council of Ministers has taken on internal level. We will continue in the fourth part by studying the situation of the royal political party (FRN), a party which, at that time, was quite far from the theoretical concept that the monarch had in mind when he created the first Romanian single party system. The fifth part will be dedicated to the measures relating to the organization/ reorganization of the National Renaissance Front. In the end, we present the circumstances that determined Constantin Argetoianu to resign and an overview of his short government, as well as the context of government instability from the fourth decade of the twentieth century and, especially, during the monarchical authoritarian regime (1938-1940).

### **The context of Constantin Argetoianu's appointment as President of the Council of Ministers**

The confusion created by the start of the Second World War had strong echoes in Romania, although our country had officially declared its neutrality on September 6<sup>th</sup>, 1939 (Mamina, 1997: 176-186). Driven by the aggressive attitude of Germany in the seizure of territories in Europe (Nolte, 2005: 248), the representatives of the Iron Guard considered appropriate to implement the revenge of the death of their Commander, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, by assassinating the one whom they considered to be main culprit. Armand Călinescu served as Minister of the Interior on the time when Corneliu Zelea Codreanu was arrested – April 16<sup>th</sup>, 1938; a charge which was brought to the Legionnaire leader at the time of his arrest was that of defamation of Nicolae Iorga, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu accusing the historian in a letter that he was “incorrect” and also that he was “dishonest” (Țurlea, 2001: 29). Armand Călinescu was also seen guilty by legionnaires for their Commander's death occurred during the time when Călinescu had both the position of chairman of the Council of Ministers as well as that of Minister of the Interior. Officially, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu was shot during a transfer between two prisons, the reason given being that of having escaped from escort (Țurlea, 2001: 42). Thus, on September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1939, a group of six legionnaires assassinated the Prime Minister of Romania, Armand Călinescu around 14:00 o'clock, in the street, in the capital (Chivulescu, 1998: 300-301).

The vacant position was filled on the same day by General Gheorghe Argeșanu, who took the oath of office on the evening of September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1939 (SANIC, *Fund Președinția Consiliului de Miniștrii*, file no. 167/1939: 77-78). The haste with which it

was created that new government was justified by the desire of the King to punish those responsible as quickly as possible (Carol II: 1997, p. 227-228). General Argeșanu was chosen precisely because of his obedience and harshness he showed in the implementation of the revenge plan designed by the King. As for Gheorghe Argeșanu's nomination as Prime Minister, Carol II made brief characterization of the general, in his diary, showing at the same time, the reasons for appointing him: "He is full of energy, fearless, capable of working as well as possible with all ministers, he will assume full responsibility for all measures to be taken to make full cleaning and will avoid interference on political level, because he will listen to what he is told" (Carol II: 1997, p. 227). The same kinds of reasons – non-contesting of orders and fulfilment of the directives regardless of their cruelty – led to the appointment of Gavrilă Marinescu as the Minister of Interior (SANIC, Fund *Președinția Consiliului de Miniștrii*, file no. 167/1939: 77, 79; Chivulescu, 1998: 321; Gafencu, 1991: 339). Repressive measures taken against legionnaires did not have the desired consequence, which was to scare those who were against the regime, but rather aroused sympathy among the Romanian public opinion; on the other hand, some former political leaders have vehemently challenged the harsh measures adopted (Brătianu, Carol II, Antonescu: 1992: 79-82).

Armand Călinescu's death was a major loss for the sovereign (Mihai al României: 1995: 68), a fact that emerges from the many references that monarch makes in his diary during this period. We can find information regarding the Prime Minister Armand Călinescu's death, in King Carol II's diary, information which shows the importance that he had had for the sovereign: "After six years, I did not expect that I had to record a bloody page in the political history of the country. At 2 o'clock, Călinescu was foully murdered by a band of guardsmen" (Carol II, 1997: 225); "Losing the Council's president, Armand Călinescu, is irreparable. I did not find someone in our country to be better match to the mission he was responsible for. Personally, for me, it is an irreplaceable loss" (Carol II, 1997: 226); "I cannot accept that this good and faithful servant is no longer among us and, at the same time, I feel in not only pain, but also a terrible vacuum in my heart. This is not only a crime, but an act of high treason in these times" (Carol II, 1997: 228); "A reaction was produced for me today. *Je me suis effondré* [I collapsed ] and I cried in a terrible nervous breakdown all afternoon. I begin to realize that the disappearance of this trustful man is an enormous loss is for me and for the country. [...] I rarely felt in my heart and in my mind a sense of so complete vacuum. One may say that nobody is indispensable; it is true in most of the cases it is, but this is the exception that proves the rule" (Carol II, 1997: 229); "These days are among the worst I have ever spent in my life" (Carol II, 1997: 230).

The main question for that moment was: "Who would be named prime minister?". As the King Carol II himself stated in his daily notes: "Ghiță Argeșanu is a good man, but he is not a politician. He does whatever he is told, but when he takes personal initiatives he has no general view" (Carol II, 1997: 232). Those being the facts, it had to be found a replacement. After rejecting the option of appointing someone from inside the government, the King and his close collaborators, had reached a few conclusions. First, they considered that there must be a continuity concerning the regime established on February 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> 1938; moreover, they concluded that it was necessary to implement a new policy, that of increasing the number of the members of FRN by attracting those political forces who remained hostile to the monarchic authority regime (Carol II, 1997: 231). Thus, the only option of future prime minister was to choose someone from outside the government; this is how the King Carol II describes a possible candidate: "1. He has to be a supporter of the regime and of the FRN. 2. He has to be able to impose [himself]

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to the government and the outsiders. 3. He does not have to be too *colourful* [s. M.I.] in foreign policy. 4. He has to be able to polarize as many people from the outside. 5. He does not have to be a person who would give the government an aspect of personnel government. 6. He has to be full of energy” (Carol II, 1997: 231). At the end of the discussions the King’s choice was Constantin Argetoianu. Although he fulfilled most of the conditions required by the monarch, he was not seen by the sovereign as the most appropriate for being Prime Minister. Referring to the appointment of Constantin Argetoianu as president of the Council of Ministers, Carol II wrote in his diary: „It was very, very hard for me to decide, because not even Argetoianu was the most suitable for this position. He is an aged man and, therefore, he is behind the times; he is an old-fashioned politician and this is bad [...] Today, a worse decision taken without delay is better than a perfect one taken after much hesitation and with a waste of time” (Carol II, 1997: 232, 233).

### The establishment of Constantin Argetoianu’s government

The King was put in an unexpected situation when Armand Călinescu was murdered; Gheorghe Argeșanu's government lasted for only one week and, thus, Carol II had to decide again on the name of the new Prime Minister. Rushed to make a decision, the Monarch was trying to find a compromise formula. We have discussed above some points that the King mentioned in his diary regarding the future Prime Minister of Romania; regarding Carol's future decisions, two issues were very important: to continue Călinescu's policy regarding the FRN and the strengthen of the regime established on February 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup>, 1938 and to find a Prime Minister. Besides the obedience on following the King’s decisions, the chosen person had to legitimize the regime both at the internal and external level. Constantin Argetoianu who was an experienced politician and, at that time, was a royal advisor (Mamina, 1997: 166) and also held the position of President of the Senate (Scurtu, Buzatu, 1999: 355), best met the sovereign's requirements.

After choosing the person who was appointed to lead the Council of Minister, the next step was the establishment of the Cabinet (SANIC, Fund *Președinția Consiliului de Miniștrii*, file no. 167/1939: 85-86). The list of the new government was composed by many former ministers: Victor Slăvescu – Ministry of Public Works and Communications; Mitiță Constantinescu – Governor of the National Bank, Minister of Finances; Paul Teodorescu – Minister of Air and Navy; Mihail Ralea – Minister of Labor; Nicolae Marinescu – Minister of Health and Welfare; Petre Andrei – Minister of National Education; Grigore Gafencu – Minister of Foreign Affairs; Nicolae Zigre – Minister of Cults and Arts; Professor N.D. Cornățeanu – Minister of Agriculture and Estates; Traian Pop – Minister Secretary of State for making the inventory of public wealth; General Gabriel Marinescu – Minister Secretary of State for public order; N. Ottescu – Minister of Interior; General Ioan Ilcuș – Minister of National Defense; Alexandru Radian – Minister Secretary of State for propaganda management; C.C. Giurescu – Minister Secretary of State for National Renaissance Front organization; Mihail Șerban – Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Agriculture and Estates; Mihai Măgureanu – Undersecretary of State at the Presidency of the Council of Ministers; D. V. Țoni – Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of National Education; Ion Marin Sadoveanu – Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Cults and Arts; Deputy general Gheorghe Mihail – Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of National Defense; Victor Jinga – Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of National Economy; Coriolan Băran – Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of the

Interior; August Filip – Undersecretary of State attached to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers (SANIC, Fund *Președinția Consiliului de Miniștrii*, file no. 167/1939: 87).

The only changes made in the structure of the new government were: Nicu Ottescu at the Minister of the Interior instead of Gavrilă Marinescu, who was moved to the Minister of Public Order (the Ministry of the Interior was divided into Minister of the Interior and Minister of Public Order). The appearance in the government of two new ministries (Minister for Propaganda and Minister for National Renaissance Front Organization) reveal the weaknesses identified by the monarch both in terms of his regime and also on the poor development of the FRN and anticipates the policy that Carol wanted to put into practice, namely the revival of the Front (Carol II, 1997: 233).

### **Internal and external aspects regarding Constantin Argetoianu's government**

Constantin Argetoianu's appointment as a chairman of the Council of Ministers took place in an extremely difficult period regarding both the external and internal policy. The Second World War had begun a month earlier, on September, 1<sup>st</sup>, 1939, while Romania was passing through a difficult period, created by the assassination of Prime Minister, Armand Călinescu. Thus, the authoritarian regime of King Carol II, established in February 1938, was facing one of the biggest challenges of its short existence.

The non-aggression pact signed between Germany and the USSR, on August 23<sup>rd</sup> and violent actions launched by Germany on September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1939, followed by the great European powers which entered the war (Berstein, Milza, 1998: 136-139), put the Romanian political leaders in a rather difficult situation. The policy of neutrality that Romania adopted in that context was established by the decision of the Council of Ministers, taken on September, 4<sup>th</sup>, 1939 (Călinescu, 1990: 428; Burcin et al, 1999: 21). Two days later, on September 6<sup>th</sup>, the members of the Crown Council decided in favour of neutrality (Mamina, 1997: 178-187; Călinescu, 1990: 429-431).

In a period when the political and diplomatic construction of Europe, based on the League of Nations, crumbled, Romania was isolated, with no external support (Scurtu, Otu, 2003: 541), although in theory was a part of Little Entente and the Balkan Entente (Sandache, 1998: 76). In such conditions, the only plausible solution was neutrality, as the Romanian Foreign Minister – Grigore Gafencu – had declared to the German minister in Romania – Wilhelm Fabricius – on August 27<sup>th</sup>, 1939 (Scurtu, Otu, 2003: 542).

Most of the members of Armand Călinescu's Cabinet were maintained after September, 28<sup>th</sup> and, following that directions, Romania's orientation in terms of foreign policy also continued. The changes made to the structure of the Council of Ministers covered only domestic policy; maintaining Grigore Gafencu at the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was relevant for the future direction of the external level being (Gafencu, 1991: 337). Bringing Constantin Argetoianu as the leader of the government was a “shy” attempt to demonstrate to the other European states, particularly to Germany, that Romania's foreign policy was a pro-German one, the new Prime Minister being seen as a politician with pro-German opinions. There were voices that challenged even the orientation of Constantin Argetoianu, who was perceived rather as neutral regarding the foreign policy, as Grigore Gafencu himself mentioned (Gafencu, 1991: 339).

The neutrality declared in early September 1939 proved to be an active one. In this respect, an example was the attitude of Romanian leaders on the situation of Poland, which displeased both the Moscow authorities and those in Berlin (Scurtu, Otu, 2003: 543-544). The main guidelines on foreign policy on which the King and the members of

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the government agreed upon imposed: on the one hand, circumspection regarding the policy of the USSR, and that of Hungary and Bulgaria (Carol II, 1997: 248-249), and, on the other hand an attempt to develop better relations with Germany (Nedelea, 1991: 170; Carol II, 1997: 262-263) and Italy (Carol II, 1997: 261-262). At that time, Romanian politicians' biggest fear came from the USSR. The expansionist policy that the great Eastern power had begun to implement made Romania to closely monitor every move of this state. In this respect, the King and some of the members of the government decided to create a block of neutrals (Midan, 2008: 163; Dandara, 1985: 369) that would have as founding members the states that previously (1934) signed the Balkan Pact – Romania, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece; two other states – Italy and Hungary were supposed to join that new neutral block (Scurtu, Otu, 2003: 547-554; Carol II, 1997: 259). Disapproved by the major European powers because it would have shown the unity of the states from this region, the project of creating a block of neutrals in the Balkans has proved its inefficiency in the end (Scurtu, Otu, 2003: 553-554).

Supported by the King Carol II, in terms of domestic policy Constantin Argetoianu continued the policy that Armand Călinescu had started. The direction drawn up by the previous government was taken by the new Prime Minister and represented an attempt to develop a strategy that intended to prepare the country for the new international order, mainly the world war that involved most of the great powers from European Continent. In this regard, the King and the representatives of the new government elaborated a set of measures, among which the most important ones referred to: equipping the army, keeping public order and the fight against illicit profiteering.

It should be noted that in addition to the two directions of domestic policy outlined by the sovereign for the premier – that of connecting the country to external realities (by equipping the army, paying attention to public order and fight against illicit profiteering) and the direction of reorganization of FRN, there were other important decisions taken by the government during that period. Among them it is worth mentioning the Law Decree establishing the setting up of the Metropolitan Seat of Oltenia signed on November 8<sup>th</sup>, 1939 (Argetoianu, 2003: 210).

### **The situation of the single royal political party in September 1939**

The reduced level of development regarding the reorganization of National Renaissance Front is confirmed, on the one hand, by the reality depicted in Carol's diary, the king being disappointed by the poor structure of the single party and, on the other hand, by the changes that the Sovereign made in the structure of the Council of Ministers. Thus, the monarch wrote in his diary only three days after Armand Călinescu's assassination: "Oh, why FRN was not thoroughly organized? It is the only fault I can find to this poor dead man [...] the work should be done quickly and thoroughly in order to create the Front as the political organization capable of mobilizing the national consciousness" (Carol II, 1997: 230). The establishment of a new ministry that had as main purpose to organize the royal political party was a change in the government structure that demonstrates King's determination to increase the FRN influence over the state; this ministerial branch was led by Constantin C. Giurescu (Secretary of State in charge with the organization of the National Renaissance Front).

The Sovereign's efforts did not stop there; he had also established a ministry of propaganda led by Alexandru Radian (Secretary of State responsible for Propaganda). Those important decisions underline the Monarch's determination in opening a new phase in the process of FRN evolution and, thus, in the process of developing his authoritarian

regime. Although he constantly was interested and involved in the progress of the single political party, before September 1939, the King had given most of the responsibilities regarding this political organization to Armand Călinescu; this type of arrangement shows the confidence that the Sovereign had in his Prime Minister. After September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1939, King Carol II became the *ideologist* of the FRN. He was also the only person involved in the decision making process regarding the new political party and, at the same time, the only person proposing and imposing the method to be followed in order to implement those decisions.

Therefore, the relationship between Constantin Argetoianu and the King appears not only as subordinated, but also as obedient. This fact is also confirmed by the Prime Minister's lack of authority regarding the government program. In order not to leave room for interpretation, during their very first meeting, the King informed the future Premier, as the first point of their discussion, about his position concerning the policy the government had to follow; the main action that Argetoianu had to accomplish was to continue the direction set by the previous government and, at the same time, to strengthen the National Renaissance Front (Carol II, 1997: 233).

Constantin Argetoianu's obedience to the throne can be seen from his desire to please the King both in actions and statements. The newly appointed premier tried to show his devotion to the Monarch, immediately after taking the oath; in this respect, he sent his first Prime Minister speech to the King in order to find out his opinion. That statement appears to have been not only approved, but even appreciated by the Sovereign (Carol II, 1997: 235).

#### **Measures taken by the government on the organization/ reorganization of the National Renaissance Front**

In addition to the measures the government has applied for adjusting the domestic policy to the deployment of forces in the international relations, there were numerous attempts to revive the single political party during the short period of Constantin Argetoianu's government. From Carol II's point of view, the National Renaissance Front was a very important part of the authoritarian regime established in February, 1938; that was the reason why the single political party received special attention from the Monarch after Armand Călinescu's death. Regarding the FRN, the King believed that there was a need to implement a more aggressive policy (Carol II, 1997: 239) described in his diary as "political revival" or "the start-up" of the royal political party. In this respect, the Prime Minister – as the voice of the government – and the Sovereign had different opinions on how quickly the reorganization of FRN should be implemented: "Yesterday evening, the Council of Ministers decided *the start-up* of FRN on November 1<sup>st</sup>. The King, however, wants us to start faster. We will start on Monday, 16<sup>th</sup> [of October], on His Majesty's birthday" (Argetoianu, 2003: 180).

By choosing his birthday as the date for launching the new policy regarding the development of the Front and by according a special importance to the organization of this event, Carol demonstrated once again that he wanted to transmit to the public opinion that the country, the monarchic authoritarian regime, the royal political party and the King were four entities interconnected and having the same value. The sovereign desired to create a strong and sincere solidarity of the people with the King, with the regime established by him and also towards his decisions; the citizens' instrument for demonstrating their attachment to the King and his ideas was the National Renaissance Front.

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Thus, on October, 16<sup>th</sup>, 1939, starting from the *scenario* developed by Carol II, Constantin Argetoianu, supported by ministers and leaders of the single political party, has put into stage the project of re-launching the Front, by organizing big events all over the country. The FRN Manifesto was read by Constantin C. Giurescu as the starting point of the impressive events (SANIC, *Fund Ministerul Propagandei Naționale. Presa internă*, file no. 403/1939: 120-125; Țurlea, 2006: 140). Constantin C. Giurescu was the author of the Manifesto, while the Prime Minister and the leaders of the FRN were contributors in elaborating this document; the act was presented to the Monarch at the beginning of October, 1939 (Carol, 1997: 239). The list of measures taken by Argetoianu for better organizing the political party continued with publishing the royal decrees of appointing FRN's secretaries of provinces and counties and also with printing *Romania* as the official newspaper of the FRN. Both the King and Armand Călinescu supported the idea of publishing this newspaper and from its very beginning it was put under Cezar Petrescu's direction; however, the periodical was not issued as the official newspaper of the National Renaissance Front until October 1939 (Scurtu, Otu, 2003: 396).

To accomplish another Sovereign's request, namely the increasing of the number of FRN members (Țurlea, 2010: 311), Constantin Argetoianu discussed with the leaders of the traditional political parties (Argetoianu, 2003: 180-181, 204-205, 215); by the Law Decree from March, 30<sup>th</sup>, 1938, the activity of traditional political parties was declared illegal. The President of the Council of Ministers did not succeed in increasing the number of the former political leaders that supported the monarchical regime. Various leaders, such as Iuliu Maniu, remained hostile to the regime and the FRN (Argetoianu, 2003: 224; Bruja, 2006: 189)

As chairman of the Council of Ministers, Constantin Argetoianu signed the decree of establishing the National Student Front, an organization which mandatory registered all students from Romania (the Law Decree on setting up the National Student Front was published in the *Official Gazette*, no. 242, October, 19<sup>th</sup>, 1939). This organization was following Carol's policy to politically enrol the population in the regime established on February, 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup>, 1938. Thus, according to their age, Romanian citizens were enrolled either in "Straja Țării" (Guard of the Country), or in this new organization – the National Student Front, or in the single political party – the National Renaissance Front.

### Conclusions

The controversies between the sovereign and the President of the Council of Ministers appear soon after Argetoianu's appointment, each of them having his own version regarding their disputations. Thus, the King perceived Argetoianu as being increasingly absent during meetings with ministers, characterizing him as disinterested and lacking in initiative (Carol II, 1997: 252-255, 273). On the other hand, the Prime Minister, who initially had assumed the continuation of Armand Călinescu's policy and had become responsible for some unpopular initiatives, began to move away from this position, considering that the Monarch should take responsibility for his own decisions (Argetoianu, 2003: 218). In this context, the King decided to replace Constantin Argetoianu, putting him in the position to resign, and brought Gheorghe Tătărescu to the leadership of the Council of Ministers (Carol II, 1997: 275, 286-289).

Analyzing Constantin Argetoianu's short government – September 28<sup>th</sup> to October 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1939 – we can draw two key observations. On the one hand, this period is characterized by precipitation in the external relations and confusion on internal level, the last one being caused by the assassination of the President of the Council of Ministers,

Armand Călinescu. The King's and the Prime Minister's attempts to govern the state are not the result of a previous politically plan, but rather the result of trying to individually solve the arising problems. On the other hand, the analysis of the government period leads to the observation of dysfunctional relationships between the sovereign, Carol II and the Prime Minister, Constantin Argetoianu, each of the two starting from different premises regarding the cooperation between them and at the same time, having often different views on the decisions that had to be taken. The relationship between the King Carol II and the Prime Minister Constantin Argetoianu could not save the National Renaissance Front and could not prevent Romania from entering the World War II.

Both in terms of duration and in terms of royal dismissing of the governments, as well as in terms of the manner that the Monarch understood to interact with the President of the Council of Ministers, the government led by Argetoianu fits perfectly in the broader context of government instability that characterized the reign of Carol II and, especially, the monarchical authoritarian regime (1938-1940).

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## ORIGINAL PAPER

# Summary observations about the post-communist coding of the institutions of self-exclusion and self-limitation of the carrier's liability

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**Abstract:**

The purpose of this paper is to determine as precisely as possible the limits of regulation of the main post-communist law carrier, as by conventional means to self-exclude or to self-limit the liability arising from the various specific operations of its activity.

**Keywords:** *self-exclude; self-limit; carrier; codification; liability*

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## Summary observations about the post-communist coding of the institutions...

Changing the social relations in Eastern Europe after the disintegration of the legal socialist or communist legal relationships imposed by the totalitarian member states generated profound changes not only in the regulations of the commercial, economic or business segment but also in the general rules, typically secured by the normative complexes of civil codes. Adapting the civil legislation to the new social values adopted by the Romanian has been a necessity since the 1990s when the legislation was more patched than reinvented. In Romania, this much - needed transformation occurred in the second decade of the 2000s (specifically) with a visible delay towards the flow of the legal realities of neighborhood countries. The new civil code, pillar of the organization and functioning of the society comes, among others, with an entire chapter allocated to the transport operations. Naturally, such activities are unbalanced to the person of the carrier, the contractual who knows best the interior of this exercise of profit. To compensate for the shortcomings experienced by the national legislature, the principles and rules of the legal culture of other countries, such as Canada and the Swiss Confederation were taken and transposed into the new civil code (out of a simulated national pride, we use the term "transposed" instead of "copy"). It remains to be seen, from future practice how close they are to the national spirit and how their rate of application will be in the local situation. Finally, we believe that we must be optimistic that the regulations will have been replaced with more comfortable ones for the current status and, as lawyers, we hope that, on the one hand, they will reflect the subjects' expectations of rebalancing, and, on the other hand, that they will streamline the different ratios.

We often find, in the various forms or species of transportation contracts, contractual clauses such as "the carrier's liability for delay in delivery, which is not his fault, is excluded", "our liability for the loss or damage of your package is limited to the amount declared when fetching it, but no more than X lei ", "our transport company liability is excluded", etc. Such formulations are found in the carrier's general business conditions posted on the Internet, in the waiting rooms of bus stations, in the counters of courier companies etc. Certainly, the carrier's desideratum, when it is inserted into conventional instruments they draw up such contractual protection clauses, is to minimize as much as possible the risk of losing a dispute in which a disgruntled customer might proceed against him for the failure to or the improper performance of a transport operation. Probably, the original designation of such contractual clauses was somewhat justifiable, the carrier seeking to protect himself against some abusive customers or against some requests for damages with obvious sanctioning nature and not reparatory one. Other purposes of the carrier were also those of taking conventional measures of exemption in the event of damages, and any possible, unpredictable or lost profit. When the carrier discovered (fast) that the risks he had taken, the trip being an experience with dangerous and unanticipated result since the ancient times, the idea that he must protect himself conventionally, including for the circumstances in which he should have taken responsibility for repairs that had to be given by the client, was born or even worse determination of "extensive environmental risks for if we refer to the transport of petroleum and chemical products"(Manolache, 2001:4). The question now is whether, beyond the obvious goal of the demoralization of the passenger whose luggage has been lost, there lies a real legitimacy or not.

Before reaching the liability and the conventional means by which this can be reduced to extinction, we must see who the person using such contractual benefits is. The subject that creates through its own action a real shield is the carrier, i.e. the part of the transport contract who undertakes to carry something from one point to another. The

quality of carrier originates in the act of signing the contract of carriage with the party intending to have his property conveyed to a particular destination. As we were showing above, the limiting or eliminating the liability can be among the clauses foreseen in the contracts of carriage or in special versions of these. This is because you may encounter in practice conventions which, although not expressly referred to as parties of the transportation contracts, still include in their essential elements the obligation to carry. According to the rule of art. 1168 of the Civil Code such conventions will be interpreted in the light of the provisions of the contract of carriage, which is the contract with which it resembles most. The provisions of art. 1168 of the Civil Code are a very useful reference tool in interpreting those conventional instruments which one party try to take it out of the systematic and teleological interpretation to introduce it only in the narrow field of grammar. From this perspective we believe that one party which provides essentially a transport activity but in conjunction with other benefits or secondary duties must be assimilated to a carrier even though he does not arrogate publicly such quality, masking it through subcontracting to a third party.

The two elements of our work title, self-exclusion and self-limiting, seem to be born at the intersection of two spheres of rights: (1) the first, which belongs to the recipient of the transport operation and consists of the compensation which has to be received by him from the carrier if the transport was not carried out in certain conditions and deadlines, failure which affects most the time and the transport recipient's goods and (2) the second, which belongs to the carrier and allows him to unilaterally influence these conditions and terms in his favour. Both spheres of rights are contractual in nature as they have their sources in the transport agreement concluded between the two parties or in the act of accession of the recipient of the transport operation to the conditions of the carrier's business through a manifestation of will (buying a ticket, a travel ticket, paying shipping a parcel etc). Such provenance excludes the tortious nature of those sets of rights. The essential difference to our work between the two spheres is in the act of their origin and in the accurate establishment of the dominant party at the time of its conclusion. In other words, if we face a standard contract of accession, a contract concluded with a consumer or neither of these, case in which both parties have concluded it standing on equal or nearly equal positions. Based on this contractual positioning, these may become incidents and other legal provisions than those of the transport contract in the Civil Code.

We set out our approach on the premise that the situations in which the beneficiary of the transport is at least at the same level of knowledge of the transport business as the person who practices it as profession are far less numerous than those in which the so-called beneficiary simply leaves his person and property in the hands of the carrier. This premise does not change the beneficiary of the transport in a consumer privileged by legislation. Another situation that should not be omitted is that, since its formation as a legal entity, the carrier has a difficult task, namely to pay for the damages in their worst forms, the exercise of an enterprise being a circumstance of aggravation. See in this respect the provisions of art. 1358 of the Civil Code. This premise has emerged and evolved in the transport domain when the carrier as individual who was responsible for his deeds with all assets (and possibly his person) has turned into a corporation that offers global services and employs tens of thousands of employees or subcontracts highly complex. The effects of this premise are some the procedural nature, the carrier having the obligation to prove good faith in fulfilling an obligation of result. The carrier's obligation to transfer something from one location to another, should be remembered, is a result, in this respect the provisions of art. 1955 and 1968 of the Civil Code. See in the

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same respect that of art. 2044 of the Civil Code of Quebec, too (for example Quebec Court, Judge decision no. 2006 QCCQ 2738 / no. 2016 QCCQ 6843)

It is important to discuss in this paper also the case in which the person contracting with the carrier or with the transport recipient are consumers. In such a situation the two people are under the protection of the law of expense, not only of the Civil Code. Due to the quality of consumer of these parties the contract of carriage will have the valence of the contract closed between the consumer and the professional. And if such contract has such a value, then the provisions of Law 193/2000 on unfair terms intervene in their favor. According to the provisions of art. 1 para. 3 of this law, it is forbidden that the professionals provide unfair terms in consumer contracts. Because the restriction or the cancellation of the consumer's right to claim compensation from a professional if he does not fulfill its contractual obligations required by paragraph 1, letter h list from the annex to this law, membership of a lot of examples expressly chosen by the legislator, which makes it an unfair term, nullity sanction of such a clause is uncertain. If the court decides the cancellation of a clause of restriction (limitation) or cancellation (dissolution) of a transport contract concluded with a consumer, the carrier would face the possibility of responding for the failure of the obligations to the maximum amount possible. Of course, there would occur such a dispute, the foundation of the Civil Code would only be an excess of zeal, the consumption rules offering the necessary and sufficient protection for the consumer's interest.

At this stage of our work we consider a distinction as being necessary, between not respecting the principle of good faith, to negotiate the contract of carriage or in its written form, whatever that may be, on the one hand, and the influence of its future negative effects by introducing some clauses limiting or excluding liability. At a first and superficial glance, such a distinction may declare false, but such thinking would be based on the confusion between the violation of so-called principle and the protection of their own rights by introducing more favorable contract terms in the contract.

With rare exceptions, Romanian law obliges parties to a certain form of the contract so that they can choose even in the case of the contract of carriage, jointly or unilaterally, the nearest form of their will. However, contractual equilibrium position is rare, probably because the carrier will be the party of the contractual instrument in his direction.

Our research begins with the special rule of law from art. 1984 of the Civil Code, belonging to the chapter on the contract of carriage and its section relating to the contract of carriage of goods. If you go over the wording somewhat different and consider the assumptions and effects, then you can easily compare the provisions of art. 1984 of the Civil Code with those of art. 446 of Part V of the Swiss Civil Code, called Code of Obligations.

Although the rule of law in art. 1984 of the Civil Code contains an exhaustive list, it forces the carrier to respond in a most general way, the text covering complex situations so comprehensive that we can say that the carrier has no chance to dodge to the beneficiary injured. It is normal to be so because this rule establishes the liability of the carrier for the period in which the property is to watch, i.e. during transport. The first two cases listed in this rule, respectively the total or partial loss of goods and their altering or damaging, affect the transported well itself or some of its properties, so it is unfit for its intended recipient or transport interests. The third situation, namely that of the delay in delivery of goods, has no effect on the object or its properties, but on the interests of the parties between which is transported – the sender and the recipient, parties who likely pursue a significant interest, if they decided to send that good from one to another, paying a carrier

for this. We believe that the damage caused in this case is more subtle than in the first two cases, but its effects can be more serious, especially in the current business circumstances, where compliance or failure of an emergency staging in time makes the difference between success and failure. Another remarkable aspect of the three exposed situations is that, although the legislature has used the phrase "arising during transport", deceptively links the good to the path of the carrier from the place of dispatch to the destination. In fact, the connection is between the good and the time in which the event can occur, that causes loss, the alteration or the delay of the transported goods. Although the Romanian legislature has not shown what he intended to include the map or the duration, that of Quebec makes it accordingly to art. 2040 - "Transporting goods extends from the moment the carrier receives the property is responsible for transportation to delivery". From the perspective of Canadian legislation the importance of this connection, when the time factor is essential for the transport contract and the interests of its beneficiary, results easier.

If we return to the provisions of the Swiss Code of Obligations we note that art. 446 only advances the principle of the carrier's liability for what was entrusted to him, the following articles - art. 447 and 448 - secure the various cases in which it intervenes. In Romanian law, all these cases are crowded at art. 1984 of the Civil Code. It is worth noting that the distinction resulting from the text organization of both articles, 447 and 448, makes it impossible, in the case of delays and damage or partial loss, for parties to agree on a compensation bigger or less than the total transport, in advance.

However, the same rule provides the carrier with a backup for his liability. The rule of law in art. 1984 of the Civil Code is also a norm of reference because it draws the benefit application offers to the carrier by art. 1959 of the same codex.

We mention that the provisions of art. 1959 of the Civil Code are the exact copy of those of art. 2034 of the Civil Code applicable in Quebec Canada (for example Quebec Court, Judge decision no.2007QCCQ 14338) . Both rules, the Romanian and the Canadian one, form a legal presumption that the carrier must perform the primary legal obligation of the contract in question, namely to move something from one point to another, any limitation of which is in fact a self-exemption from the damages he may cause by the acts or omissions of the person to which he entrusted the object of transportation or of the person who awaits it at the destination.

In relation to the rule of law in art. 1984 of the Civil Code that of art. 1959 is general, which is placed by the legislature to the general provisions section of the contract of carriage, where there are those that apply to any contract of carriage irrespective of the nature of the object transport activity - goods or people and luggage. This location within the structure of the normative act makes the provisions of art. 1959 of the Civil Code value as a rule for transport contracts and as an exception to those set out in the provisions of art. 1355 of the Civil Code.

This rule establishes that, in the specific domain, the carrier cannot abolish or limit his liability for his own actions towards legal documents concluded with the beneficiaries of his activities. The exception to this rule, given by the same rule, is that, by using the same conventional means, the carrier may restrict or abolish his liability, but only in certain cases provided by law. The national rule is equal to the Swiss one of art. 445 par. Of the Code of Obligations, which we quote translated hereinafter - "carriers operating under state license do not have the power to exclude or limit in advance the application of the provisions governing the liability of the carrier for his own benefit, through agreement or regulations governing their own operations. "

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The rule of law in art. 1959 of the Civil Code is a taking over more nuanced and adapted to the context of the contract of carriage from art. 1355 which is general in nature and has an effect on how the subjects of the code can determine their own degree of liability by the concluded agreements. This approach is useful to make a comparison between the two rules of law. We believe that the general rule is specifically written as referring to the conventional means by which one party may limit its liability to the other, that is by contract or unilateral act. The lack of distinction of the special client is somewhat beneficial for the carrier's customer through the generality of the scope of the conventional means, but only by comparison with the general one can identify the two conventional means which the legislator tried to remove the carrier from. The issue of the avoided injury by clauses limiting or avoiding the debtor liability, the two rules have different treatment. Surprisingly, the general rule is stricter in terminology. This only refers to pecuniary damage, which must be interpreted as leaving out the ban of the non-pecuniary damage. Without this distinction in the special rule, we can only conclude that the carrier cannot limit or restrict his liability according to one type of injury or another, if such a case is not expressly provided by law. Going forward in the general legal standard rule phrasing it is noted that, unlike the special one, the possibility of the parties to depart themselves from the principle of total liability is limited to only two cases - simple carelessness and negligence. On the other two cases under the general rule of law, intentional or gross negligence, the parties are prevented from trading, as in such a way the person causing the injury would be exempt from the payment of compensation.

The phrase "cannot exclude or limit liability" at the beginning of art. 1959 of the Civil Code makes us think that such a limitation or exclusion may be made by agreement or unilateral act, the carrier using his economic power and the state of necessity in which the person who asks for his services to impose him an extremely unbalanced contractual tool in his favor. It results from the cited wording that it is directed against the subject of the carrier and not against his contractual partner or against the recipient of the contracted services, i.e. against that party to which level the concept of self-protection is the most easily born. As were previously showing this concept was designed to protect against dubious situations, difficult to prove, but which, in time, were extended to some common ones, often found in the current activity of a certain carrier who operates his company in a modern world, almost without risk.

In order to clarify the exception to art. 1959 par. 1 of the Civil Code two questions must be asked: (i) which are "the cases provided by law" and (ii) what is meant by the general term "law" used by the legislature in drafting the rules of law? We will try to give answers to these questions starting from the latter to the former.

Firstly, this reference to the general term of law has an express character. By using the word "law" the legislator excluded from applying, for the carrier, those cases of liability disclaimer or its limitation, which may originate in the other two sources of law: customs and general principles of law, both statutory in art. 1 of the Civil Code. If the legal text under examination should be referred to the latter two listed sources of law, the rights of the counterparty of the carrier would have been in danger because, in the case of the usages, the habits and the working practices of the carriers represent a system of rules of law not covered by the state legislature, who takes into account the general interest and not just that of a professional categories, i.e. a system that tends to regulate in favor of those who establish it, and in the case of the principles of law, they would give too much freedom to the preparation of contract of carriage, so much that it would clear the duties of the carrier, including that of result of the transport itself.

Secondly, a way of interpreting the scope of the meaning which the legislature sought to give the term "law" must be set. We believe that just by using this general form of expression the legislature intended to ensure the widest possible scope for the expected effects of the rule of law. So, an excessively strict interpretation would be contrary to the intention of the legislature's will, who, if intended otherwise, would have reduced this area by bringing in the text rules of law of some distinctions which, on the one hand, would have restricted its effects, but which, on the other hand, would have better outlined the intended effects. In interpreting this idea we believe that by "law" as envisaged by the legislator one does not only understand the Civil Code, the legislative monument resident of the reviewed legal provision under but all the rules that form the national law at a time. In this ensemble the provisions of international treaties and conventions and the European Union law, as shown in art. 4 and 5 of the Civil Code, must be included. We also believe that the term "law", by its maximum extending contains the national legislation too, regardless of the landing legislation on which it is placed, if the subject-matter shall regulate legal relations specific to particular types of transport (air, rail, road, etc.).

An overview of the scope of the term "law" comes from the provisions of art. 455 par. 3 of the Swiss Code of Obligations. Indeed the scope of this article, set out in paragraph 1, is narrower than that of a comparable national law, addressing to only owned or licensed by the state carriers, but on the other hand, an insight is useful in the understanding of its effects. The already mentioned art. 3 reads: "The special provisions governing the contracts for the carriage of goods by the providers of postal services, railways and ships are not affected." This implies that special legislation of these species transport, being rules to which general law sends, are part of the broader concept of law.

Regarding the "cases provided by law" for which the carrier can conventionally mitigate his liability, one may ask the question whether a favorable distinction can be made as is that of art. 1355 of the Civil Code, which regulates the general cases where the parties can negotiate their liability. As long as the parties have agreed to conclude a contract of carriage, i.e. to obey the relevant legal provisions of this operation, then it is allowed that the carrier limits his liability of the gravity of guilt, but he will respond in any case, provided or not by the law in his favor.

As the earlier doubt has been set aside we believe that only two cases provided for in the Civil Code, i.e. in the law narrowly, and which remain in question are the fortuitous event and the major force. They are provided as exculpatory especially in case the carrier transport delays to hand over the transportation object to the contractually agreed destination. See the wording of the second paragraph of art. 1959 of the Civil Code. Although the specific mention of the legislature, we believe that these grounds of exemption should be applied to the carrier and in the case of total or partial loss of the transportation object, for example. Indeed, the legal basis would not be the special one of the contract of carriage, but that placed under art. 1351 and the following ones of the Civil Code, the general rules for all types of contracts, but this is not a carrier dishonesty that would include or require the agreement they use in relation to the beneficiaries of its work. Such an insertion in the point of the contract is a great example to understand the difference between the abuse of power when signing the contract, the carrier having a dominant position, and the protection of good faith of their legal rights. Of course, in both cases of exemption, their invocation by the carrier to that which contracted, will be asked. It is not abusive for the transport contract clauses to provide notification of major force and of unforeseeable circumstances, which would hold the carrier harmless.

## Summary observations about the post-communist coding of the institutions...

A special transposition and somewhat stretched as effects of the general provision of art. 1959 of the Civil Code is found in art. 1995 par.1 allocated to the contract of carriage of goods. The first difference highlighted by comparing the two rules is a sanction. Unlike general rule, where the legislature did not give an express penalty, but forbade the carrier to draw up his contracts so as to protect himself against the effect sought, in the special one the sanction is clear and precise - the clauses inserted into contracts to avoid provision shall be deemed unwritten law, so that they remain without the effect sought by the carrier – his own protection. A second more subtle distinction is found in the assumptions of the two rules. Thus, the general rule despite the negation it contains, has a permissive tone, the carrier being entitled to protect his contractual rights in the cases provided by law. Unlike the formulating of the general rule, the special one has a strongly prohibitive meaning, it is forbidden that the goods carrier to draw up his contracts in a form to extract him from the empire of law. In other words, in the case of the contract of carriage general limitation of liability can be done only in cases specified by law, and in the case, the transport of goods the same limitation is absent when seeking to enforce it against specific situation given in law.

A special situation, to which we will lean in this work, but we want to signal, is that in which the person usually making the conventional tool which regulates the legal relations between the carrier and his client, that the carrier himself or a group carriers, or organized in some form, or only involved ad hoc for a consignment leaves the effects of this convention under the rule of Roman law except those who might entail his liability, which will be governed by a foreign law more favorable for the carrier and, why not, by a more easily predictable court, such as those in which the previous is a source of law. In such a situation, if the carrier's customer did not meet the definition of benefit to the consumer, which could attract the protection of a state or supra-state legal release, then it might regret the conclusion of the transport convention, his right to compensation not being only difficult, but even non-existent.

In conclusion, if the carrier's liability is not limited or abolished by a special law, whether derived from the national or international law, then he is fully responsible for damages made to the transportation beneficiary, any contractual clauses to the contrary being void and unenforceable. Moreover, „it results, from per a contrario interpretation of article 1959, paragraph 1, the conventional worsening of the accountability, by including a penalty clause in the carriage contract” (Atanasiu, 2011) .

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## Book Review

**Sorin Liviu Damean, Carol I al României. Un monarh devotat (Carol I of Romania. A Devoted Monarch), Editura Cetatea de Scaun, ISBN 978-606-537-358-7, 390 pages**

**Anca Parmena Olimid\*,  
Cătălina Maria Georgescu\*\*,**

One hundred and fifty years since the establishment of the Dynasty of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen to the Romanian Throne, the latest book of the professor and historian Sorin Liviu Damean offers the image of the “moving history” during the modern times praising for a professional and objective engagement to narrative history.

The book explores the momentous monarchy of Carol I of Romania through a collection of historical, social, political and cultural references as a “living portrait” of the Romanian modern times hypothesizing two focal questions:

(Question 1) Can a historical figure enable the flourishing of a society at the mixture of the Occident and Orient ambitions?

(Question 2) Whether an equilibrate policy-making device can become the pivotal facet of the new internal institutional establishment?

(Question 3) What were the main inputs and outputs of the internal and external policy of modern Romania?

The researches of professor Sorin Liviu Damean acknowledge a history quiz of the forty-eight years of reign of a Latin country drawing a time and space journey and a societal story of the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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The architecture of the book is designed as “le juste milieu” among the political and diplomatic advances challenging both the confrontation to the governmental instability and the overture to the two-party system.

A remarkable scene of facts, events, figures, decisions and characters is keeping the reader in front of the adventure of its exclusive hero, Carol I of Romania.

Each page of the story becomes a unique witness of devotion, involvement, self-sacrifice, loyalty and personal attachment.

The book covers seven chapters (Chapter I to Chapter VII) enabling an architectural disposal based upon seven main pylons as follows:

(1) the historical data and facts chronology (Chapter I and II);

(2) the executive power and the political arena (Chapter III);

(3) the Romanian Army disposal and placement (Chapter IV);

(4) the external policy: strategy and encounters (Chapter V);

(5) the process of modernizing the Romanian society: statement and development (Chapter VI);

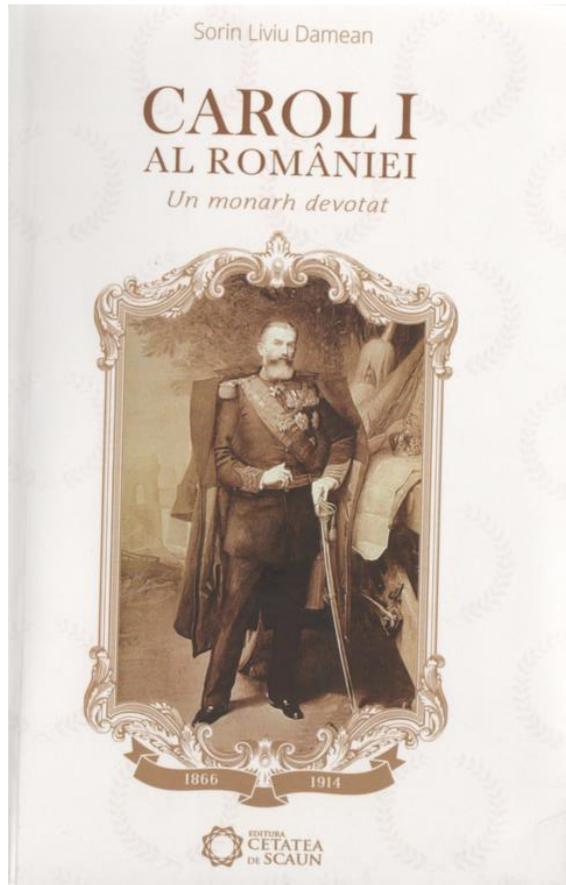
(6) the end of the époque: ongoing testimonials (Chapter VII).

The pattern of the book is excellent at heading the inputs and outputs of the internal and external policies and strategies balancing the political decision processes in the midst of the institutional establishment and the ongoing process of modernizing the Romanian society.

The state independence, the peace maintenance and the borders guarantee become the vectors of the external policy driven by Carol I of Romania tracing a triangle of actions, events and actors of the nation state producing fascinating pictures of the modern world.

The research of professor Sorin Liviu Damean also gathers and develops a fundamental-to-elaborate analysis of the culture, education and church appointments. Nevertheless, the author argues that the Romanian modern society empowers: (1) the scrutiny of the economic, social and political establishments; (2) the educational system; (3) the urbanization commitments; (4) the public investments; (5) the Romanian language reinforcement; (6) the Orthodox Church institutional support etc.

Further, the book discovers the milestone of the modernizing processes of Romania and the correspondence to the Europeanization indicators of the country.



## BOOK REVIEW

The reader instantly becomes fascinated by the the historical events and also by the hero's qualifications as a defining leader during the modern times.

The first chapter describes the chances and occurrences in the process of Prince Carol of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen becoming the Prince of Romania. The chapter presents the faultless childhood and youth of young Prince Carol, his embracing a military career and impressions from his young formation within a European princely family. Also, it reviews the national political elite's projects and prospects in order to choose the state's future ruler and the selection of Carol I under „France's support and warrant” (p. 32), the Prince's journey to take power in the capital city of the United Principalities of Valachia and Moldavia and the negotiation with the Ottoman Empire Port for *official* recognition. Throughout his work, the author depicts the future King's reactions, emotions and notes, obviously under the close lecture, analysis and profound knowledge of published correspondence, diaries, memoirs, personal notes, official or personal biography, the Royal House's archives etc. of the Royal Family and its entourage.

The second chapter contributes to the understanding of the rich historical heritage of the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen Princely House and the competition and concurrence in the establishment of a new Princely Family in Romania, describing the national matrimonial projects for Prince Carol I under the quest of connubial-diplomatic alliances, the sorrowful loss of the princely couple's only child and the pursuits in ensuring a male succession to the throne as well as the relations with the inheritants, the tensions and challenges surrounding the royal family „tormented and oftentimes exposed to the severe judgement of contemporaries” (p. 130). The portrait of Carol I is thus mirrored not only through His making of history, but through the eyes, impressions and words of family, close collaborators, statesmen and historians.

The third chapter brings forward the political role of the monarch as observing the liberal constitutional prerogatives of the executive function. The historical institutionalism approach sheds light on the evolution of political institutions in the modern Romanian state within the dynamics of the state's organization and functioning under „the perpetuation of home political instability” (p. 141), the relations between power and opposition, personal vanities, political crises and compromises between the monarch and the political parties and political elite.

A special attention is rendered to the actions of declaring and gaining state independence, the work completing the picture of the army endowments, the fleet and military service organization in the midst of diplomatic protests from foreign cabinets (presented mostly throughout the fourth chapter).

The fifth chapter brings continuity to modern Romania home and foreign policy-making by picturing the „*secrete or dynastic* diplomacy...interweaving the role of the monarch as the main decisional factor and warrant of continuity within the state's foreign affairs with that of governmental policy” (p. 230). The paper paints the constitutional monarch's strong hold as regards policy-making, sketching the King as „coordinating the Romanian foreign policy” (p. 231) „ensuring stability and continuity at decisional level” (p. 305).

The sixth chapter images the monarch's projects and actions to trigger the modernization of the Romanian society and integration in Europe (p. 306). The paper highlights the challenges associated to policy-making, arguing that in some respects the administration and exploitation of national assets enticing „tensions and diplomatic pressures” (p. 320).

Finally, the seventh chapter eulogizes the reign and epoque of Carol I, proving to represent the constitutive monarch's testimonial in accordance to the sovereign's and other contemporaries daily memoirs and/or correspondence as „a methodic, orderly spirit, and extremely meticulous” (p. 346). Besides, throughout his work, Professor Damean struggled to cement the Prince and future King's image as “a true statesman, of an unimpeachable morality, endowed with wisdom and infinite patience, showing prudence, moderation, equilibrium, and temperance. His public image was that of the first servant of the state, devoted to the country and the nation” (Argument, p. 17). Actually, with each phrase the author and the work throb to encapsulate Carol I within a symbol of devotion – the “devoted monarch” “to the policy of national interest” (p. 353) being the archetypal image of the entire work. The conclusive part of the book is dedicated to the depiction of the pressures both home and foreign tantalizing the sovereign as regards the country's entrance in the World War.

As regards the literary style, the work intertwines modern narrative history to encapsulate personal depictions, anecdotic events in a supportive role of social history in contrast to the more rigid chronology of traditional narrative styles combining historical institutionalism with a more personal, close study of the central historical figure of Carol I.

All in all, it proves to be a complex analytical work and an enjoyable reading both for the specialized audience and for the interested reader in acquiring inedited information about the life and rule of the sovereign who shaped Romania's modern history, its modernization through his efforts, vision and rule.

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**CEPOS NEW CALL FOR PAPERS 2018**  
**8<sup>TH</sup> INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE**  
**AFTER COMMUNISM. EAST AND WEST**  
**UNDER SCRUTINY**

Craiova (Romania), House of the University,  
23-24 March 2018

*Dear Colleagues,*

*We are delighted to invite you to participate in the 8th International Conference AFTER COMMUNISM. EAST AND WEST UNDER SCRUTINY in Craiova, Romania, 23-24 March 2018. More than two decades after, an event is both history and present. The annual conference organized by CEPOS involves both the perspectives of the researches in the field of Communism and Post-Communism: research experiences and scientific knowledge. Like a "pointing puzzle", 29 years after the fall of communism, the conference panels explore emotional detachments, but also a peculiar involvement creating and exploiting the inter-disciplinary developments of the East-West relations before and after the crucial year 1989 in the fields such as: political sciences, history, economics and law. The conference will be hosted by the University House and during two intense and exciting days, participants all over the world (professors, professionals, doctoral and post-doctoral researchers) are invited to raise the issue of the study of recent history of the former communist space in connection with the Western world. We are confident that all of us will focus during these two days on what is important to move the research in the field forward. We dear to state that we even bear the moral obligation to do that.*

Best regards,

The Board of Directors of CEPOS 2018 Conferences and Events Series

**PROPOSED PANELS for CEPOS CONFERENCE 2018**

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

- Communism, transition, democracy;
- Post-communism and collective memory;
- Politics, ideologies and social action in transition;
- Revolution and political history;
- Political culture and citizen participation
- Law, legal studies and justice reform;
- Constitution(s), legality & political reforms;
- Political parties, electoral systems and electoral campaigns;

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- Security and diplomacy in national and Euro-Atlantic environment;
- Rights, identities policies & participation;
- Education, media & social communication;
- Administrative history and governance within South-Eastern Europe during transition;
- Political leadership, democratization and regional security;
- Comparative policies, sustainable growth and urban planning;
- Knowledge transfer and competitiveness in regional economies;
- Global environment and cultural heritage;
- Integration, identity, and human rights in European systems;
- Religion, cultural history and education;
- Media, communication and politics;
- Discourse, language and social encounters;
- Bioethics and transition challenges;

### **ABSTRACT SUBMITTING (SEE CEPOS CONFERENCE 2018 REGISTRATION FORM-on <http://cepos.eu/>)**

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

### **DEAD-LINE FOR SUBMITTING A PROPOSAL: 19 FEBRUARY 2018**

Proposals must be submitted until 19 February 2018 at the following address: [cepos2013@gmail.com](mailto:cepos2013@gmail.com)

### **CONFERENCE VENUE**

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

- More information about the Conference venue can be found at the following address: [http://www.ucv.ro/campus/puncte\\_de\\_atractie/casa\\_universitarilor/prezentare.php](http://www.ucv.ro/campus/puncte_de_atractie/casa_universitarilor/prezentare.php)

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### **CEPOS CONFERENCE PAST EDITIONS**

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### **TRANSPORT**

The 8th International Conference "After communism. East and West under Scrutiny" (2018) will be held in Craiova, a city located in the South-Western part of Romania, at about 250 km from Bucharest, the national capital. The airport of Craiova (<http://en.aeroportcraiova.ro/>) has flights to Timisoara, Dusseldorf,

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Munchen, Ancone, Rome, Venezia, London, Bergamo etc. Other airports, such as Bucharest (Romania) (<http://www.aeroportul-otopeni.info/>) is located at distances less than 240 km from Craiova and accommodate international flights. Train schedule to Craiova can be consulted at InterRegio CFR (<http://www.infofer.ro/>) and SOFTRANS (<http://softrans.ro/mersul-trenurilor.html>).

### CEPOS CONFERENCE 2018 FEES AND REGISTRATION REGISTRATION DESK

The Conference Registration Desk will be opened from Friday, 23rd of March 2018 (from 08.00 a.m. to 18.00 p.m.) until Saturday 24th of March 2018 (from 08.00 a.m. until 14.00 p.m.), for registration and delivery of conference bag with documents to participants. The Conference Registration Desk is located in the lobby of the University House Club, 1st Floor.

### REGISTRATION FEES

90 euros/paper can be paid directly via bank transfer on CEPOS Bank account as follows: Details for online payment

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### MEALS AND OTHER ORGANIZING DETAILS

The registration fee covers:

- \* Conference attendance to all common sessions, individual and special panels
- \* Conference materials (including a printed version of the Book of Abstracts of the Conference)
- \* Conference special bag - 1 for every single fee paid, no matter the number of authors/paper
- \* Coffee Breaks-March 23, 2018 – March 24, 2018. During the two days conference, 3 coffee breaks are offered.
- \* Welcome reception (March 23, 2018)
- \* Lunch (March 23, 2018) offered in the University House Mihai Eminescu Gala Room
- \* A Festive Gala Dinner and Cocktail (March 24, 2018) offered in the University House Mihai Eminescu Gala Room
- \* A Free Cocktail Buffet will be served from 19:00 p.m. to 21.00 p.m.
- \* A Free Entrance Voucher is provided inside of each Conference Bag.
- \* Lunch (March 24, 2018)
- \* Certificate of attendance (offered at the end of the conference March 24, 2018)
- \* Publication of the Conference Papers in the International Indexed Journal Revista de Stiinte Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques (previous publication of the 2012-2017 Conference papers is available at <http://cis01.central.ucv.ro/revistadestiintepolitice/acces.php>)
- \* One original volume of the International Indexed Journal Revista de Stiinte Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques (where the personal conference paper was published) will be delivered to the authors (an additional fee of 10 euros is required for the mailing facilities)
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\* Language. The official language of the Conference will be English. The Organizing Committee does not provide simultaneous translation.

### **NEW! FREE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PROGRAMME OF THE CEPOS CONFERENCE 2018**

\* Participants in CEPOS CONFERENCE 2018 have free access to the Social and Cultural Program of the Seventh Edition of the International Conference After Communism. East and West under Scrutiny, Craiova, 23-24 March 2018: including free guided tours of the: Craiova Old City Tour and CEPOS Headquarters Museum of Arts Craiova [http://www.muzeuldeartcraiova.ro/Oltenia Museum](http://www.muzeuldeartcraiova.ro/Oltenia_Museum) (all sections included): <http://www.muzeulolteniei.ro/index.php?view=content&c=26> Casa Baniei <http://www.muzeulolteniei.ro/index.php?view=content&c=26>

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Certificates of attendance will be offered at the end of the conference on Saturday, March 24, 2018

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<http://www.jourlib.org/journal/8530/#.VSU7CPmsVSk>

Cheng Library Catalog

<https://chengfind.wpunj.edu/Record/416615/Details>

Open University Malaysia

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

Wayne State University Libraries

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

Kun Shan University Library

[http://muse.lib.ksu.edu.tw:8080/1cate/?rft\\_val\\_fmt=publisher&pubid=ucypress](http://muse.lib.ksu.edu.tw:8080/1cate/?rft_val_fmt=publisher&pubid=ucypress)

## CEPOS NEW CALL FOR PAPERS 2018

Western Theological Seminar

<http://cook.westernsem.edu/CJDB4/EXS/browse/tags?q=public+law>

NYU Health Sciences Library

<http://hsl.med.nyu.edu/resource/details/175011>

Swansea University Prifysgol Abertawe

<https://ifind.swan.ac.uk/discover/Record/579714#.VSU9SPmsVSk>

Vanderbilt Library

[http://umlaut.library.vanderbilt.edu/journal\\_list/R/139](http://umlaut.library.vanderbilt.edu/journal_list/R/139)

Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozial

[http://www.wzb.eu/de/node/7353?page=detail.phtml&bibid=AAAAA&colors=3&lang=de&jour\\_id=111736](http://www.wzb.eu/de/node/7353?page=detail.phtml&bibid=AAAAA&colors=3&lang=de&jour_id=111736)

Keystone Library Network

<https://vf-clarion.klnpa.org/vufind/Record/clarion.474063/Details>

Quality Open Access Market

<https://zaandam.hosting.ru.nl/oamarket-acc/score?page=4&Language=21&Sort=Ascending&SortBy=BaseScore>

Elektronische Zeitschriftenbibliothek EZB (Electronic Journals Library)

[http://rzblx1.uni-regensburg.de/ezeit/searchres.phtml?bibid=AAAAA&colors=7&lang=de&jq\\_type1=KT&jq\\_term1=REVISTA+DE+STIINTE+POLITICE](http://rzblx1.uni-regensburg.de/ezeit/searchres.phtml?bibid=AAAAA&colors=7&lang=de&jq_type1=KT&jq_term1=REVISTA+DE+STIINTE+POLITICE)

Harley E. French Library of the Health sciences

<http://undmedlibrary.org/Resources/list/record/129818>

Open Access Articles

[http://www.openaccessarticles.com/journal/1584-224X\\_Revista\\_de\\_Stiinte\\_Politice+---](http://www.openaccessarticles.com/journal/1584-224X_Revista_de_Stiinte_Politice+---)

Vrije Universiteit Brussel

<http://biblio.vub.ac.be/vlink/VlinkMenu.CSP?genre=journal&eissn=&issn=1584-224X&title=Revista%20de%20Stiinte%20Politice>

The Hong Kong University

[http://onsearch.lib.polyu.edu.hk:1701/primolibweb/action/dlDisplay.do?vid=HKPU&docId=HKPU\\_MILLENNIUM22899443&fromSitemap=1&afterPDS=true](http://onsearch.lib.polyu.edu.hk:1701/primolibweb/action/dlDisplay.do?vid=HKPU&docId=HKPU_MILLENNIUM22899443&fromSitemap=1&afterPDS=true)

Biblioteca Universitaria di Lugano

[https://en.bul.sbu.usi.ch/search/periodicals/systematic?category=10&page=34&per\\_page=10&search=](https://en.bul.sbu.usi.ch/search/periodicals/systematic?category=10&page=34&per_page=10&search=)

Olomuc Research Library, Czech Republic

<http://aleph.vkol.cz/F?func=find->

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&ccl\_term=sys=000070018&con\_lng=eng&local\_base=svk07

California State University Monterey Bay University

[http://sfx.calstate.edu:9003/csumb?sid=sfx:e\\_collection&issn=1584-224X&serviceType=getFullTxt](http://sfx.calstate.edu:9003/csumb?sid=sfx:e_collection&issn=1584-224X&serviceType=getFullTxt)

University of the West

<http://library.uwest.edu/booksab.asp?OCLCNo=9999110967>

Elektronische Zeitschriften der Universität zu Köln

[http://mobil.ub.uni-](http://mobil.ub.uni-koeln.de/IPS?SERVICE=TEMPLATE&SUBSERVICE=EZB_BROWSE&SID=PETER)

[koeln.de/IPS?SERVICE=TEMPLATE&SUBSERVICE=EZB\\_BROWSE&SID=PETER](http://mobil.ub.uni-koeln.de/IPS?SERVICE=TEMPLATE&SUBSERVICE=EZB_BROWSE&SID=PETER)  
SPFENNIG:1460334557&LOCATION=USB&VIEW=USB:Kataloge&BIBID=USBK&COLORS=7&LANGUAGE=de&PAGE=detail&QUERY\_URL=jour\_id%3D111736&REDIRECT=1

Biblioteca Electronica de Ciencia y Tecnologia

[http://www.biblioteca.mincyt.gob.ar/revistas/index?subarea=148&area=34&gran\\_area=5&browseType=discipline&Journals\\_page=17](http://www.biblioteca.mincyt.gob.ar/revistas/index?subarea=148&area=34&gran_area=5&browseType=discipline&Journals_page=17)

University of Huddersfield UK

<http://library.hud.ac.uk/summon/360list.html>

Saarlandische Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Germany

<http://www.sulb.uni-saarland.de/index.php?id=141&libconnect%5Bjourid%5D=111736>  
EKP Publications

<http://www.sulb.uni-saarland.de/index.php?id=141&libconnect%5Bjourid%5D=111736>

OHSU Library

<http://www.ohsu.edu/library/ejournals/staticpages/ejnlr.shtml>

Valley City State University

<http://www.ohsu.edu/library/ejournals/staticpages/ejnlr.shtml>

Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, Spain

<http://www.cis.es/cis/export/sites/default/>

Archivos/Revistas\_de\_libre\_acceso\_xseptiembre\_2010x.pdf

Drexel Libraries

<http://innoserv.library.drexel.edu:2082/search~S9?/aUniversitatea+%22Babe%7Bu0219%7D-Bolyai.%22/auniversitatea+babes+bolyai/-3%2C-1%2C0%2CB/marc&FF=auniversitatea+din+craiova+catedra+de+stiinte+politice&1%2C1%2C>

Impact Factor Poland

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

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Pol-index

<http://catalogue.univ-angers.fr/OPD01/86/61/40/00/OPD01.000458661.html>

ILAN University Library

[http://muse.niu.edu.tw:8080/1cate/?rft\\_val\\_fmt=publisher&pubid=ucvpress&set.user.locale=en\\_US](http://muse.niu.edu.tw:8080/1cate/?rft_val_fmt=publisher&pubid=ucvpress&set.user.locale=en_US)

Dowling College Library

<http://www.dowling.edu/library/journaldb/keyword4.asp?jname=revista>

Universite Laval

[http://sfx.bibl.ulaval.ca:9003/sfx\\_local?url\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&url\\_ctx\\_fmt=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&ctx\\_enc=info:ofi/enc:UTF-8&ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2004&rft\\_id=info:sid/sfxit.com:azlist&sfx.ignore\\_date\\_threshold=1&rft.object\\_id=100000000726583&rft.object\\_portfolio\\_id=&svc.fulltext=yes](http://sfx.bibl.ulaval.ca:9003/sfx_local?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&url_ctx_fmt=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&ctx_enc=info:ofi/enc:UTF-8&ctx_ver=Z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/sfxit.com:azlist&sfx.ignore_date_threshold=1&rft.object_id=100000000726583&rft.object_portfolio_id=&svc.fulltext=yes)

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

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

## CONFERENCE INTERNATIONAL INDEXING OF THE PAST EDITIONS (2014-2017)

### CEPOS Conference 2017

The Seventh International Conference After Communism. East and West under Scrutiny (Craiova, House of the University, 24-25 March 2017) was evaluated and accepted for indexing in 10 international databases, catalogues and NGO's databases:

Ethic & International Affairs (Carnegie Council), Cambridge University Press-  
<https://www.ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org/2016/upcoming-conferences-interest-2016-2017/>

ELSEVIER GLOBAL EVENTS

LIST <http://www.globaleventslist.elsevier.com/events/2017/03/7th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny>

CONFERENCE ALERTS-<http://www.conferencealerts.com/show-event?id=171792>

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

Hiway Conference Discovery System-<http://www.hicds.cn/meeting/detail/45826124>

Geopolitika (Hungary)-<http://www.geopolitika.hu/event/7th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny/>

Academic.net-<http://www.academic.net/show-24-4103-1.html>

World University Directory-

<http://www.worlduniversitydirectory.com/conferencedetail.php?AgentID=2001769>

Science Research Association-

<http://www.scirea.org/conferenceinfo?conferenceId=35290>

Science Social Community-<https://www.science-community.org/ru/node/174892>

**CEPOS Conference 2016**

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

ELSEVIER GLOBAL EVENTS-

<http://www.globaleventslist.elsevier.com/events/2016/04/6th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny/>

Oxford Journals – Oxford Journal of Church & State-

<http://jcs.oxfordjournals.org/content/early/2016/02/06/jcs.csv121.extract>

Conference Alerts-<http://www.conferencealerts.com/country-listing?country=Romania>

Conferences-In - <http://conferences-in.com/conference/romania/2016/economics/6th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny/>

Socmag.net - <http://www.socmag.net/?p=1562>

African Journal of Political Sciences-

[http://www.maspolitiques.com/mas/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=450:-securiteee-&catid=2:2010-12-09-22-47-00&Itemid=4#.VjUI5PnhCUk](http://www.maspolitiques.com/mas/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=450:-securiteee-&catid=2:2010-12-09-22-47-00&Itemid=4#.VjUI5PnhCUk)

Researchgate-

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/283151988\\_Call\\_for\\_Papers\\_6TH\\_International\\_Conference\\_After\\_Communism\\_East\\_and\\_West\\_under\\_Scrutiny\\_8-9\\_April\\_2016\\_Craiova\\_Romania](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/283151988_Call_for_Papers_6TH_International_Conference_After_Communism_East_and_West_under_Scrutiny_8-9_April_2016_Craiova_Romania)

World Conference Alerts-

<http://www.worldconferencealerts.com/ConferenceDetail.php?EVENT=WLD1442>

Edu events-<http://eduevents.eu/listings/6th-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny/>

Esocsci.org-<http://www.esocsci.org.nz/events/list/>

Sciencedz.net-<http://www.sciencedz.net/index.php?topic=events&page=53>

Science-community.org-<http://www.science-community.org/ru/node/164404/?did=070216>

**CEPOS Conference 2015**

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

THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL OF CANADA, CANADA-  
<http://natocouncil.ca/events/international-conferences/>

ELSEVIER GLOBAL EVENTS LIST-  
<http://www.globaleventslist.elsevier.com/events/2015/04/fifth-international-conf>

GCONFERENCE.NET-  
[http://www.gconference.net/eng/conference\\_view.html?no=47485&catalog=1&cata=018&co\\_kind=&co\\_type=&pageno=1&conf\\_cata=01](http://www.gconference.net/eng/conference_view.html?no=47485&catalog=1&cata=018&co_kind=&co_type=&pageno=1&conf_cata=01)

CONFERENCE BIOXBIO-<http://conference.bioxbio.com/location/romania10>

CONFERENCE TIMES-<http://10times.com/romania>

CONFERENCE ALERTS-<http://www.conferencealerts.com/country-listing?country=Romania>

<http://www.iem.ro/orizont2020/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/lista-3-conferinte-internationale.pdf>

<http://sdil.ac.ir/index.aspx?pid=99&articleid=62893>

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NATIONAL SYMPOSIUM-<http://www.nationalsymposium.com/communism.php>  
SCIENCE DZ-<http://www.sciencedz.net/conference/6443-fifth-international-conference-after-communism-east-and-west-under-scrutiny>  
ARCHIVE COM-[http://archive-com.com/com/c/conferencealerts.com/2014-12-01\\_5014609\\_70/Rome\\_15th\\_International\\_Academic\\_Conference\\_The\\_IISES/](http://archive-com.com/com/c/conferencealerts.com/2014-12-01_5014609_70/Rome_15th_International_Academic_Conference_The_IISES/)  
CONFERENCE WORLD-<http://conferencesworld.com/higher-education/>  
KNOW A CONFERENCE KNOW A CONFERENCE-  
<http://knowaconference.com/social-work/>  
International Journal on New Trends in Education and Their Implications (IJONTE) Turkey  
<http://www.ijonte.org/?pnum=15&>  
Journal of Research in Education and Teaching Turkey-  
<http://www.jret.org/?pnum=13&pt=Kongre+ve+Sempozyum>  
CEPOS CONFERENCE 2015 is part of a "consolidated list of all international and Canadian conferences taking place pertaining to international relations, politics, trade, energy and sustainable development". For more details see  
<http://natocouncil.ca/events/international-conferences/>

### CEPOS Conference 2014

The Fourth International Conference After Communism. East and West under Scrutiny, Craiova, 4-5 April 2014 was very well received by the national media and successfully indexed in more than 9 international databases, catalogues and NGO's databases such as: American Political Science Association, USA-<http://www.apsanet.org/conferences.cfm>;  
Journal of Church and State, Oxford-  
<http://jcs.oxfordjournals.org/content/early/2014/01/23/jcs.cst141.full.pdf+html>;  
NATO Council of Canada (section events/ international conferences), Canada,  
<http://atlantic-council.ca/events/international-conferences/>  
International Society of Political Psychology, Columbus, USA-  
[http://www.ispp.org/uploads/attachments/April\\_2014.pdf](http://www.ispp.org/uploads/attachments/April_2014.pdf)  
Academic Biographical Sketch, <http://academicprofile.org/SeminarConference.aspx>;  
Conference alerts, <http://www.conferencealerts.com/show-event?id=121380>;  
Gesis Sowiport, Koln, Germany, <http://sowiport.gesis.org/>; Osteuropa-Netzwerk, Universität Kassel, Germany, [http://its-vm508.its.uni-kassel.de/mediawiki/index.php/After\\_communism:\\_East\\_and\\_West\\_under\\_scrutiny:\\_Fourth\\_International\\_Conference](http://its-vm508.its.uni-kassel.de/mediawiki/index.php/After_communism:_East_and_West_under_scrutiny:_Fourth_International_Conference)  
Ilustre Colegio Nacional de Doctores y Licenciados en Ciencias Politicas y Sociologia, futuro Consejo Nacional de Colegios Profesionales, Madrid,  
<http://colpolsocmadrid.org/agenda/>.



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E.g.: Anca Parmena Olimid\*, Cătălina Maria Georgescu\*\*, Cosmin Lucian Gherghe\*\*\*

\* Associate Professor, PhD, University of Craiova, Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, Political Sciences specialization, Phone: 00407\*\*\*\*\*, Email: [parmena2002@yahoo.com](mailto:parmena2002@yahoo.com). (Use Times New Roman 9, Justified)

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

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

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#### **Abstract**

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

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### Keywords

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

Text Font: Times New Roman: 10,5

Reference citations within the text Please cite within the text. Use authors' last names, with the year of publication.

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

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

To cite one Article by the same author(s) in the same year use the letters a, b, c, etc., after the year. E.g.: (Olimid, 2009a:14) (Olimid, 2009b: 25-26).

### References:

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

References of the same author are listed chronologically.

### For books

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

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

### For chapters in edited books

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

### For journal Articles

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

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

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### Tables and Figures

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

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

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

All submissions will be double-blind reviewed by at least two reviewers.