

Cogita

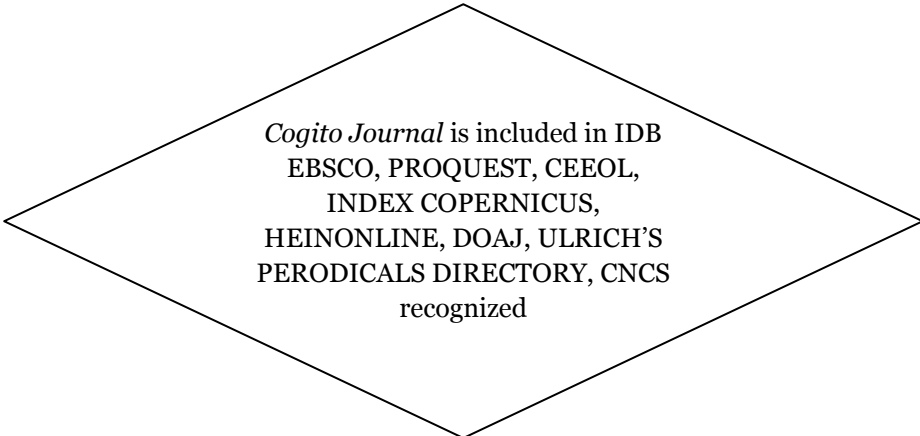
MULTIDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH JOURNAL

Vol. X, no. 1/March, 2018

Bucharest, 2018
ISSN 2068-6706

**Cogito Journal is published under the aegis of
“Dimitrie Cantemir” Christian University**

Address: 176 Splaiul Unirii, Bucharest
Phone: 021.330.79.00, 021.330.79.11,
021.330.79.14
Fax: 021.330.87.74
E-mail: cogito.ucdc@yahoo.com



Cogito Journal is included in IDB
EBSCO, PROQUEST, CEEOL,
INDEX COPERNICUS,
HEINONLINE, DOAJ, ULRICH'S
PERIODICALS DIRECTORY, CNCS
recognized

Cogita

MULTIDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH JOURNAL

Vol. X, no. 1/March, 2018



Every author is responsible for the originality of the article and that the text was not published previously.

CONTENTS

ROMANIAN AND FOREIGN THINKERS

- THE ROMANIAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL MODEL
FROM DIMITRIE CANTEMIR TO MIRCEA ELIADE..... 7**
Gabriela Pohoată,
Mihaela Mocanu
- PHILOSOPHY, HISTORY, EXISTENCE – INTERSECTIONS IN
THE ROMANIAN SPIRITUAL LIFE, FROM DIMITRIE
CANTEMIR TO LUCIAN BLAGA.....17**
Alexandru Ștefănescu
- SIGMUND FREUD’S AUTOBIOGRAPHY BETWEEN SELF-
ANALYSIS AND FICTIONALIZATION..... 22**
Raluca Ghențulescu

HISTORY AND POLITICAL SCIENCES

- ROMANIAN STATE “WESTERNISATION” FROM DINICU TO ’48..... 28**
Sabin Drăgulin,
Antoaneta Ancuța Brașoveanu
- BEYOND CULTURAL LEGACIES: URBAN AND RURAL SPACES
OF IDENTITY IN RECENT ROMANIA..... 37**
Iulia Anghel
- ABOUT DEMOCRACY, BETWEEN IDEAL AND REALITY 47**
Simona Bușoi
- ROMANIA AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE COMMON
AGRICULTURAL POLICY 59**
Florentina Burlacu

SOCIOLOGY

TO WORK OR NOT TO WORK? THE DILEMMA OF JAPANESE WOMEN	66
Niculina Nae	
FROM COMMUNITY TO SOCIETY AND THE FUNDAMENTS OF COOPERATION.....	79
Lucia Ovidia Vreja	
FEMINIZATION OF MIGRATION	88
Raluca Malvina Stanciu	

FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

EXPRESSIVE SPRECHAKTE DER MISSBILLIGUNG AUS DEM BLICKWINKEL DER SPRACHLICHEN REALISIERUNG	93
Adriana Dănilă	
ZUR ENTWICKLUNG DES BEGRIFFS ÜBERSETZUNG. EIN EINBLICK.....	106
Evemarie Draganovici	

THE ROMANIAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL MODEL FROM DIMITRIE CANTEMIR TO MIRCEA ELIADE

Gabriela Pohoată,*

gabriela_pohoata@yahoo.com

Mihaela Mocanu**

rmocanu99@yahoo.fr

*“A nation can have only one destiny to impose its
universalism on all the other peoples”*

Mircea Eliade

Abstract: *The idea we put forward in this text is that Romanian philosophy offers a true anthropological model, based on the research of the reference texts from the specialised literature, starting with Dimitrie Cantemir, continuing with Lucian Blaga, Constantin Noica, Emil Cioran and Mircea Eliade, thinkers and philosophers who showed a special concern for the research of our way of being, who have written admirable pages about the Romanian soul, about the Romanian culture. We will focus especially on the contributions of Dimitrie Cantemir and Mircea Eliade, both thinkers illustrating the universal dimension of the Romanian spirituality.¹ Dimitrie Cantemir was a precursor of philosophical anthropology not only in the Romanian space, but also in the European one. The Romanian anthropological model thought up by Dimitrie Cantemir in *Descriptio Moldaviae*² reached a level of philosophical elaboration and refinement in the thinking of Mircea Eliade, who imposed himself in the contemporary anthropological knowledge through a “new philosophical anthropology and a new humanism.”³*

Keywords: *Romanian existence, Romanian being, Romanian soul, Romanian speech, Romanian culture.*

The propensities of a national philosophy cannot be achieved *ad saeculum*, during political conjunctions and events, not to mention the coordinates of its

*Prof. PhD. Hab., The Faculty of Judicial and Administrative Sciences, “Dimitrie Cantemir” Christian University, Bucharest.

**Lecturer PhD., The Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures, “Dimitrie Cantemir” Christian University, Bucharest.

¹ G. Pohoată, *Romanian Educational Models in Philosophy*, Lambert Academic Publishing, Germany, June, 2012, p. 366.

² Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descriptio Moldaviae*, Bucharest, Cartea Românească Publishing House, 1928, translation by Gh. Adamescu.

³ Mircea Eliade, *The Nostalgia of Origins*, Chapter *A new Humanism*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 2013, p. 11-25.

major value that structure, transubstantiate the chosen flowers of a spirit. The national specificity of a philosophy is not limited to one aspect. “For more than 100 years, Romania has been embroiled in history, or else, it is heading towards it by itself. After the Peace of Adrianople, in 1829, our patriarchal economy turned –as the historians show -into an exchange economy, simply by the fact that the Straits of the Dardanelles were open and Western trade was about to change our economic structure. After 1848, we embarked on the political adventure... Later on, social problems came to change the Romanian rules too, imposing more expropriations of agrarian goods in favor of the peasantry. Everything, in economic, political life, at social or military level, shows that the nation must and wants to take its risk in history. Everything has come to get us out of eternity. Can we still remain like that at cultural level? Can we love only what we have always been, not what we could be?”⁴. As early as 1919, when Romania was reunited, Vasile Pârvan said at the inauguration of the University of Cluj, “Not our ferocious Romanianization into the vegetative ethnography, but our continuous humanization in the human sublime will create the Romanian culture.⁵ Much more outspoken seems to be Emil Cioran in the *Transfiguration of Romania*.⁶ He dreams of a Romanian nation seized by the fever of modernization and, if he sees a Romania superior to the other small countries that surround it, it's because he is a dissatisfied conscience. Dissatisfied, but not to Cantemir's extent, who brought along the whole West to lean over the Romanian people.

The Cantemirian Anthropological Model

“I will not resume the ideas developed on this topic in a previous text, but within this article we intend to start from the Cantemirian model, be it negative, because it is the first approach of this kind in the Romanian culture. In Cantemir's time the spirit of criticism also emerges, due to self-dissatisfaction, the dissatisfaction that you are the way you are. Cantemir represents the first phenomenon of crisis in the Romanian spirituality, balanced and reconciled until then, not self-satisfied, but reconciled to what it was doomed to it”. D. Cantemir's entire work can be related to the anthropological model as if it were its base or, similarly, his books can be seen as more or less explicit facets of how the Prince-Philosopher understood the nature and the purpose of man in the world. Briefly, the first systematic model of Romanians' self-understanding acquires consistency through his works: ***The Description of the Old and Today's State of Moldavia***,⁸ ***The Moldo-Vlachian History***, ***The Romanian-Moldavian-***

⁴ C. Noica, *Pages about the Romanian Soul*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 2014, p. 33.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 34.

⁶ Emil Cioran, *The Transfiguration of Romania*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 1990.

⁷ G. Pohoată, *The Cantemirian Anthropological Model*, paper submitted in the Plenary Session of the International Scientific Conference “D. Cantemir's Works – A Foundation towards the Romanian Nation-Unity State” 24 November 2017, published in *Cogito*, vol. IX, no. 4/2017.

⁸ Dimitrie Cantemir, *The Description of the Old and Today's State of Moldavia*. A critical edition written by Dan Slușanschi, I., Bucharest, The Romanian Cultural Institute, 2006, *Ibidem*,

Wallachian Chronicle,⁹ **The Romanian-Moldavian-Wallachian Chronicle**¹⁰ and **The Hieroglyphic History**¹¹, which the scholar Prince wrote with the responsibility of the one who turned his pursuit of the truth into the mainspring of all his intellectual endeavors: “our soul is frightened and we tremble until we start writing down something (even if it seems very defensive and weighed with a pure soul) about the age, birth, and race of our nation. But because not few... have asked us, time and again, to inform them about the origins and genealogy of our Moldovans, about their remote or more recent deeds, about the place, the climate, the air and the other things that belong to human life, but also about their customs, religion, rites, politics, and all that is related to human living: so, after a deep thought of the assertions of well-known writers, with a more cautious conscience based on the perils experienced by others, we decided to actually accomplish that teaching of Plato (for the wise man’s command is in accordance with our desire): **We should not live for ourselves, but for our homeland and our friends**”¹².

D. Cantemir is the creator of the first theoretical model of Romanians’ self-understanding; philosophy is called, in the vision of the Prince-Philosopher, to re-build from inside the Romanian community in order to acquire a new way of being in the world in accordance with the humanistic-Christian ideals of the time. Through it, the Romanians reach, for the first time in their collective historical existence, the stage of reflexive self-consciousness, becoming definitively part of “those peoples who have known what they are and what they want”.¹³ Without minimizing the encyclopedic field in which D. Cantemir created - from physics, geography, archeology and music, to sociology, logic, or theology - it must be said that **in essence the Romanian scholar designed a model of philosophical anthropology of Christian inspiration meant justify metaphysically the Romanian man’s possibility of being in the world.**¹⁴ This thesis, once admitted, enables, on the one hand, to understand unitarily D. Cantemir’s encyclopedic efforts and, on the other hand, to identify the bond among so many heterogeneous domains that do not seem to communicate with each other except for invoking the unique personality of their author, which is, we have to admit, a fairly easy undertaking. The above mentioned works form somehow the identitary corpus of the Cantemirian work, so we have the possibility to extract **the typological portrait of the**

Introductory Study, note on the edition and notes by Valentina and Andrei Eșanu. Translation from Latin and indexes by Dan Slușanschi, II, Bucharest, ICR Publishing House, 2007.

⁹ Dimitrie Cantemir, *The Description of Moldavia, cited works*.

¹⁰ *Idem*, *The Romanian-Moldavian-Wallachian Chronicle*, transl. by Gr. Tocilescu, Bucharest, 1901, *Ibidem*, edition prepared, introductory study, glossary and indexes by Stela Toma, Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House, 1999, 2000.

¹¹ *Idem*, *The Hieroglyphic History* in *Works*, The Romanian Academy, The Encyclopedic Universe Publishing House, 2003.

¹² Dimitrie Cantemir, *Complete Works*, Vol. IX, 1st Part, *The Moldo-Vlachian History*, Bucharest, The Academy Publishing House, 1983, p. 137.

¹³ G.W. Hegel, *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 1997, p. 6.

¹⁴ C. Aslam, *Dimitrie Cantemir and the first configuration of the Romanian mentis form*, Tome XLVII, No. 3 – 4, August, Bucharest, The Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2000.

Romanian man, a portrait that is configured in his essential lines in the Description of Moldavia. The simple review of the titles of the 31 chapters of the *Description of Moldavia* indicates that D. Cantemir has taken into account the defining elements that contribute to the shaping of a people's physiognomy, including the geographical aspects. The *Description of Moldavia*, although it can be seen from the perspective of several fields of study (geography, ethnography, history, etc.), is undoubtedly a compendium of Romanian anthropology, because **the Romanian man is the subject of the text and subtext of this work.** Through it, D. Cantemir tries to rigorously encompass the living space and the way of being in the world of the Romanians. Therefore, the *Description of Moldavia* intends to conceptually enclose those elements that explain and define the being of the Romanian people, and in this sense it is concerned especially with showing the essence of the nation, "which is the origin and seed of the inhabitants of our land...". Dimitrie Cantemir does not speak only about a Romanian community unified mentally by asserting the common ethnic origin and the elements derived from it, but also about the "natural" territories that also produce collective identity responses. It is not so much an analysis of the geographic factor and its influences on the Romanian ethnic profile, although this does not lack, it is rather an anticipation of the border concept which would later be the very substance of the modern state, creating the premises of the "imaginary state" after 1800. Cantemir does not favour, in his delimitation of Romanianity, as some philosophers and scholars from the 19th-20th centuries do, a certain element to the detriment of another: the Orthodox Christian religion, the Latin fund (or non-Latin fund), some positive or negative moral or spiritual features, and so on. From this perspective, the main "morale" of the *Description of Moldavia* should be appropriated as a methodological norm with axiomatic value by anyone who wants to conceptually embody a people's being. This is the reason for us to point out¹⁵ that Dimitrie Cantemir can be regarded as a precursor of the European philosophical anthropology. In the elaboration of the Romanian anthropological model he had no model. *This could be a cause for the excess of objectivity and the critical approach demonstrated by Dimitrie Cantemir in portraying his people.*

For the objectivity of our analysis, we would like to point out that Dimitrie Cantemir identifies and specifies the Romanian man in the world, rather through his characteristic flaws than through his spiritual qualities: "for this reason, we want to confess that in the Moldavians' nature, except for their faith and hospitality, we do not find anything much to praise."¹⁶ If we take into consideration that both faith and hope are relativized by D. Cantemir in the *Description of Moldavia*, then we can say that the Romanian man is individualized in the world by his flaws of character and his identity has a negative nature. "But why does Cantemir rebuke his people into a book which is dedicated exclusively to foreigners? "For the sake of objectivity, says Cantemir. The love for his homeland would urge him to praise his nation, but the love for

¹⁵ G. Pohoată, *The Cantemirian Anthropologic Model*, cited art.

¹⁶ D. Cantemir, cited works.

truth urges him to show its mistakes. From the thirst of being objective in judging his nation, Cantemir ends up in excesses.”¹⁷ So, the fact that the much-blasted book by E. Cioran, *The Transfiguration of Romania*¹⁸ of 1934, which lays a negative foundation of the Romanian identity, is not as singular as it was sustained, in fact continuing an autochthonous tradition of identity reflection, which has its source in D. Cantemir's thinking.

We need to emphasize that this first systematic self-commentary of the Romanians, largely materialized in what we call the identity corpus of the Cantemirian works, is paradigmatic in the field of Romanian identity reflection, as it is supported by an exemplary philosophical construction that D. Cantemir has left us in the *Divan...*¹⁹ Therefore, the meanings of this first commentary on Romanian identity cannot be fully emphasized if we do not associate them with the *Divan...* by complementary reading, respectively, if we do not relate them to the dominant intellectual structure of D. Cantemir. It is an understanding of the first Romanian identity model by referring to D. Cantemir the philosopher, to the one who proposes in the *Divan...* a reconstruction of man from the perspective of a philosophical anthropology of Christian inspiration.

Another type of “objectivity” in the Romanian philosophical anthropology

If Dimitrie Cantemir could feel only obscurely everything that was valid in the Romanian anonymous spirituality, Lucian Blaga, the greatest Romanian philosopher of the interwar period, a creator of system and of own philosophical values, in the Western sense, does not hesitate to eulogize the Romanian village in the discourse pronounced at the time of its entry into the Romanian Academy. *The most personal of the contemporary Romanian creators praises all that is impersonal, anti-historic in the Romanian soul. At the head of one of his works of philosophy of culture*²⁰, Lucian Blaga wrote a chapter on the relationship between major and minor culture, showing that the differences between the two types of cultures are not in terms of size, but in terms of age. The minor culture should be understood as an expression of childhood, which can be eternal, Blaga wrote suggestively. In any case, he sees nothing demeaning in the childhood attribute of minor cultures. The Romanian culture is - in Blaga's view - a minor culture, with childhood as “adoptive age”: A child lives cosmocentrically, argues Blaga. The peasant from everywhere, but especially the Romanian peasant - who is still preserved authentically today - is a polytechnician. He alone is an architect, a plowman, a singer, a mason. Of course, there is also a division of labor in the village, but it is infinitely less rigorous than in the city. The village life is totalitarian and cosmocentric. What we want to emphasize is that for Blaga, the

¹⁷ C. Noica, cited works, p. 24.

¹⁸ E. Cioran, *The Transfiguration of Romania*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 1990.

¹⁹ D. Cantemir, *The Divan*, Edition and introductory study by Virgil Căndea, Bucharest, The Publishing House for Literature, 1969, p. XXIV-XXXIV.

²⁰ L. Blaga, *The Trilogy of Culture, The Genesis of the Metaphor and The Meaning of Culture*, Bucharest, The Publishing House for Literature, 1969, p. 261-389.

minor culture is of the same spiritual quality as the major one, because it is the bearer of a stylistic mark. Our village, Blaga said, had the strength to preserve itself “boycotting” history. Although history was being made around it by others, foreigners to our nation, our village was preserved. Time elapsed, but the stylistic mark, in other words, the deep seal of the Romanian nation remained the same. But Blaga does not propose us to remain in the minor culture. He notes that for 100 years we have been targeting to large-scale culture. Sometimes it was thought that a condition for the transition from minor to major culture is the appearance of the genial man. No, Blaga says, it does not take so much time. What we need is not the genius, but the prolongation of the minor. If it is true that without a stylistic a priori there is no major culture, then, the Romanian village, which has this stylistic a priori, is the best reservoir of high Romanian creation. What do we have to do? Blaga asked himself?²¹ Let's raise one step higher, especially our folk achievements, sublimate and monumentalize our anonymous values, and we will give birth to creations that will impose themselves. We will not repeat, we will not mimic the minor, but we will pursue the “inner stylistic impulse”. Both cultures are the outcome of the same stylistic matrix, therefore there is no need to search but for the deep agreement with ourselves. Blaga's philosophy is a philosophy of stylistic apriorism. It enriches the Kantian categories with categories borne by a stylistic matrix, by means of which only science, art, religion can give rise to a human consciousness.²² Lucian Blaga approaches man as a creator of culture. He has no other nobler goal in life. Even when he tries to break free from life, history, and to 'save', to live in the absolute, even then he creates culture. For philosophies, religions, human mystics, no matter how “absolute” the experience preceding them may be, are also cultural creations, that is, they have a metaphoric character and participate in a stylistic matrix...²³. Starting from Blaga's approach, Mircea Eliade sees Romania's destiny as a cultural one, capitalizing on existence, “the Romanian experience through spiritual creations”. “We can no longer have any doubts about the creative force of our nation – says Eliade who goes beyond any Cantemirian complex. It seems that these historical realities indicate precisely the path that the modern Romanian culture will follow and which we can summarize in two words: the universal man. Romanians cannot create either 'fragmentary' or 'specialized', as in the West. The explanation was given above because we belong to a minor culture. But, Mircea Eliade's message is a prophetic one²⁴“, ...today, when Western Europe is made up of major cultures and participates in the “adoptive age” of maturity, I think we, Romanians, have the mission to create a universal man, other than the one embodied by the Greeks or by the Renaissance”. In this respect, Eliade appreciates that Blaga's philosophical system is one of the signs that announces this Romanian “universal man”. Relating to the second half of the last century, Eliade notices, “Our rebirth has been less fortunate, our humanism has turned too fast into philology and history,

²¹ C. Noica, *cited works*, p. 30.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 31.

²³ Lucian Blaga, *The Mioritic Space*, in *op.cit.*, p. 119-261.

²⁴ Mircea Eliade, *Romanian Destinies*, in *Romanian Prophetism 2. Romania in Eternity*, Bucharest, Roza Vânturilor Publishing House, 1990, p. 207.

to defend our Latinity and rights...” The model remains the one from the very beginning. “This impatience of creation characterizes all the great Romanians of the nineteenth century: Bălcescu, Heliade-Rădulescu, Hașdeu, Eminescu...”

An impatience of creation, therefore, characterizes the very encyclopedic, broadly constructive line of Romanian culture. This “impatience” of creation had to cope, at the same time, with the Măiorescian or Caragiălean critical spirit, to reject or assume it. The Romanian creator has always faced these three constants, has been, somewhat, in the triangle formed between them – the desire for construction (the encyclopedic spirit) - the fear of time (the impatience of creation, the country rarely had long time at its disposal) - the critical spirit. Mircea Eliade discovered the “triplet”, followed it in action and showed it to his contemporaries.²⁵ Today’s and tomorrow’s Romania - he says - must rely on creation to join the concert of European countries. “For Romania - which, anyhow, remains a country without possibilities of political claims - culture is the only means of affirmation, both in front of today’s world and tomorrow’s history.”²⁶ And, within culture, religion occupies a distinct place, especially the Orthodox religion. The latter is the creator of its own lifestyle, it is the custodian of traditions, the mysterious ark that binds us to antiquity - proving our age on this land - our belongingness to Latinity and Byzantium.

Mircea Eliade’s new humanism²⁷, present in his 1960s works, builds on the hermeneutics of religious phenomena of all kinds and is characterized by ideas and concepts such as the crisis of Western culture, the opening towards exotic and archaic cultures, towards the encounter and confrontation with “the other”, towards the proportionality of the values of truth, beauty, and goodness at the same level, towards a holistic perspective that combines science, art, religion, philosophy, towards the emphasis laid on intuition and reason, towards the anthropological dualism. This type of humanism is no longer philological, scientific²⁸, religious or historical, but a planetary, holistic one, having all these dimensions and being built with anthropological, hermeneutical, historical-synthetic tools. Eliade seeks the finality of restoring the primacy of the spirit to the essence of man, and the creation of a new man, to whom the archetypal experience of origins gives authenticity. The true humanism is that of the balance between identity and universality, which does not extend the values of Western civilization (history, progressivism) to man in general, and does not admit any cultural hegemony, regarding it as anti-humanist.²⁹ Against the historical approach, Eliade used his own method, the “total hermeneutics” of religious beliefs, conceived and based on *a new vision of philosophical anthropology with elements of depth psychology on homo religiosus*. Here is an obvious common

²⁵ Nicolae Georgescu, Preface to Mircea Eliade, *Romanian prophetism 2*, cited works, p. 22.

²⁶ Mircea Eliade, *cited works*.

²⁷ M. Eliade, *On the New Humanism*, in *Vremea*, no. 268/1932, Angela Botez, *A Century of Romanian Philosophy*, Bucharest, Academiei Publishing House, 2005, p. 223.

²⁸ M. Eliade, *The History of Sciences and the New Humanism*, in *Cuvântul X*/1933, no. 1980, apud. *Ibidem*. p. 223.

²⁹ Angela Botez, *cited works*, p. 223.

matrix trait in Mircea Eliade's and Lucian Blaga's works in the interpretation of cultures and religions as archetypal patterns. Mircea Eliade uses skillfully the method of spiritual biography and the phenomenological description in the elaboration of anthropology³⁰ from the perspective of a planetary humanism³¹ and based on the hermeneutical method, a phenomenological paradigm of interpretation of religions opposed to the historical or positivist-scientific one.³² Eliade's intention to reconstruct the philosophical anthropology from the point of view of a new humanism, namely a "planetary humanism", is the prerogative of his universal vocation, being the prototype of a Romanian thinker illustrating, perhaps most eloquently, **what is specific for the Romanian anthropological model - the universal man.**³³ It is not by accident that the first chapter of *The Quest* is entitled: **A New Humanism.**³⁴

Instead of conclusion

The meaning of the research of the Romanian model from the perspective of philosophical anthropology is given by the need to identify more clearly and to realize what gives us specificity within the peoples of the world, especially when the concept of national identity becomes more and more vague. Dimitrie Cantemir and Mircea Eliade carry out in their works different approaches as to the destiny of the Romanian people in the world, but both thinkers illustrate the universal dimension of the Romanian spirituality. These reference anthropological models for the Romanian philosophic and for the universal philosophical thinking entitle us to appreciate that the Romanian dignity, which we see diminished today, can be complete only by spiritual creation. This is above all spiritual freedom. In such an important year for the history of the Romanian people who celebrates 100 years since the Great Union, we would like to remind the end of an exceptional book³⁵, where Mircea Eliade defines nationalism, which we consider appropriate for our collective memory. "Nationalism is - and this is common knowledge from Eminescu onwards - an act of spiritual creation. The self-consciousness of a human collectivity, the consciousness of a long-lasting history and, especially, the valorisation of life through this participation - are acts of spiritual living. The myths, the apocalypses, the historical missions that every nation claims - have nothing to do with the biological or economic life of a human settlement. Anchored by its very being in spirituality, a nation can have only one destiny: to create ecumenical spiritual values. In other words, to impose its universalism on all the other peoples..." But, the author argues, "universalism cannot be performed through the synthesis of all virtues, on the contrary, universalism is gained by

³⁰ G. Durand, *Eliade ou l'anthropologie profonde*, in "Cahiers de l'herne" 33/1978.

³¹ M. Eliade, *Notes pour une humanisme*, in "La Nouvelle Revue Francaise", year IX 107/1961.

³² Angela Botez, *cited works*, p. 223.

³³ G. Pohoată, *Mircea Eliade. From the History of Religions to Philosophical Anthropology*, in *Cogito*, no. 4/2017.

³⁴ Mircea Eliade, *The Nostalgia of Origins*, [*The Quest*], chapt. *A New Humanism*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 2013, p. 11-25.

³⁵ Mircea Eliade, *Romanian Prophetism*, *cited works* (Nationalism), p. 193.

deepening the specific, the local, the private to exhaustion”. In other words, “a nationalism does not become universal by giving up its specific forms and trying to understand it in other forms - it becomes universal only when it succeeds in capitalizing life in its own way, creating a new meaning of existence.”³⁶ It is possible to understand the concept of nationalism, as Mircea Eliade explained and argued, without any political connotations, highlighting his profound philosophical vision of the specificity of the Romanian people centered on his anthropological model.

References

Aslam, C., (2000), *Dimitrie Cantemir and the first configuration of the Romanian mentis form*, Tome XLVII, No. 3 – 4, August, Bucharest, The Romanian Academy Publishing House.

Blaga, L., (1969), *The Trilogy of Culture*, Bucharest, The Publishing House for Literature.

Botez, A., (2005), *Century of Romanian Philosophy*, Bucharest, The Romanian Academy Publishing House.

Cantemir, D., (1928), *Descriptio Moldaviae*, Bucharest, Romanian Book Publishing House, translation by Gh. Adamescu.

Cantemir, D., (2006), *The Description of the Old and Today's State of Moldavia*, Bucharest, The Romanian Cultural Institute.

Cantemir, D., (1969), *The Divan*, Edition and introductory study by Virgil Căndea, Bucharest, The Publishing House for Literature.

Cantemir, D., (1999, 2000), *The Romanian-Moldavian-Wallachian Chronicle*, transl. by Gr. Tocilescu, Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House.

Cantemir, D., (2003), *The Hieroglyphic History in Works*, The Romanian Academy, The Encyclopedic Universe Publishing House.

Cantemir, D., (1983), *Complete Works*, Vol. IX, 1st Part, *The Moldo-Vlachian History*, Bucharest, The Academy Publishing House.

Cioran, E., (1990), *The Transfiguration of Romania*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, Eliade, M., (2013), *The Nostalgia of Origins*, Chapter *A new Humanism*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House.

Eliade, M., (1990), *Romanian Destinies*, in *Romanian Prophetism 2. Romania in Eternity*, Bucharest, Roza Vânturilor Publishing House.

Hegel, G.W., (1997), *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House.

Noica, C., (2014), *Pages about the Romanian Soul*, Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House.

Pohoată, G., (2012), *Romanian Educational Models in Philosophy*, Germany, Lambert Academic Publishing.

Pohoată, G., (2017), *The Cantemirian Anthropological Model*, Bucharest, Cogito, vol. IX, no. 4.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 196.

Pohoată, G., (2017), *Mircea Eliade. From the History of Religions to Philosophical Anthropology*, Bucharest, Cogito, vol. IX, no. 4.

<http://anonimus.ro/2013/03/ce-e-etern-și-ce-e-istoric-în-cultura-românească-de-constantin-noica>

<https://vdocument.site/pagini-despre-sufletul-românesc.html>.

PHILOSOPHY, HISTORY, EXISTENCE – INTERSECTIONS IN THE ROMANIAN SPIRITUAL LIFE, FROM DIMITRIE CANTEMIR TO LUCIAN BLAGA

Alexandru Ștefănescu*

alexstefanescu@gmail.com

Abstract: *The present paper takes a threefold look inside Dimitrie Cantemir's destiny as a pivotal Romanian thinker and political figure. Although much has been written about Cantemir's political, philosophical and cultural activity, my approach here is set on superimposing aspects that pertain to different areas of investigation. Since I am more interested in Cantemir as a whole, I turn to an encomiastic speech delivered by Lucian Blaga, who depicts key aspects of Cantemir's work and personality. Blaga's conference is virtually unmentioned in the Romanian research on Cantemir. So, at least in part, my intention here is to reach back to Dimitrie Cantemir through Blaga's observations and interpretive tools.*

Keywords: *philosophy, history, existence, Romanian culture.*

Much has been written on Dimitrie Cantemir, the prince, the philosopher, the visionary statesman hurled on the complicated scenery of the 17th-18th centuries, and it has been done so with the reverence that suits a nation's founder. How much do we owe him, which part of our history and destiny has been germinated through Cantemir's social and intellectual endeavors – these are the identity questions that make up the fabric of Cantemir's life and work commentaries. Furthermore, there is, of course, the technical analysis of his opuses. Cantemir the metaphysician, Cantemir the historian of religion, Cantemir the sociologist and Cantemir the philologist/musicologist, all of these hypostases shake hands, building up the essence of a man who, in full modernity and Enlightenment, designed for himself the universalistic “refuge” of the polymath.

Two of the Romanian scholars that have written, with much accuracy and success, about Dimitrie Cantemir, are Dan Bădărău¹ (who, aside from his Cantemir monograph, has given the Romanian culture probably the most complex monograph on Leibniz) and Petru Vaida² (who has also delivered a monograph on Tudor Vianu). It goes without saying that any serious history of Romanian philosophy will assign Cantemir a significant descriptive-interpretive part. (See for instance Ion Ianoși's *History of Romanian Philosophy – in*

* Assoc. Prof. PhD., Faculty of Political Science, Department of Communication and Public Relations, “Dimitrie Cantemir” Christian University, Bucharest.

¹ Dan Bădărău, *Filosofia lui Dimitrie Cantemir (The Philosophy of Dimitrie Cantemir)*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy, 1964.

² Petru Vaida, *Dimitrie Cantemir și umanismul (Dimitrie Cantemir and Humanism)*, Bucharest, Minerva, 1972.

Relation to Literature^{3.}) Furthermore, Cantemir's political endeavors and ambitions, as well as the imperial court intrigues, have been, with relative objectivity, unfolded and analyzed by historians.

All in all, Cantemir has been vigorously placed, by the majority of scholars, on the pedestal of Romanian culture and its secular transformation. A famous thought, such as Noica's remark from his *Diary*, that the Romanian cultural debut is done thought Dimitrie Cantemir, is undoubtedly a right measure for Cantemir's spiritual unicity. No one can compete, within the 17th-18th centuries "Romanian" scenery, with the recrudescence of the Renaissance spirit embodied in this fine intellectual, nor with his appetite for the metaphysical thought. But Noica's remark needs to be put in context. And in doing so, what can be more appropriate than Noica's own study about the Romanian cultural eternity and historical existence? Constantin Noica's three-track opus⁴ builds up from Neagoe Basarab and Dimitrie Cantemir, in order to finally arrive at Lucian Blaga's philosophy. Basarab is the "eternity culture" front figure, as depicted by Noica; Cantemir personalizes the eternity-history crisis, as well as the beginning of Romanian modern thinking; while Blaga brings forward the spirit that superimposes the "eternal" roots on history's legacy – building a Romanian cultural history that fulfills its traditions (the Romanian village, nature and soul) within its stylistic matrix. Therefore, Cantemir is, at least in Noica's opinion, the pioneer of Romanian historical and cultural significance. Blaga's synthesis between eternity and history is made possible by Cantemir's modernist endeavors also. To some extent – more symbolical than actual, of course – Lucian Blaga himself is made possible through Cantemir's cultural and philosophical filter.

Noica's well-known study functions as a solid motif in the articulation of the history of Romanian philosophy, and it has been often invoked as such. Less known is a conference held by Lucian Blaga, in 1948, on Dimitrie Cantemir's work and personality. The paper was initially published in *Luceafărul* (1968) and was entitled "The Unicorn"; nowadays it can be found in Lucian Blaga's book *Sources*, published at Humanitas, under the minimalist title "Dimitrie Cantemir"⁵. Essentially encomiastic, but nevertheless accompanied by some critical accents and remarks, Blaga's text can be severed in three, thus providing the occasion behind the title I chose to assign the present paper to: philosophy, history, existence. Three edifying hypostases. Three underlying sequences that unite in order to set a crystal-clear image. Although second when it comes to actual relevance, I depart here from Dimitrie Cantemir's statesman image, in order to later reach both his philosophical thinking and his humanity. In all honesty, history will stand as a catalyst for both Cantemir's philosophical thought and his human turmoil – and, therefore, it seems that this approach is fairly appropriate.

³ Ion Ianoși, *O istorie a filosofiei românești – în relația ei cu literatura (A History of Romanian Philosophy – in Interaction with Literature)*, Cluj-Napoca, Biblioteca Apostrof, 1996.

⁴ Constantin Noica, *Pagini despre sufletul românesc (On the Romanian Soul)*, Bucharest, Humanitas, 2014, pp. 7-35.

⁵ Lucian Blaga, *Izvoade (Sources)*, Bucharest, Humanitas, 2012, pp. 252-282.

History offers an exact image on Prince Cantemir's political destiny, with all its ups and downs, starting from his royal birth in 1673, until his death on Russian soil, in 1723. It is not the place here for me to depict the Moldavian intestine quarrels, nor Cantemir's short-lived ruling experiences or their downfall brought about by the intricate and volatile relationship with the Ottomans, as well as by Constantin Brîncoveanu's royal machinations. It suffices to say that the larger context of the 17th century "international relations", based on much suspicion and opposition, involving the clashes amongst the most significant European powers, as well as the inherent conflict between the imperialist spirit and the overgrowing national rooting, transforms the political scenery in a turmoil of conflictual interests, absolutist pressures and vindictory resorts. All in all – as Blaga makes his point in order to place things in their respective context –, as insignificant as Moldavian politics could have been, Cantemir had lived and made politics in an era of huge political figures, such as Louis XIV of France, Charles XII of Sweden, and Peter the Great. Such company is bound to bring both honor and insignificance. Forced by his times, Cantemir assumes the role of a minor political actor or a second-line combatant, so to speak, which is apparent from the somewhat secondary political "games" he had played on both Ottoman and Russian soil, as a more or a less humble servant of the Sublime Gate or as Peter the Great's trusted advisor. In any case, the 17th and 18th centuries do not add up to any political generosity or trustworthiness whatsoever. Such a world – one in which "all parties tend towards a liquid aggregation"⁶, a world of "territorial discord" and "political munchies" – would probably steer the individual towards a somewhat "epicurean" political capitulation, and therefore Cantemir's character is apparent in his choosing to persevere in his convictions and enterprises. But there is also a downside to Cantemir's stubbornness: his expatriation, his parting from a "local spirituality", that nevertheless Cantemir chose to serve through his intellectual endeavors. His Romanian identity is brought forth mostly by his work. But it is fairly astonishing, as Blaga puts it, that "Dimitrie Cantemir could have eventually preserved his Moldavian soul – for this soul of his has never left his side, notwithstanding his cosmopolite cultural design"⁷.

So, despite his restless existence and his uprooting, Dimitrie Cantemir "managed to leave behind a rich literary, philosophical and scientific work"⁸, when one could easily have assumed that such an endeavor of systematical reflection would mostly require continuity and peace of mind. In light of all of these considerations, we can state that Dimitrie Cantemir spiritual emergence was highly unlikely, "almost improbable"⁹. Nevertheless, his work – philosophy-related and otherwise – is real and profoundly authentic. For it opens up an uncharted territory for Romanian culture, while also signaling the future paths to take.¹⁰ His *Metaphysics* that is *The Sacred Science* proves beyond any doubt a

⁶ Blaga, *op.cit.*, p. 246.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*; also cf. Ianoși, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

¹⁰ See also a rather complete description of Cantemir's life and work as the first European Romanian, in Cristian Dumitrescu, *Dimitrie Cantemir – o viziune europeană asupra educației (Dimitrie Cantemir – a European Perspective on Education)*, "Euromentor", no. 4, December, 2010.

remarkable stylistic maturity, and the theoretical audacity¹¹ behind Cantemir's juggling with various notions of metaphysics turns this work into one of the most significant works of Romanian (proto)philosophy. Such is the case even if the manuscript, recovered sometime after World War I, was accompanied for its first publication, in 1927, by an unfortunate preface delivered by Professor Em. C. Grigoraș. Blaga bitterly blames the impermissible manner in which Grigoraș tends to mix up various concepts and interpretations, ultimately making his foreword responsible, at least in part, for the unfortunate reception of Cantemir's work between wars.

As a philosopher and an epistemologist, Cantemir is bound to set aside a science that would solely assume "the exclusive background of Aristotelian logic"¹². Such an intellectual enterprise was hollow as long as it did not connect to what Cantemir called the Sacred Science, that is a divine science accessible by men through superior initiation, which in fact meant "some degree of participation to the divine grace"¹³. In honesty, such an idea is not novel at all. Cantemir cannot depose Hume or Kant from their seat to say empirical-criticist positions. Of course, the history of philosophy showed a much older philosophical criticism, which Blaga retraces back from Ancient times, to Neoplatonism and even Patristics¹⁴. The mere conjoining with such ancient philosophical traditions, makes room for Blaga's encomiastic reference to Cantemir's well-deserved "place in the speculative panorama of human spirituality"¹⁵. But there is "room" for Blaga's critical remarks also, a gentle criticism nonetheless. Here Blaga sees a discrepancy between Cantemir philosophical "refined subtleties" and his desolate naiveness when it comes to matters of science. Cantemir's natural perspective is somewhat rudimentary, for he cannot compete with the Western modern natural science traditions and orientations, brought forth by Galilei, Descartes or Newton. Nevertheless, the context here absolves much of the blame. For the fact that by Cantemir's time the conflict between mystical and mathematical-experimental naturalism had not yet been put to rest, should prone us to finding at least some understanding for one's naturalistic shortcomings or mere childishness.

On the other hand, philosophy is intertwined with historiography, as well as sociology. It suffices to mention here Cantemir's work on the Ottoman Empire, *History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire*, a truly worthy history work, along with his *Chronicle of the Antiquity of the Romano-Moldavo-Wallachians*, and *Descriptio Moldaviae*. All of these prove the connection between his intellectual endeavors and the existential dimension of his destiny – that is, the last of our three proposed steps. His insidious captivity amongst Moldavia, Turkey and Russia (serving the Russian culture well, not solely by writing his introduction to Islam, for the benefit of "intercultural communication", but also by fathering Antioch, who would soon become a founder of Russian literary language and culture), draws a picture of Cantemir's existential triangle,

¹¹ See Blaga, *op.cit.*, pp. 248-249.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 255.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 255-256.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

which his prodigiousness is most certainly indebted to. Quite a few existential jigsaw pieces, even if mostly oblique, are to be found in his *Hieroglyphic History* as well. Metaphor wraps existence and actual history, if only to offer posterity a genuinely fabulous itinerary. Of much relevance here is also Cantemir's self-characterization as "unicorn", an idea that dwells in Blaga's opening lines in his aforementioned conference. This fabulous being, mixing savagery with the superlative sublimation of miraculousness¹⁶, stands as an interpretive key to Cantemir's spiritual power. And Lucian Blaga himself will brilliantly mobilize all the valences of such an extraordinary being in his prose, essays and even his correspondence. (A very interesting paper on the mythical and artistic unicorn references in Blaga's work can be found in I. Opreșan, *The Unicorn – Instrument of the Miraculousness in Blaga's Work*¹⁷). In the end, one can only say that both Cantemir and Blaga, as "unicorns" albeit each in his own particular style, conjugate the very essence of the Unicorn and the dual driving force behind it: power and wisdom, spirituality and mundane affairs, mysticism and rationality. To all intents and purposes, Dimitrie Cantemir and Lucian Blaga themselves are "miraculous tools", within the long and winding avatars of the Romanian philosophical spirit.

References

- Bădărău, Dan, (1964), *Filosofia lui Dimitrie Cantemir (The Philosophy of Dimitrie Cantemir)*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy.
- Blaga, Lucian, (2012), *Izvoade, (Sources)*, Bucharest, Humanitas.
- Cantemir, Dimitrie, (2003), *Opere (Works)*, Bucharest, Romanian Academy.
- Dumitrescu, Cristian, (2010), *Dimitrie Cantemir – o viziune europeană asupra educației (Dimitrie Cantemir – a European Perspective on Education)*, "Euromentor", no. 4, December.
- Ianoși, Ion, (1996), *O istorie a filosofiei românești – în relația ei cu literatura (A History of Romanian Philosophy – in Interaction with Literature)*, Cluj-Napoca, Biblioteca Apostrof.
- Noica, Constantin, (2014), *Pagini despre sufletul românesc (On the Romanian Soul)*, Bucharest, Humanitas.
- Opreșan, I., (2013), *Inorogul – unealtă a miraculosului în opera lui Blaga (The Unicorn – a Tool for Miraculousness in Blaga's Work)*, "Cultura", no. 424, June.
- Vaida, Petru, (1972), *Dimitrie Cantemir și umanismul (Dimitrie Cantemir and Humanism)*, Bucharest, Minerva.

¹⁶ See *Ibid.*, p. 243.

¹⁷ I. Opreșan, *Inorogul – unealtă a miraculosului în opera lui Blaga (The Unicorn – a Tool for Miraculousness in Blaga's Work)*, "Cultura", no. 424, June 2013.

SIGMUND FREUD'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY BETWEEN SELF-ANALYSIS AND FICTIONALIZATION

Raluca Ghențulescu*

raluca.ghentulescu@utcb.ro

Abstract: *The aim of this article is to offer a new perspective on a highly debated, but insufficiently known subject: the relationship between the real person of the author and the persona reflected in their work. Even more than in the case of a work of fiction, this relationship is interesting to be analyzed in an autobiography, whose readers are not willing to sign the fictional pact, as they expect to find out the truth about the protagonist's identity. Nevertheless, Sigmund Freud's Autobiography, published in 1925 and reviewed and completed in 1935, hardly refers to the real person behind the name on its cover. Instead of providing information on the life of the "father" of psychoanalysis, it focuses on the evolution of this discipline, which its founder identifies with. Therefore, it is not a proper autobiography, but the "biography" of a science, whose author only creates for himself a fictionalized image, an Other onto which he projects his own ideals.*

Keywords: *autobiography, psychoanalysis, introspection, fictionalization, self-analysis.*

According to his own confession, Sigmund Freud used to perceive himself as a split Self, made up of two distinct entities: one that was deeply involved in action and experienced life as it was, and one that analyzed the facts and filtered all the other's experiences. A famous letter addressed to Romain Rolland in 1936 and entitled "A Disturbance of Memory on the Acropolis" explains this propensity for self-analysis in the following way: when he was in Athens, Freud was so impressed by the Acropolis that he realized he not only admired its beauty, but also had the tendency to analyze his feelings related to this experience¹. That was the moment when he acknowledged the existence of his split Self, which was able to empirically perceive reality and, at the same time, to place this reality under the magnifying lens of emotions and to filter it through the impact it had on his own feelings.

Freud's capacity of analysis was exaggerated and, as Roland Jaccard shows, this thinker is the typical example for illustrating the dichotomy between introspection and self-analysis². Introspection has its roots in the Roman tradition, whose climax is represented by Saint Augustine's *Confessions*; it is considered an investigation of the individual conscience, in order to see your own self more clearly. Unlike it, self-analysis derives from the German Romantic

* Senior lecturer, PhD., Department of Foreign Languages and Communication, Technical University of Civil Engineering, Bucharest.

¹ Lippman, R., Freud's "Disturbance of Memory on the Acropolis" Revisited in *The Psychoanalytic Review*, 95(3), June 2008, p. 489.

² Jaccard, R., *Freud*, Bucharest, Aropa Publishing House, 2000, p. 8.

tradition based on questioning every concept until all its facets are brought to light. As it reveals the depths of the self, it does not manage to solve its problems, but, on the contrary, it amplifies them in a troubling manner. In other words, introspection is focused on the bright area of conscience, whereas self-analysis is concentrated on its dark side, aiming at revealing the obscure aspects of an otherwise bright appearance.

This troubling search into his own Self, as well as into his patients' selves, is typical for Freud, who liked to discover the dark sides of a personality beyond its pleasant aspects. As Kirk Bingaman understands from his first psychoanalytical study, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, published in 1900, Freud's main purpose at the beginning of a new century was "to agitate the sleep of all religious believers, if not the sleep of the entire human race"³. He wanted both to question the well-established dogmas of the Christian religion, in order to make people aware that there are other systems of explaining uncontrollable forces – the inner drives imposed by the Id, instead of the caprices of an almighty God – and to reveal some unpleasant aspects of the human mind, which had been previously regarded as taboo subjects (e.g. incest, erotic dreams, sexual fetishes, etc.)

In his revolutionary attempt to change mankind's way of thinking, Freud chose himself as a subject for analysis. The psychological processes he describes in his works are, first and foremost, his own. With a much-proclaimed sincerity, he analyzes himself as a subject and an object at the same time and he declares that he can be regarded as the prototype of psychoanalysis, capable of simultaneously perceiving himself as identity and otherness.

Nevertheless, his sincerity is questionable, due to the dichotomy between his psychoanalytical studies and his *Autobiography* on the one hand, and his private diaries, letters and notes on the other hand. The former writings present a self-confident, rather distant person, aware of his geniality and uniqueness and unwilling to accept negative opinions or criticism, whereas the latter reveal a troubled man, experiencing contradictory emotions. Therefore, his personality cannot be understood unless it is regarded from both angles: the one of the works published with his consent and the one of the personal writings that he wanted to be destroyed and that were hardly saved by some of his closest friends and family members.

Though thoroughly carried out throughout his entire life, his self-analysis is incomplete both in his studies and in his *Autobiography*, because it is permanently interrupted by his reflections and theories on various aspects of psychoanalysis. Furthermore, it is not always a proper self-analysis, as it is obsessively concentrated on a particular thought or feeling meant to illustrate a certain psychoanalytical concept. This is the reason why it should be completed by the less formal self-analysis carried out in his letters, diaries and notes, which present him more as an ordinary human being and less as the prodigious father of psychoanalysis.

The story of Freud's life is interesting both in itself and in connection with the controversial discipline that he founded. It should be re-read from the two perspectives, of his public and personal writings, to see the evolution of a (self)-

³ Bingaman, K., *Freud and Faith: Living in Tension*, New York, State University of New York Press, 2003.

fictionalized personality, which has been controversially perceived by the readers of his works throughout time. His *Autobiography*, as well as many of his biographies written so far, reflects a distorted and incomplete image of his character, which should be corrected and completed by the information contained in his personal writings.

Freud's opinion about biographers had been a bad one since the beginning of his medical career, before he became famous. In a letter addressed to his future wife, Martha, in 1885, he described biographers as some pathetic writers, who search for shameful secrets in celebrities' lives and bring to light mostly the dark sides of a certain personality. Such a statement made by the founding father of psychoanalysis is surprising, because Freud himself used to search for shameful secrets into his patients' lives and to reveal the dark sides of their personalities. The difference between his own attempt and the biographers' techniques is related to the sincerity of the approach: whereas biographers are committed "to lies, to concealment, to hypocrisy, to flattery and even to hiding their own lack of understanding"⁴, psychoanalysts, including himself, are committed to telling the truth in any circumstance and reveal their own experiences with the outmost sincerity, thus trying to decipher the mechanisms of the unconscious mind. In other words, biographers are superficial and satisfy their curiosity with information on someone's daily life, whereas psychoanalysts are profound and search beyond the misleading appearances of daily life, for finding the real essence of someone's personality.

Throughout his entire life, Freud obsessively tried to make his biographers' life harder, by throwing away many of his personal letters, notes and manuscripts. In a letter addressed to his fiancée in 1885, he said: "As for the biographers, let them worry, we have no desire to make it too easy for them"⁵. Guided by this idea, he destroyed his personal writings for several times. The first "purge" of this kind took place in 1885, when he threw away all the letters he had written or received during the previous fourteen years, excepting the ones from Martha, and the last one was in 1938, when Princess Marie Bonaparte managed to save from the dustbin a part of the correspondence between Freud and Fliess, which is now considered an extremely valuable biographic material. During the same year, in an interview with Abraham Schwadron, Freud confessed that, in 1905, he even threw away his manuscript of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, due to his profound antipathy towards any form of personal "relics", such as autographs or samples of handwriting, which could be later dug out by the biographers.

Freud's exegetes explained this constant aversion to biographers in two different ways: either as a feature of a typical bourgeois, concerned about his privacy, or as an attempt to preserve for posterity the artificial, mythologized image of a genius struggling to lay the foundations of a new discipline. Nevertheless, there could be a third interpretation: he regarded biographers as his own patients, suffering from obsessional neurosis, whose main symptoms are the strong attachment to the subject of analysis and the attempt to find out a lot

⁴ Freud, E., *Letters of Sigmund Freud (1873 - 1939)*, Dover Publications Inc., New York, 1960, p. 430.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 140.

of details about this subject, either to idealize it more or to detach themselves from this obsession, by revealing some disgusting traits of character.

The disease that biographers seem to suffer from is, actually, Freud's main disease. In many letters addressed to Ernest Jones or Carl Gustav Jung, he confessed that he had an obsessional personality, excessively concerned about tidiness, saving money, superstitions and the idea of death. Furthermore, he was a narcissist, who liked talking a lot about himself, but hid this selfish pleasure behind the mask of an objective self-analysis, necessary for making psychoanalysis evolve.

Besides narcissism and obsessional neurosis, Freud suffered from megalomania, identifying himself with the great figures of history, such as Hannibal, Alexander the Great or Napoleon Bonaparte, with prophets like Moses or with some of the most important writers, such as Goethe or Shakespeare. The features that he considered he shared with all these great men were courage and tenacity. As he declared in a letter addressed to Wilhelm Fliess in 1910, he had the spirit of a conqueror who dared to advance on the shifting ground of a new field, psychoanalysis: "I am actually not at all a man of science, not an observer, not an experimenter, not a thinker. I am by temperament nothing but a conquistador – an adventurer if you want it translated – with all the curiosity, daring and tenacity characteristic of a man of this sort."⁶

This image that he created for himself was assimilated by some biographers who, despite his antipathy towards their habits, became his favorites, because they contributed to the amplification of his self-mythologized ego. As a further proof of his propensity for fictionalizing his own personality is the fact that he usually refused to have his picture taken for various volumes, but gladly accepted having his photo replaced with a medallion depicting him as Oedipus solving the riddle of the Sphinx – a metaphor of the psychoanalyst revealing the true nature of the unconscious mind.

Peter Gay noticed the dichotomy between Freud's dislike of pictures and biographical writings and his pleasure for revealing the darkest secrets of the human psyche and concludes that, as a scientist and founder of a new discipline, he opted for making his shocking discoveries public and for talking about his own problems with the outmost sincerity, but, as a bourgeois, he valued his privacy and refused to speak about his personal life in his autobiographical writings. However, Gay's opinion is controversial, because not even in his scientific works did Freud reveal those personal details that might have prejudiced his self-mythologized image. The *I* in the studies based on self-analysis is very different from the *I* in the letters, so his self-proclaimed sincerity is doubtful. Although he considers himself a man of science, who praises truth more than anything else, he usually avoids telling the whole truth about himself and prefers a more convenient substitute – an alter ego surrounded by an aura of mystery, similar to the Sphinx in his favorite riddle.

In his *Autobiography*, he uses a stratagem for drawing the readers' attention from his own person to psychoanalysis. Quoting Louis XIV, he claims that "La

⁶ Masson, J., *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess*, Harvard, Harvard University Press, 1985, p. 398.

psycho-analyse c'est moi"⁷ and tries to prove that, while talking about the science he founded, he actually talks about himself, because psychoanalysis is intrinsically linked to his own life, as most of the emotions, dreams and thoughts described in his studies are actually his.

A metaphor that Freud himself uses in his works and that can be easily applied to his *Autobiography* is that of the archaeology of the psyche. Psychoanalysis, just like archaeology, "digs" deep into the human mind, in order to reach the lowest strata, whereas biography and even autobiography uncover only the superficial layers of a personality, leaving its depths untouched. Therefore, Freud believes in psychoanalysis, but not in (auto)biography, and avoids revealing too much about his life, under the pretext that it is uninteresting, meaningless and significantly less captivating than the analysis of the human psyche.

The information he presents in his *Autobiography* is little. He starts abruptly, with the date and place of his birth (i.e. the 6th of May, Freiberg), and his ethnic background (i.e. Jewish parents). After a few data about his school years, spent in Vienna, where he moved with his parents when he was four years old (i.e. in high-school, he was the first in his class and had a privileged position), and a short explanation of his reason to choose a career in medicine (i.e. he was impressed by Goethe's essay entitled *About Nature*), he focuses only on the period after 1882 – the year when he became a doctor. From this moment on, the entire work refers only to his profession, to the discoveries he made in medicine and psychoanalysis, and turns into the "biography" of a science. Rather than an autobiography, it is a propagandistic writing, meant to promote the principles of psychoanalysis, which is intended by its founder to become the new religion of the 20th century.

Sigmund Freud's life story, scarcely told in his *Autobiography*, but revealed by his letters and diaries, proves a fact that he tried to theorize regarding the literary creation: any personal experience can be fictionalized and turned into a narrative. In his case, all the thoughts, emotions, dreams and memories have been valued in scientific studies; thus, instead of a simple narrative, he managed to create an entire discipline based on storytelling and fictionalized experiences.

Although nowadays psychoanalysis is no longer considered a proper science, due to its highly subjective character and lack of well-documented evidence, it succeeded in dominating the stage of psychology for many decades and infiltrated itself into other disciplines, such as literary criticism, mostly due to its narrative potential, reflected by its surname – the talking cure.

Whilst elaborating his psychoanalytical theories, Freud re-lived the complexes he had experienced throughout his life. After all, the Oedipus complex is rooted in his own repressed love for his powerful mother and his contempt for his old weak-willed father. For making his strong emotions and obsessions bearable, he transfigured them up to an acceptable level, fictionalizing many elements of his personal life and, ultimately, fictionalizing his own character. This fictionalization of elements presented as scientific evidence was harmful for psychoanalysis, which was criticized as a non-scientific discipline, but beneficent

⁷ Freud, S. in Gay, P., *Freud for Historians*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1985, p. 53.

for Freud himself, because it acted as a catharsis, helping him to turn his own repressed experiences into narratives. From this point of view, the combination of psychoanalytical theories with his self-analysis, written in a literary manner, can be regarded as a fortunate idea.

Thanks to Freud's power of splitting his Self into an imaginative and imagined conscience, all his writings, including the *Autobiography*, have managed to provide aesthetic satisfaction both to his readers and to himself. As a fictional character in his self-analysis, he became aware of his own obsessions and complexes from a distance, from an Other's perspective, which helped him both bring them to light and give them at least a literary, if not scientific value. Such an approach is paradoxical, since it lays emphasis on the antagonism between two sides of the same psyche: an analyzed self and an analyzing Other, which fictionalizes and mythicizes the self. Therefore, the cover of the *Autobiography* should present Freud not only in his favorite hypostasis of Oedipus, but also in that of the Sphinx, whose riddle is hard to solve and needs a thorough understanding of the human life and psyche.

References

Bingaman, K., (2003), *Freud and Faith: Living in Tension*, New York, State University of New York Press.

Freud, E., (1960), *Letters of Sigmund Freud (1873 - 1939)*, New York, Dover Publications Inc.

Freud, S., (1935), *Autobiography*, London, W.W. Norton & Company Inc.

Gay, P., (1985), *Freud for Historians*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Jaccard, R., (2000), *Freud*, Bucharest, Aropa Publishing House.

Lippman, R., (2008), *Freud's "Disturbance of Memory on the Acropolis" Revisited* in *The Psychoanalytic Review*, 95(3), June.

Masson, J., (1985), *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess*, Harvard, Harvard University Press.

ROMANIAN STATE “WESTERNISATION” FROM DINICU TO ’48

Sabin Drăgulin,*

dragulinsabin@yahoo.com

Antoaneta Ancuța Brașoveanu**

antoanetaancuta@gmail.com

Abstract: *The modernization of the Romanian state in the mid-nineteenth century is a topic of actuality, even today, because we are currently experiencing a transition period represented by changes in social-political and cultural life, as well as in mentalities, being confronted again with a spiritual revolution, because the rapid transformations of all fields transpose into the individuals' way of thinking. The theme is to bring to the forefront the principles that led to the 1848 Revolution, this being a turning point for the Romanian who synchronized with the other European countries in an attempt to join the common road of modernization.*

Keywords: *West, East, synchrony, modernization, revolution, transition.*

Introduction

The Romanian state and its society went through a stage that, today, for many of our fellow citizens, is considered to be unwonted and unique. The exit of the Romanian state from the communist parenthesis, the return to Western values and the approach to the civilization created by this space produced contradictory results. On the one hand, the reconnection with the Western capitalist values involved a phenomenon that implied the opening of a process of social and political transformations that affected the organic tissue of the Romanian society. The phenomenon of deindustrialisation, the period of transition from the single party model to pluripartitism, the progressive assimilation of the values that brought the founding of the European Union, the integration into NATO, are the most important historical events that the Romanian state had known over the last three decades. Each phenomenon has caused pronounced migration events both within the country and especially outside the country, a change in internal equilibrium within society, for example, using a Marxist evaluation model, the role of the proletariat has progressively decreased its place being taken over by the new bourgeois that comes from independent activities, the budget system in general and corporations. Changing these social relationships between different groups within society has been reflected, particularly, in the standard of living level, of education and health.

The research hypothesis we want to present in this short study is that Romanian society has also known this process of openness and progressive integration into Western European space since the beginning of the nineteenth century. During this study we want to present the fundamental elements of the

Romanian space opening to another universe of values starting with the notes of Dinicu Golescu's journeys in his incursion into the West in the second decade of the nineteenth century to identify the most suitable schools for his sons, followed by the gathering of Romanian students around a *society*¹ in which they can freely express and promote the ideals of union and liberation of the Romanians.

This option of Golescu was also facilitated by the consequences that the Revolution of 1821 led by Tudor Vladimirescu produced. As Ion Heliade Rădulescu shows in his memoirs, the movement of rebellion that the Eteria led by Alexandru Ipsilanti had proposed to develop them in the Balkans, with the direct help of the Tsarist Empire, produced in the principality of Wallachia, in particular, a reaction of major rejection. And this because if Tudor, the ally of Eteria and a member of it, had come to the forefront of his soldiers in Oltenia to declare “the rights of the motherland and the Romanian ruler”, “Ipsilanti came out proclaiming the prey and the fire. The boyars, along with the whole farrago of outlandish, had recognized him as a head and had begun the prey and the rape.” This internal conflict ended with the arrest and execution of Tudor in Târgoviște on the order of Ipsilanti in “the applause of the drones and liters, the vampires of Romania”.²

The opening to the West was progressively achieved, causing major changes in Romanian society. The impetus of modernization and transformation came from the level of the elites to the society, as at the beginning of the 19th century the level of literacy was minimal.³ The elites were the ones who created the institutions, the parties, the legislative system, they created the Romanian state and nation within a comprehensive political project which was presented in the 1848 revolutions projects in the Romanian countries. Of course, this enormous effort that covered the 1848-1918 historical period was not without internal controversy. All we need to remember is the acid reaction of Iasi's intelligentsia to the loan phenomenon.⁴ Titu Maiorescu, leader of Junimea, and later one of the leaders of the Conservative Party, was the one who promoted “the theory of forms without substance,”⁵ through which the accentuated and rapid process of connecting Romanian space with Western cultural and civilization models was criticized. Here is very important to make the following statement. Both the elites that we can generally include in two categories, liberal - progressive and conservative - moderate and evolutionary, wanted the exodus of Romanian society from the state of feudality, what differentiated them was the model to be

* **Prof. PhD., The Faculty of Political Sciences and Administration, „Petre Andrei” University, Iași.**

** **PhD. Student, Philology, “Ovidius” University, Constanța.**

¹ The Romanian students' society from Paris.

² Ion Heliade Rădulescu, “Balance between antithesis. Two 1821, two 1848, two 1859...”, in Cornelia Bodea, *1848 at Romanian*, Bucharest, Enciclopedică Publishing House, 1998, p.5.

³ Cristian Preda, *Happy Romanian: Vote and power from 1831 until today*, Polirom Publishing House, Iași, 2011.

⁴ Sabin Drăgulin, “The theoretical roots of Romanian traditionalism in the Junimist, Semanatorist, Poporanist and Socialist movements. A history of political ideas”, in *Political sphere*, vol. XVIII, nr. 153, pp. 34-46.

⁵ Titu Maiorescu, “Against the direction of today in Romanian culture”, *Critice*, Bucharest, 1974, p. 335.

followed and the rhythm that had to be imposed. The activity of the elites was not easy, but it was consistent and concretized by fulfilling all the political objectives proposed in 1848, the last of which was the state unity materialized at the end of the First World War. Then there was consciousness, at least within those progressive groups of society, that the founding or refining of the Romanian society can only be achieved if the fundamental values of the Western European culture are called for.

The fundamental European moment that influenced and influences our destinies as a nation is undoubtedly La Révolution française (1789). This deeply influenced not only the modern history of the French state, marking the decline of the monarchy, of church, and paving the way for democracy and nationalism, but was the source of inspiration for liberals in the 19th century Europe. Liberalism occurs with the collapse of feudalism, representing the interests of the middle class that are in strong ascension. The liberal ideas and the Enlightenment principles underlying the Declaration of Human and Citizen Rights of August 1789 favored the creation of a constitution, based on the freedom of the individual, the right to property, the principle of sovereignty, freedom of expression, equality of rights. The French revolt opened an era where the old feudal system was being abolished across the continent. Although in Romania the bourgeoisie was under-represented, made up of merchants and craftsmen, the great European changes did not remain here without echo, resembling scholars and boyars who were empathizing with the enlightenment and nationalist ideas promoted by the French.⁶

In order to make a small bracket, it is interesting that the impact of these ideas in the Romanian space provoked a sincere desire to reform the feudal system, but if within the ideas of 1789 the concept of freedom and the pursuit of its gain there are other rights (ownership, freedom of the press, public demonstrations, etc.) in which the concept of freedom is not the foundation of the whole scaffold on which the reform programs are based, especially the claim of the granting of liberties,⁷ there is a substantial difference that reflects how the concept of freedom had been embraced by indigenous elites.

Dinicu Golescu travels

Dinicu Golescu was one of the earliest travelers of the beginning of the nineteenth century, who, on returning to the country, published the novel *The Story of My Travel, told by me Constantin Radovici of Golești, made in 1824, 1825, 1826*, the journal representing a profound analysis on the European realities.

Deciding to publish his own travel notes, to the great Walachian boyar, Dinicu Golescu, we owe the first travel journal printed in Romanian, and as he

⁶ For more details concerning the way the Romanian bourgeoisie formed is recommended Ștefan Zelentiu, *Romanian bourgeoisie*, Minerva Publishing House, Bucharest, 2008.

⁷ Sabin Drăgulin, "Freedom, the fundamental value of liberalism as the main actor of modernization phenomenon of the Romanian state", in Sorin Adam, Caius Dobrescu and Emanuel Copilaș, *Liberalism: pros and cons. An idea that refuses to die, although it does not know what it is keeping it alive*, Adenium Publishing House, Iași, 2018.

himself says, “But how could I, eyes having, not to see, seeing not to remember, remembering not to resemble, resembling not to judge the good and not to desire showing it to my compatriots?”⁸ He commended the journey as a reason for knowing other cultures, but also as a model to be followed for less developed countries, referring directly to Wallachia: “Good things have taught people one from another, the nations have traveled from one another, as we see in the history: that the Hellenics by traveling in Egypt drew from there the enlightenments of science, many of the crafts, and the Romans, our ancestors multiplied communicated to them. And those in the whole of the enlightened Europe have pours them out, and they have grown fruitful every day, increasing them day by day. And they please their people by communicating the good gathered from the journeys made by the humble people through the lands of others by publishing them in books.”⁹

In the book we find notes about the places visited, with pages dedicated to the cities of Vienna, Munich, Berne, Geneva etc., comparing their political, economic and cultural situation with the reality of Wallachia, concluding that in the country the posts were not occupied by skills, but they were bought, that there were no schools to prepare officials, and their purpose, reaching high positions, was to get rich, putting undue taxes on the back of the Romanian peasant. He also noted that the Viennese are concerned with “not bringing any other offense to another”¹⁰, which reminds us of Article IV of the “Declaration of Human and Citizen Rights”, which states: “Freedom is to doing anything that does not hurt others: so the right of every man has no limits, except for those who assure the other members of society the exercise of the same rights. These limits can only be determined by law”¹¹, shows that Dinicu Golescu was familiar with the main political documents of his time.

Another finding is that the poor were helped by the state, given money for their existence, being helped with the rent, hospitalization, the purchase of firewood, loans with low interest rates, and even a school for their children. Coming from a fanariotised country, he identified the differences between the Romanians and the rest of the Europeans, the causes of poverty being the lack of education, political clientelism, laziness, apathy towards values and culture, lack of real landmarks.

Dinicu discovered his homeland as a place of misery, and people being embarrassed by poverty and terror, back, where luxury coexisted with the cruelest poorness produced by the “diplomatic odiousness”¹² (Phanariot politicianism). On the other hand, the West seemed civilized, energetic and rational. He reproved the boyars of the country and mobilized them to engage in the education and enlightenment of the people, proposed that “public happiness”¹³ be achieved

⁸ Dinicu Golescu, *The Story of My Travel*, Youth Publishing House, Bucharest, 1963.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p.22

¹¹ https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Declara%C8%9Bia_drepturilor_omului_%C8%99i_ale_cet%C4%83%C8%9Bianului (accessed on 6.03.2018)

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 33.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 6.

by promoting “good order”¹⁴ in a state where the natural equality of people was recognized, a state which was based on “economy”¹⁵, “economy, worthy and work of the earth, with the opening of trade”¹⁶ and combating luxury, and the rulers had “mercy”¹⁷ towards the citizens, internal and external policy subjects, “union”¹⁸ and “stability”¹⁹.

Interestingly, although Dinicu Golescu had studied at the Greek Academy in Bucharest, the main reason for travelling in the West was to find some schools where he would register his four sons: Radu, Alexandru, Stefan and Nicolae, which he did in the last traveling, Radu and Alexandru joining in a Munich institute to receive German education, and Stephen and Nicholas in a Geneva school for a French education. This approach of Dinicu obviously forms part of the effort of this great Wallachian feudal to change the paradigm of knowledge, in the conditions in which education is fundamental in the formation of mentalities. The desire to change the family tradition was due to the influences that the ideas which came from outside the Ottoman Empire area exerted on Dinicu.

The importance of the Golescu brothers in the '48 Revolution

Alexandru Golescu, animated by his ideals, was first a member of the Initiative Committee of the Romanian Revolution in 1848 in Bucharest, then an emissary in Transylvania, Sibiu and the Apuseni Mountains, without having any political functions.

Stefan Golescu, a member of the liberal national party, studied in Switzerland, initially served as a major in the Wallachian Army, then participating in the Revolution of 1848 in Wallachia and becoming a member of the Provisional Government.

Nicolae Golescu, a liberal politician, educated with his three brothers at home, then in Switzerland, joined his brother Stephen in the army. Although he came from a boyars' family, it did not prevent him from becoming involved in the 1848 Revolutionary Committee alongside Ion Ghica²⁰, Nicolae Bălcescu, Ion Heliade Radulescu and others, becoming Minister of Internal Affairs in the Provisional Government in 1848.

Radu Golescu, the youngest brother, also known as *Cătana*²¹, was received in the army in 1830, having served as platoon and companion commander in the

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 43.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 50.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 51.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 50.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 50.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 50.

²⁰ Ion Ghica, writer, diplomat and politician, Prime Minister of Romania five times, being in Paris, initiated the Romanian Students' Society in 1845 under the presidency of the poet Alphonse de Lamartine. He returned to the country at the end of 1847 and together with C.A. Rosetti, set up a Revolutionary Committee, including Christian Tell, Nicolae Bălcescu, the four Golescu brothers, and the brothers Brătianu, recently arrived from France too, this committee representing a reactivation of the governing committee of Frăția. Ghica, Le Juif errant (the professor with a nickname given to I. Ghica because he mastered the coded language of the Masons), is part of the 1848 conspiracy that wanted a union of Wallachia and Moldavia.

²¹ Soldier.

2nd Infantry Regiment at the 2nd Infantry Battalion residing in Brăila. He would later join with Ion Ghica, Cristian Tell and Nicolae Bălcescu the secret society *Fraternity*²². The purpose of this society was the overthrow of feudalism and the unification of the Romanians in a democratic and independent state. Major Radu Golescu was appointed commander of the 2nd Infantry Battalion of the 2nd Regiment in the Braila garrison at the outbreak of the revolutionary passover. He was part as his brothers, Alexandru and Nicolae, of the Provisional Government, being raised to the rank of colonel.

The Romanian Students' Society

The great majority of Romanian youths at that time in Paris had initially gathered to communicate their news from home, news they received through letters from relatives in the country, this being the only way they could learn about the misery Romanian population was going through, publication in the newspapers of the time being forbidden. On December 2, 1845, Romanian students in Paris set up the Romanian Students' Society, headed by Ion Ghica, who became its president, having C.A. Rosetti as secretary and Scarlat Vârnav, as cashier, "with the purpose of helping and encouraging young Romanian without money to study"²³. The Honorary President of the Society was the poet Alphonse de Lamartine, later becoming the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Government in 1848. Among the members can be found: Ion C. Brătianu²⁴, Dumitru Brătianu²⁵, Nicolae Bălcescu²⁶, Mihail Kogălniceanu²⁷, C.A. Rosetti²⁸,

²² Masonic lodge founded in 1843 by Nicolae Bălcescu, Ion Ghica and Christian Tell.

²³ Ion Ghica, *Letters to Vasile Alecsandri*, Bucharest, 1967.

²⁴ Ion C. Brătianu, Romanian politician, the first president of the national liberal party, was student in Paris, at La Collège de France, where he regularly attended the lectures of the great teachers, Jules Michelet and Edgar Quinet, who marked his personal development. He was one of the most important characters of the Revolution in Wallachia 1848, occupying the post of member of the Revolutionary Committee and secretary in the provisional government.

²⁵ Dumitru Brătianu, diplomat, Romanian politician, radical liberal and sympathizer of the French Republican Party, collaborated between 1836 and 1848 under the pseudonym Regnault (Pseudonym who identifies himself as the "King's Counselor"), in the publications *Le National* and *La Revue indépendante*. In 1848, in the country he was co-opted in Frăția Society and was one of the founding members of the Revolutionary Committee in Wallachia.

²⁶ Nicolae Bălcescu, historian and writer, inspired by the revolution in France, where he actively involved, returned to Bucharest to participate in the 1848 Revolution, being on the side of the liberals and desiring the appropriation of the peasants and universal vote. He was appointed for two days as Foreign Minister and State Secretary of the Provisional Government.

²⁷ Mihail Kogălniceanu, a liberal politician, historian and journalist from Moldavia, after selling his personal library to Mihailene Academy, stayed in Paris between 1845 and 1847, joining the Romanian Students Society together with Ghica, Bălcescu and Rosetti and attended La Bibliothèque Roumaine (The petition from Iași - a document issued by the Moldavian revolutionaries in 1848 expressing their wishes for reform). He would say, "We have not come to Paris just to learn how to speak French as the French, but also to borrow the ideas and necessities of a nation so enlightened and free" (Quote from M. Kogălniceanu as a student in France, Lunéville). Although he was present in the front line of nationalist politics at the 1848 Revolution, for some reasons he did not sign the petition-proclamation that led to the 1848 revolution in Moldavia, being instigated and arrested by the ruler Sturza.

²⁸ Constantin A. Rosetti, a Romanian politician and publicist, left to Paris in 1844 where he participated in the courses of historians Jules Michelet, Edgar Quinet, and other representatives of

Dimitrie Bolintineanu²⁹ and many others. In 1847 there were 131 Romanian contributing students, having in 1846 a library with several reading cabinets.

The Romanian Students' Society organized a protest against the authorities' decision to suspend the *three democracy courses*³⁰ of the Collège de France, the course of History and Morality led by Jules Michelet, Edgar Quinet's Department of Literature and Comparative Institutions of Southern Europe, and the course of Slavic literature led by Adam Mickiewicz, right in front of Edgar Quinet's house on January 17, 1847. During this rebellion, Vârnăv pronounced the following oath: *We swear to die for the homeland!*³¹, an oath then spoken by all.

All the appeals published by the society reflected their hope for the good of the Romanian: "We believe that the Romanian population has begun to feel their position and the increase they can reach by hurrying their hearts to the light"³², remaining to "juni heart for the mission to which it is called, and remember that their mission is only moral and intellectual; that they must seek to awaken, strengthen, re-raise the great soul of Romania."³³ In their speeches, we find nothing more than the endless desire for change, a change that will put Romania on a common road alongside the other states of the West, the road of modernization. Their cry urges to fight: "And what is that purpose?... the loss of our homeland's life!... We say we love our homeland, a bigger lie! I cry against you and you do not protest!" said Dumitru Brătianu in his improvised speech at the Romanian Students' Society, ending with "I say to you that. Romania can not die. But, Romania, please, courage!"³⁴ The young students sought support from French politicians, allied themselves with the French newspapers in order to facilitate propaganda in favor of Romania. Thus they set up the *Les Ecoles* newspaper collaborating with Quinet and Michelet and published in the French

the French revolutionary spirit of the age. Here, he strived, together with the Moldavian Scarlat Vârnăv, to strengthen the relations between Wallachian and Moldavian students, united around the new ideas of national self-determination and social justice. He was elected secretary of the Romanian Students Society in Paris, whose purpose was to help the poorer but more talented young people to study in Paris. Returning to Bucharest in 1846 he opened a bookstore, in 1848 he was the editor of the newspaper *Pruncul român* (Revolutionary Gazette from 1848), occupying the position of secretary of the Provisional Government, being one of the leaders of the radical 1848 revolution.

²⁹ Dimitrie Bolintineanu, Romanian poet and politician, had received in 1845 a scholarship offered by the Literary Society and went to study in Paris. He also participated at the courses of Jules Michelet, Edgar Quinet and Adam Mickiewicz, and he begun to live only for the revolution he felt coming. He returned to the country in 1848 and, together with Nicolae Balcescu and Cezar Bolliac, edited the newspaper *The sovereign people*.

³⁰ The courses promoted the liberal democracy.

³¹ Oath pronounced by Edgar Quinet during the protests in front of his house on January 17, 1847, *To C.A. Rosetti. 100 years from his birth*, the volum commemorated by „Democrația”, Bucharest, 1916.

³² C.A. Rosetti speech at the founding of the Romanian Students Society in Paris, *To C.A. Rosetti. 100 years from his birth*, the volume commemorated by „Democrația”, Bucharest, 1916.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 18.

³⁴ D. Brătianu speech, *One thousand eight hundred fourty eight in the Romanian Principalities*. Papers and documents published with the help of the document for raising the monument of Ion C. Brătianu, vol. I-VI, Bucharest, Inst. De Arte Grafice Carol Göbl, 1902-1910, pp. 61-73.

newspapers *Reforms, Debats* and *Nationals* a propaganda showing the unfair regime endured by Romanian and sustaining claims for freedom.

The physical and ideological contribution of the young revolutionaries in Paris who started to repatriate to the Romanian countries began to strengthen the principles of freedom, love of the motherland and nationality within the groups that made up the National Party. We can think that around that group of young people, who had understood the revolutionary experience on the streets of Paris, were agglutinated those parts of the Romanian society who wanted to overcome the immobility and the fear.³⁵

Conclusions

The current migration phenomenon of Romanian young people to studies outside the country is regarded as a peculiarity of the globalization characteristic of the Romanian space in the period after communism. This is not a novelty, however; France, Germany and Italy are old university centers where the young Romanians trained, and then contributed to the formation of modern Romania by applying the ideas learned in the West. If in the first half of the 18th century Romanian scholars chose Constantinople, having here as an example Dimitrie Cantemir, in the second half of the same century, the representatives of the Transylvanian School took over the German Enlightenment ideas and tried to emancipate the Romanian people under the Habsburg's political and religious occupation. Notable members of this movement were Ion Budai Deleanu, Samuil Micu, Gheorghe Șincai and Petru Maior, who met during their studies in Vienna. Then in the nineteenth century, the sons of Wallachian and Moldavian boyars set up a society of Romanian students in Paris, to which belonged the famous members of the 1848 Revolution, personalities who returned to the country and laid the foundations of Romania. In the decades to come, the massive process of emigration of Romanians into the West will be followed by their return, at least in part, and by their contribution to strengthening the process of modernization of the Romanian state.

References

*** (1902-1910), Papers and documents published with the help of the document for raising the monument of Ion C. Brătianu, (1916), vol. I-VI, Bucharest, Inst. De Arte Grafice Carol Göbl., *One thousand eight hundred forty eight in the Romanian Principalities*.

*** To C.A. Rosetti, (1916), *100 years from his birth*, the volume commemorated by "Democrația", Bucharest.

Drăgulin, Sabin, (2010), "The theoretical roots of Romanian traditionalism of the Junimist, Semanatorist, Poporanist and Socialist movements. A history of political ideas", in *Political sphere*, vol. XVIII, no. 153.

³⁵ Apostol Stan, *Romanian Revolution of 1848*, Albatros Publishing House, Bucharest, 1992, p.56.

Drăgulin, Sabin, (2018), "Freedom, the fundamental value of liberalism as the main actor of modernization phenomenon of the Romanian state", in Sorin Adam, Caius Dobrescu and Emanuel Copilaș, *Liberalism: pros and cons. An idea that refuses to die, although it does not know what it is keeping it alive*, Iasi, Adenium Publishing House.

Ghica, Ion, (1967), *Letters to V. Alecsandri*, Bucharest, The Publishing House for Literature.

Golescu, Dinicu, (1963), (1979), *The Story of My Travel*, Bucharest, Youth Publishing House, Eminescu Publishing House.

Maiorescu, Titu, (1974), "Against the direction of today in Romanian culture", *Critics*, Bucharest.

Preda, Cristian, (2011), *Happy Romanian: Vot and power from 1831 until today*, Iasi, Polirom Publishing House.

Rădulescu Heliade Ion (1998), "Balance between antithesi. Two 1821, two 1848, two 1859...", in Cornelia Bodea, *1848 at Romanian*, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing House.

Stan, Apostol, (1992), *Romanian Revolution of 1848*, Bucharest, Albatros Publishing House.

Zelentin, Ștefan, (2008), *Romanian Bourgeoisie*, Bucharest, Minerva Publishing House.

BEYOND CULTURAL LEGACIES: URBAN AND RURAL SPACES OF IDENTITY IN RECENT ROMANIA

Iulia Anghel*

iuliaanghel2@gmail.com

Abstract: Following Benedetto Croce's epitome expression, due to "all history is contemporary history", East European revival of civil action could be linked to a process of cultural reinterpretation. The simultaneity clause, inaugurated nowadays by the digital communication, erased former boundaries of post-communist realm and forged new representational breeches. In this context, the disparities amid the centre and the peripheries tend to compound, while urban activism's transnational diffusion offers a delusive progressionist picture. Thus, cultural legacies and political discourses tend to respond to a conflictual and multi-layered modernization process, triggered by virtualization of communication, groups' identities and social narratives.

The article draws a very general perspective upon interdependencies arose between Romania's cultural discourses and discourses of city and villages identities. There are two capital assumptions that underpin the research. First claims that concept of cultural tradition could not be limited to a historical proximity and associated to an exclusive generational memory. Second sustains that urban hegemony upon identity building and collective discourses could be in decline, while the countryside may recover its influence.

Keywords: cultural legacies, Eastern Europe, protest culture, social identities, Romanian civil sphere, grassroots movements, discourses of protest.

1. Challenging the cultural legacy argument in Eastern Europe

For more than two decades, the historical heritage of Eastern Europe was considered to be rooted into the cultural recollection of its communist past. Transcending the invisible borders which separated myriad of socialist paths, early theories concerning democratisation of Eastern landscape tended to remain engaged in a unifying theoretical approach. Bridging the gaps amid various equations of communist experiences, post-soviet studies or related fields as *transitology*¹, established that the most important remote legacy, which will continue to shape for long term the local political culture, is communism's remembrance and social ritualization. This synergy of democratisation was

* Lecturer, Faculty of Communication Sciences, Ecological University of Bucharest.

¹ Main argument associated to transitology's tradition refers to preexistence of a unifying constitutive frame of post-communist transformation. Concurrently developmental and teleological, transitology's perspective militated for a coherent, simultaneous and non-reversible evolution toward democracy. Downfall of transitology bechanced at the end of the '90-ies, when mutations supervened within vernacular democracies ended the myth of a dominant paradigm. V. Bunch, "Should transitologists be grounded?", *Slavic Review*, vol. 54, n. 1, 1995, p. 111 and Jordan Gans-Morse, "Searching for Transitologists: Contemporary Theories of Post-Communist Transitions and the Myth of a Dominant Paradigm", *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 20, n. 4, 2004, p. 322.

assumed under circumstances of two essential promotion vectors: the proximity of the western liberal tradition and the latent cultural tendency of East Europeans to endorse democracy². The similitude's encountered by the inception phases of liberalisation of former socialist countries were soon replaced by a multiplication of the initial model. Reformed communist countries, experiencing the genesis of proto-civil spheres during Gorbachev era, detached from troubled scenarios, where civil phenomena was nourished by violent social drifts.

Unanticipated, the differences instituted in evolution of various post-communist actors were gradually erased at the end of the '90 convulsive decade. Nonetheless, the millennial turn induced by digital globalisation shattered the conceptual foundations of the *transitology's* resilient perspective and generated new interrogations concerning the future of liberal democracy within boundaries of Eastern space. The forgotten unity of the East European post-communist mobilisation, determined by a transversal civic activation, was this time replaced by a new cultural consensus, built around discourses of riot and identity disorders. Ascent of multiple contestation, civil disobedience and protest frames, doubled by resurgence of pre-modern identity fault lines, reopened the debate upon true colour of post-colonial heritage³ of the East. Digitalisation of politics fuelled phenomena such as ideological polarisation, decline of centrist parties, ingravescence of structural cleavages, and not at least, a revival of native cultural discourses. Second stage of *westernization*⁴ process, occurred after 2011 landmark, inexpertly diminished the civilisation fractures instituted during the Cold War.

After the collapse of communism, it was considered that culture will replace ideology, Eastern Europe being exposed to a triadic divide along its main civilisation lines: Baltic, Eastern Orthodox and Muslim⁵. *Transitology's* dogma, wherefore filiations from Huntington's theory remained essential, proclaimed a gradual harmonization of these civilizational territories, under auspices of democratisation. However, post-transitional evolutions did not confirm the thesis of parallel evolution. Furthermore, vernacular reactions of local democracies disclosed a spectacular cohesivity of the East European landscape, but under siege of dualistic reinterpretation of democracy's founding principles.

Starting with Polish binary civil symptomatology, colligating protest marches against 'curbs on democracy' (2017) but also traditionalist and far-right movements (2016, 2017), and ending with Romanian pro-justice civic mobilisation (2016-2018), yet accompanied by consistent populist political discourses, recent Europe

² Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, Denisa Mindruta, "Was Huntington Right? Testing Cultural Legacies and the Civilization Border", *International Politics*, vol. 39, n. 2, 2002, p. 193.

³ I.N. Sava, "A second generation of grassroots movements in Central and Eastern Europe?", *Open Democracy / ISA RC-47: Open Movements*, May 2015, <https://opendemocracy.net/ionel-n-sava/second-generation-of-grassroots-movements-in-central-and-eastern-europe>, accessed March 16, 2018.

⁴ Westernization implies the diffusion of western cultural landmarks into the bounds of spaces facing less advanced modernization phenomena. Westernization promotes modernization, but also tend to foster in a later phase anti-western reactions, as a result of alienation and identity crisis. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, London: Penguin Books, 1997, p. 76.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 138.

reveals a cultural pact that expels previous historical legacies. Relapse of nativist affinities and changes supervened within the post-communist national narratives favour new hypotheses regarding the authentic cultural foundation of Eastern Europe. Freshly confirmed hegemony of heterogenic public discourses, grounded on themes as revival of nation, social fairness, state's reform and fight against corruption congregated Eastern Europe within the pale of a new civility framework. Thereby, a relevant question arose. Could it be the posthumous victory of a unifying theory? The pulsatile evolution of East European post-communist societies, passing from early pro-democratic homogeneity to divergent adaptive transitions, and returning latterly to a homogenous culture of protest, implies nevertheless a renegotiation of regional legacies. An important evidence underpinning the hypothesis of a silent historical heritage, refers to existence of subsidiary modernization process. Eastern Europe's cultural legacy could not be limited to the communist experience, but also recalls a more extended civilizational memory.

Overpassing the generational layers influenced by communist cultural propaganda, "imagined communities"⁶ and local narratives tend to establish more complex and dynamic cultural legacies.

Interwar structural disparities and cleavages exerted a lasting influence, while the communist fragmentary modernization generated reversible results. Communism concealed the disruption of modernity in Eastern Europe, early bursts of civic action also contributing to a delayed exposure of cultural fragmentations. Digital globalisation may be considered as the triggering factor of the contemporary unification of cultural trends, involving a conjugated modernization process. The remote heritage of pre-modernity is confronting new cultural stimulus induced by the digital medium, the forgotten outlander spaces of Easter Europe, as the rural and urban peripheries, recovering their influence.

In the light of these considerations, 2018 could become a new "annus mirabilis" for East European societies, facing a new "revolution, without revolution"⁷. The escalation of civic discontent represents the token of a profound change of cultural representations and collective memory of post-communist societies, challenging democracy's future at the Eastern border.

2. The village against New World⁸: Tracing Romania's legacy of modernity

"Different East European state socialisms in the region exhibited their pre-1945 roots more extensively than we often tend to assume"⁹, asserts Ekiert, bringing a valuable contribution to the dismantling of the myth of communist cultural ancestry. Despite the fact that multiple continuities were highlighted, socialist heritage may

⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1991, p. 6.

⁷ Adam Michnik, "Verteidigung der Freiheit. Reflexionen über 1989", *Osteuropa*, n. 2-3, 2009, p. 9.

⁸ Dan Hancox, *The Village Against The World*, London: Verso Books, 2013.

⁹ Grzegorz Ekiert, Daniel Ziblatt, "Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe. One Hundred Years On", *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*, vol. 27, n. 1, 2013, p. 101.

imply a “package of variable”¹⁰ and not a close system of mentalities, identities or similar projects of politic change. Therefore, many of the post-1989 developments, and even the post-2011 civil uprisings, need to be deciphered in the context of the post-World War I timeline. Genesis and twilight of interwar democracies may offer significant vestiges for contemporary unexpected turn of modernization. The interwar history recollects various interplays amid liberalisation and authoritarian drifts, different degrees of countryside political mobilisation and contradictory group identities and cultural landmarks.

The rise and failure of local democracies from the region was seen as an independent synthesis, western influence being considered as a discrete event, by comparison with Soviet acculturation. Yet, it could be suggested that the patterning of contemporary cultural legacy of Eastern Europe requires a long-term historical perspective. The phenomena of crisis and alienation stimulated by the deregulated mobilisation of multiple social clusters after 2011, was potentiated also by long-term legacies. “Long-run legacies”¹¹ were grounded especially on the structural disparities resulted subsequent to communist modernization game, revolving around clauses as forced urbanization, counterfeit political mobilisation, and antagonistic cultural propaganda, as technicist or agrarian millennialism¹².

The separation occurred amid the urban culture and often secluded rurality, instantiated one of the most influential historical patrimony of Eastern Europe. “Urban special causality”¹³ was considered often as a secondary argument in establishment of contemporary cultural heritage.

However, the genesis of civil conscience and other urban-related civilizational terms, as policies or politics depend not only semantically, but also historical, by heritage of the city. Major cultural distinction operated against the urban inhabitant and the rural outsider, implies a differentiations in the “social and political power”¹⁴ of the groups, exerting effects consequently on the relational networks, hierarchy of values, synthesis of identities and discourses of contestation. Although, the cultural subject is determined in dependence with an individual physical space, the framework of institutional practices may determine models of uniformity¹⁵.

The consequences reflected against interwar East European culture by the second wave of urbanization were equally complex and ambivalent. The new territorial settlements predicated by the national principles determined the creation of “highly vulnerable states of Eastern Europe”¹⁶. The interwar national ideology, modern oriented, collated in Eastern Europe with parochial societies,

¹⁰ *Idem*, p. 102.

¹¹ *Idem*, p. 103.

¹² Cristian Romocea, *Church and State: Religious Nationalism and State Identification in Post-Communist Romania*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011, p. 53.

¹³ Eds. Michael Hanagan, Chris Tilly, *Contention and Trust in Cities and States*, NY and London: Springer, 2011, p. 219.

¹⁴ *Idem*, p. 219.

¹⁵ Edmond Cros, *Le sujet culturel: sociocritique et psychanalyse*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 2005, p. 41.

¹⁶ Joseph Rothschild, *East Central Europe between the Two World Wars*, University of Washington Press, 2017, p. 5.

dominantly rural, and experiencing an incomplete secularization of their identities and political pantheon. The dominant feature of East European interwar legacy could be connected to a cultural partition, following social, ethnical, religious and developmental fractures¹⁷. Romania may represent one of the most interesting interwar democratic experiments, due to the presence of historically dangerously vicinities, doubled by strong economic and cultural discrepancies.

Reuniting more than three major cultural territories, interwar Romania also confronted with a dysfunctional distribution of its economic, political and social projects. With an overwhelming rural population, interwar society was pressed to solve the peasantry's radical traditionalism and dormant authoritarian idiosyncrasies through the agency of a revolutionary land reform¹⁸. Dominated by an agrarian economic equation, and lacking ethnic and religious cohesion, interwar Romania presented also major variations as regards indicators as literacy rate, social mobility and political participation. Incomplete modernization of the short interwar democratic interlude has translated into a defeat of city culture in front of an isolationist and traditionalist rurality. **Capital role of the urban dimension in establishment of modern civility culture was replaced hereby with the troubled inheritance of patrimonial nationalism.**

The *mélange* and renegotiation of groups' identities and discourses could not be achieved within a divided geography, defined by land ownership and kinship dependencies. The isolation of indigenous minorities and the lack of support encountered by democratic game was mostly a result of a dysfunctional city culture. New ritual communion spaces offered by the town and dissolution of familial-conservative chains, could offer the ground for a modernity leap. Interwar Romania approved however a consolidation of fragmentations, fostered by processes as failure of land reform, industry vassalage to oligarchic elites and resilience of marginal status of the countryside. The extremist discourses of the late '30 succeeded in contamination of the cultural landscape of the countryside through the agency of a syncretic agenda, based on elements as idealist nativism¹⁹ and anti-cosmopolitanism. Basically, the mythical rhetoric of the Far-Right was exploiting the crisis determined by modernization of village's mentalities.

The pre-communist cultural legacy of interwar Romania could be summarized hereby in the formula of an urban culture defeat. Adjournment of interwar modernization will determine further adaptive costs, the utmost being connected to the topography of main cultural cleavages, reopened by the tensional background of the '90.

A very brief inquiry within the history and development of Romanian communism tend to highlight a spectacular persistence of the agrarian question. Getting beyond the Soviet dominance phase of the early '50, the inception stage of national-communist project, inaugurated under Gheorghiu-Dej's rule, continued to bear the marks of a reluctant agrarian anti-modernity. The Romanian

¹⁷ George Schöpflin, "The Political Traditions of Eastern Europe", *Daedalus*, Vol. 119, No. 1, 1990, p. 55.

¹⁸ *Idem*, p. 281.

¹⁹ *Idem*, p. 307.

communism economic and political gospel apparently followed the eradication of the urban-rural border.

In this very context, the collectivization of agriculture should have become the triggering factor for a major reconversion of pre-modern cultural inheritance²⁰. First age of national communist tried to induce a new formula of social interaction, dependence and communion within the parochial land of the countryside. Confiscation of property and assertion of productive communion aimed to dissolve the kinship dependencies and the property-identity cross-correlations. Communism's assault against traditionalist world of the village supported however different dosages. Forced urbanization started at the middle of the '60 and officially ended at the middle of the 7 decade, when industrialization dogma apparently defeated the traditional culture. An interesting semiotic and discursive change occurred during the '80, consequently to the dynastic turn of Romanian Communism.

The agrarian mythology and traditionalist rhetoric was recaptured and exploited for validation of a personalist version of national communism. In this peculiar context, an essential question tends to detach. What are the genuine sources of local underground legacy, which managed to survive several major historical breakthroughs? A possible explanation concerning the endurance of traditional long-term cultural legacy refers to the presence of a false urbanity. Extracted from their conservative culture, multiple social clusters were pressed to adapt in relation with an urban medium lacking basic relational and communication networks. Moreover, communist designed urbanization proved to be an instable and reversible process, in terms of industrial overbidding and agricultural subsistence. Exist from communism had disclosed phenomena of urban depopulation, recovery of familial dependence and unchained the conservative susceptibilities. **Within the framework of Romanian scenario, the village influenced culturally the city, transmitting a mixed historical tradition.**

3. Urban and rural spaces of identity in recent Romania

A general view upon the development and evolution of Romanian's extended cultural legacy offers proofs of an incomplete modernization cycle. Togetherness, in traditional and parochial terms, solicits landmarks as nativism, extended group identity, nation and beyond all, refusal of alternative or disruptive identities. On the other side, modern urban communion is based on individual translation of values and discourses and mobilisation within bounds of various social, political and cultural agenda. Nowadays clash amid globalist grassroots activation and growing traditionalist and vernacular cultures constitutes the signal of a modernization conflict. The strains of these antithetic cultures are not always visible, the contemporary reinterpretation of nativist representations, imaginary and political culture, often overlapping apparently modern quests.

²⁰ Vladimir Tismăneanu, "Gheorghiu-Dej and the Romanian Workers' Party: From De-Sovietization to the Emergence of National Communism", *Cold War International History Project*, Working Paper No. 37, Washington: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2002, p. 38.

Romania's second wave of civic movements remains strongly dependent by the environmentalist awakening agenda of 2013. Labeled by international media as a major reformist movement, the *Romanian Autumn* revealed the presence of a consistent, well defined civic agenda, which reunited multiple cultural clusters²¹. The social heterogeneity of protesters and the major street mobilisation, bridging the gaps amid elites and peripheries, was deciphered as maturation signal for local democracy. At once, the political stake of Roşia Montana project was capital, forcing most of the political actors to assume a public position against the mining exploitation project, placed under tutelage of a foreign corporation. Despite the fact that public discourses and movement's identity and action agenda faced multiple fragmentations and tensional shades, the general perception upon 2013 *Romanian Autumn* tend to glide amid two leading themes. Maybe the most discussed aspect is the one of environmentalist, pro-justice, anti-corruption and social fairness orientation. The emerging activism of various urban groups was in this manner motivated by a common political agenda, underpinned by a new cultural conscience of urbanity. Virtualization of discourses and digitalization of communion spaces disrupted previous borders and opened the road for new social basis of resistance. Romanian peripheral groups, including pauperized social classes, insulated countryside and even ethno-nationalist promoters were brought together in a tireless attempt to change Romania's cultural and political architecture.

Evoking Castells seminal assessment, due to change of the city means "change of society"²², Romanian civic burst was treated as sign of modernization and democratic consolidation. Yet, the movement's agenda, discourse and founding narratives were hiding a dual background. The marginal groups identified the environmental campaign with a manifestation of vernacular resistance in front of an incumbent alien plot. The subsidiary theme of the movement was hence tributary to an imaginary of conflict and *Otherness*, activated under influence of a strong indentitary and representational crisis. The exclusion spaces, secluded by city's cultural monopole, regained their means of expression along with the digital communication revolution, but failed in assuming the cultural landmarks of the urbanity. Rhetoric of "cross-class alliances"²³ and the hybrid character of urban activism remained unfamiliar for the edge public of the civil sphere.

The massive virtual mobilisation revolved around issues as protection of national heritage and Romania's impending bottom up reforms. *Romanian Autumn* was expected to magnify the active citizenship, political responsibility and democratic engagement. Instead, the movement's political echoes proved to be perishable and ambivalent. The cultural responses of the non-urban dwellers

²¹ Eds. Geoffrey Pleyers, Ionel N. Sava, *Social Movements in Central and Eastern Europe. A renewal of protests and democracy*, Bucureşti: Editura Universităţii, 2015, p. 15.

²² Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, p. 264.

²³ Kerstin Jacobsson, *Urban Grassroots Movements in Central and Eastern Europe*, London: Routledge, 2016, p. 74.

were shallow, and disclosed a populist synthesis of the initial civic stimulus. Results of Romanian parliamentary elections from 2016 will confirm the parochial affinities of the countryside and urban residents, the traditionalist parties gaining another round of the modernization game. Subsequent activation cycles of the Romanian civic action, from 2015, 2017 and 2018, reiterated this participation paradoxes. Large scale civic discontent, channeling themes as inveterate corruption, oligarchic behaviour of political class and pauperization of national economy reunited strong popular support. The consolidation of #Rezist (resistance) protest culture depended on a massive virtual mobilisation, aggregated around an influential semiotics of change and communion. Genuine roots of Romanian contestation movements could be located both within the social and cultural background of urban dimension and also into the extended heritage of rurality.

The 2015 street marches remain essential for understanding the mobilisation force of a major social indignation reaction. The *Collective* episode, when a fire in a club ended with dozen deaths, revealed the tragic consequences triggered by bureaucratic corruption. Support for the civic renewal movement reached thus a zenith point. Urban and non-urban inhabitants, simple workers and intellectual elites were ostensibly sharing the same reformation and system change biddings. The community of values established during the environmentalist age of the movement was this way extended to a more inclusive social and cultural agenda. The development of the civic phenomena supervened after 2016 evolved however under omen of an uncertain tradition. Pro-justice protests from 2017 and 2018 reunited a spectacular spectrum of participants, nourishing yet very different social responses. Assuming the traditional heritage of the non-urban layers and fringe communities, the anti-corruption movement had as main action point the identification of a providential reformational solution. Prolonged austerity policies and the chronic hardships of the transition years nourished a populist appetency. The suburban and provincial publics of the movement were in this manner ready to reinterpret the initial quest for social change, trough alchemy of a very peculiar historical tradition. For the vulnerable groups, lacking sustainable economic, social and political strings, the denunciation and symbolic excommunication of the political class opened the road millennial revelations. Trough comparison, the urban experience of civic contestation was materialized in an increased conscience of community, cultural identity and political self-management of new emerged civic networks.

The digitalisation of culture and politics fostered divergent cultural legacies. The urban paradigm glided significantly toward an autonomous modernity while the outside spaces regained their political influence and voice, but within the pale of a disruptive modernization exercise.

The digital activism brought the city and the village together, but favoured separated cultural outcomes. The distorted urbanization projects of the '60 determined the cryptic survival of a remote memory. Communist forced urbanization did not establish an authentic urban conscience of new town inhabitants, but stimulated the conservation of silent ties with the traditional rituals and symbolic narratives of the village.

Looking at Romanian case, it is arguable that the countrified landmarks of pre-modernity irradiated the city's culture. The urban sub-cultures share many constitutive values with the rural counterparts, their affinities and differences being activated by distinct contexts. Even if urban and provincial identities tend to manifest in a modern manner as regards social mobilization, civic activism or promotion of reformist discursive agenda, same cultural clusters tend to remain parochial in private actions as political ritual and electoral behaviour. The power has leaked to the countryside in various East European cases, and in Romanian one as well, due to an activation of urban traditionalism, and not only through an awakening of the rural. Civic activism stimulated a mirrored revolution, followed by systemic paradoxes. The civic mobilisation of the last years apparently brought Romania into the vanguard of progressionist European politics. Surprisingly, the electoral translation of this civic shift did not determine a major leap toward democratic modernity. Conservative political publics are on the rise, while liberal discourses face a downfall.

The sources of these tensional evolutions of Romania's mainstream cultures reside perhaps within a contradictory cultural legacy. Civil activism represents a sign of a maturation of urban identities and discourses, yet conserving the village's traditionalist memory, and paying a significant tribute to a belated genesis of city's culture.

References

Anderson, Benedict, (1991), *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso.

Bunch, V., (1995), "Should transitologists be grounded?", *Slavic Review*, vol. 54, n. 1.

Castells, Manuel, (1983), *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cros, Edmond, (2005), *Le sujet culturel: sociocritique et psychanalyse*, Paris: L'Harmattan.

Ekiert, Grzegorz, Daniel Ziblatt, (2013), "Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe. One Hundred Years On", *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*, vol. 27, n. 1.

Gans-Morse, Jordan, (2004), "Searching for Transitologists: Contemporary Theories of Post-Communist Transitions and the Myth of a Dominant Paradigm", *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 20, n. 4.

Eds. Hanagan, Michael, Chris Tilly, (2011), *Contention and Trust in Cities and States*, NY and London: Springer.

Hancox, Dan, (2013), *The Village Against The World*, London: Verso Books.

Huntington, Samuel P., (1997), *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, Penguin Books.

Jacobsson, Kerstin, (2016), *Urban Grassroots Movements in Central and Eastern Europe*, London: Routledge.

Eds. Klingemann, Hans-Dieter, Dieter Fuchs, Jan Zielonka, (2006), *Democracy and Political Culture in Eastern Europe*, London and NY: Routledge.

Michnik, Adam, (2009), "Verteidung der Freiheit. Reflexionen über 1989", *Osteuropa*, n. 2-3.

Mungiu-Pippidi, Alina and Denisa Mîndruta, (2002), "Was Huntington Right? Testing Cultural Legacies and the Civilization Border", *International Politics*, vol. 39, n. 2.

Cristian Romocea, (2011), *Church and State: Religious Nationalism and State Identification in Post-Communist Romania*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Rothschild, Joseph, (2017), *East Central Europe between the Two World Wars*, University of Washington Press.

Sava, I.N., (2015), "A second generation of grassroots movements in Central and Eastern Europe?", *Open Democracy / ISA RC-47: Open Movements*.

Schöpflin, George, (1990), "The Political Traditions of Eastern Europe", *Daedalus*, Vol. 119, No. 1.

Tismăneanu, Vladimir, (2002), "Gheorghiu-Dej and the Romanian Workers' Party: From De-Sovietization to the Emergence of National Communism", *Cold War International History Project*, Working Paper No. 37, Washington: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

ABOUT DEMOCRACY, BETWEEN IDEAL AND REALITY

Simona Buşoi*

simona.busoi@yahoo.com

Motto:

„And, further, that you are telling the truth in saying that the most decent of those in philosophy are useless to the many. [...] The truth naturally is that it is necessary for a man who is sick, whether rich or poor, to go to the doors of doctors, and every man who needs to be ruled to the doors of the man who is able to rule, not for the ruler who is truly of any use to beg the ruled to be ruled.”

Socrates,
in Plato, *The Republic*

Abstract: *Modern democracy preserves as a basic principle that in a democratic political system the demos is free and sovereign. Discontents, more or less accentuated, regarding political and economic crises, and government failures in representative democracies have led to a decrease in citizens' confidence in the politicians who represent them. As a result, there are attempts to find solutions by returning to a form of direct democracy. Because it is no longer possible to convene the People's Assembly as in Ancient Greece, the internet seems to have the potential to become a contemporary agora. In this paper we are discussing whether e-democracy forms can be viable solutions to the problems faced by representative democracies.*

Keywords: *democracy, representative democracy, direct democracy, e-democracy*

We often talk about democracy as an optimal form of political organization and manifestation; it seems to be strong in developed western countries and it is still a desideratum for other emergent, or less “western” states, but which consider democracy a guarantee for welfare, and consequently want to become Tocquevilleans¹. As for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the views differ from case to case regarding the extent to which genuine, functional democracies have been built here.

In modern sense, democracy refers to political systems based on representative democracy and animated by values such as separation of powers in the state, freedom for citizens, including freedom of speech/expression (disturbed lately by strange excesses generated by so-called “political correctness”), respect for human rights, universal suffrage, and the existence of a constitution that includes all these values. And somewhere, in the collective

* **PhD., Bucharest University of Economic Studies.**

¹ Marc F. Plattner, *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 26, Number 1 January 2015, National Endowment for Democracy, Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 5-10, <https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/sites/default/files/Plattner-26-1.pdf>.

consciousness, still exists the original meaning of democracy, the “power of the people”, expressed and manifested on the basis of equality in rights, *isonomia* or *égalité*, nowadays regardless of wealth, social position, gender, race, religion, sexual orientation, age, state of health, and so on, on the background of constantly increasing ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity. Although the “power of the people” can be wielded intermittently, just in electoral years, and without great efficiency.

In countries considered democratic, or aspiring to be democratic, democracy also manifests itself outside the political scene, either in non-political diverse electoral processes, when members of some small communities choose their leaders democratically, or in their everyday lives in which democracy offers a high degree of individual freedom, within the limits of the law, and with the condition that everyone's freedom ends where the other's freedom is violated.

Failures of Representative Democracy

It is said that every people has the leaders they deserve. Citizens from different countries sometimes look at their leaders and wonder whether they, the citizens, are responsible for the political and social situation of their country.

When the elections are near, political parties organize themselves, choose their candidates, present the political programs they promise to offer to the public in the period of time following the elections. Huge electoral machineries are moving around voters trying to capture popular sympathy for one party or another, for one candidate or another. It is the very moment when the people, the demos, could and should feel sovereign. Although citizens sometimes show their mistrust in politicians, political inefficiency is increasingly accentuated, and political marketing that spiked spirits years ago and created intense and passionate partisans now has a weaker echo.

Why does the democracy get in difficult situations? Why are citizens disappointed? I presented widely some of these complex issues in 2012, in my work *The Political Market. Paradigms and Realities*².

Political programs generally resemble to each other, all parties propose economic development and a better life for citizens. The political positioning on the left-right axis has dimmed, the political platforms are approaching the center, because there is most likely to meet the wishes of the majority of citizens.³

If the offer of political programs attempts to meet the citizens' wishes in order to obtain as many votes as possible, and not under the impetus of high principles, there is a risk that the promises made during the electoral campaigns not to correspond to the subsequent development of the events. Because all this is a mere utilitarian calculation, as each part involved, the politicians and the demos, are trying to maximize their utility, each part is pursuing its own interest,

² Simona Bușoi, *Piața politică. Paradigme și realități [The Political Market. Paradigms and Realities]*, Editura ASE, București, 2012.

³ *The Median Voter Theorem* formalized by Duncan Black in 1948 and further presented by Anthony Downs in his book *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, 1957, <https://www.cornellcollege.edu/politics/Reading%20-%20The%20Median%20Voter%20Theorem%20and%20its%20Applications%20-%20J.%20Poulette.pdf>.

a problem may appear regarding politicians, for if they pursue only their own interest, if they are motivated just by individualism and utilitarianism, what happens to the public interest? If they get involved in politics and stand for elections because they want to gain material advantages, power and glory, will they make real efforts to serve the community? And if they do not, what means of control and coercion do citizens have between two electoral moments?

Citizens' choices also face difficulties. One of these difficulties is information asymmetry between candidates and voters, asymmetry resulting from the lack of time and/or lack of interest of voters in the effort of informing themselves, but also from the precariousness of the sources of correct information, as a result of concerted, wicked actions of misinformation and manipulation. In this sense, with the desire to affirm their deontological adherence to the truth, *The Washington Post* has recently chosen a suggestive slogan: "Democracy dies in darkness." If on the occasions of the meetings of the Assembly of the people in Ancient Greece the orators were trying to impress the audience with their artfully discourses, the stakes in today's politics are much higher and in the electoral campaigns companies specialized in political marketing and communication are involved. It's all about the "sale" of an image, the politician's image, and the citizen is persuaded by various methods, using the media channels of one-way communication, to "buy", using his vote, what is offered to him in an attractive packaging. And information asymmetry may lead, in this context, to adverse selection. The voter might choose in these conditions the wrong man. The problem is that, once "bought", a product of this type cannot be returned so simply. And the vote is valid as a currency only once in a long, 4 or 5-year period.

On the other hand, large groups, such as the citizens that form the electorate at national level, tend to be inefficient compared to small groups.⁴ If in small or medium communities people know each other, they meet to discuss and to make decisions, and they can supervise each other in respecting the written or unwritten rules and in actions that serve a common purpose, in the case of representative democracy the citizens are in large numbers, they live far away and will never meet. They do not know each other, as it happens, for example, in a rural community, there are no social constraints or public criticism, so the energies do not gather efficiently for achieving the common goal. Some consider that one extra vote does not matter in the general arithmetic of the elections and that it is enough that others do vote. In addition, considering disappointment and distrust in politicians, a lack of interest in politics exists, and, as a consequence electoral absenteeism appears – a form of silent protest.

In a parliamentary republic, for example, citizens vote for lists of members of the political parties. In the end, the parliamentary structure emerges, and the party or parties that are the winners of the elections nominate and finally form the government. Thus, on the basis of political programs or on the basis of their sympathies or antipathies for certain parties or certain political leaders in those

⁴ Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action. Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*, Harvard Economic Studies, Volume CXXIV, Harvard University Press, 1965/1971, https://moodle.drew.edu/2/pluginfile.php/225050/mod_resource/content/2/Olson%20%281967%29%20Logic%20of%20Collective%20Action%20%28book%29.pdf

parties, the voters create, on one hand, the legislative matrix for the coming years and, on the other hand, they establish the political color/orientation of the executive. What is actually going to happen from that moment is not under the control of those who have voted. From now on they are waiting in front of TVs or reading news on the internet in order to find out what laws the parliament has voted and what unpopular measures the government has taken. The questions regarding the competence of officials who are promoted by parties are sometimes rhetorical. As a matter of fact, even if those politicians are highly competent in the field in which they are called to represent voters' interests, even if they are truly valuable specialists, they have to respect and conform to the party discipline, and decisions often have a political nature. What happens when the professional knowledge and skills of a public official indicates to him a certain direction of action for the public interest, but the political decision is the opposite?

In the presidential elections, when citizens vote for one man/woman, for a distinct political figure, they express their sympathy or antipathy for someone who will act in the future in a manner the electors have only supposed before the elections. In parliamentary republics, the role of the president is, as it is known, the role of a mediator between political and social actors. In presidential republics, such as the US, the president elected by popular vote intervenes through his prerogatives to a greater extent in the political and social evolution of that state.

And the referendum, a form of decision that could be assimilated to direct democracy, has its clear limits: it is rarely organized, it refers to issues that are not always major concerns of the citizens, because it is not organized at their initiative; involves large expenditures and organizational efforts equivalent to regular national elections; presents the disadvantages of other electoral processes, namely disinterest, misinformation, manipulation, populism, absenteeism. And most importantly, it is about one decision, or maybe two, whether to accept or not to change the constitution, to accept or not to leave the EU, etc., is not a genuine and continuous form of governance. But there are voices supporting the role of referendums as a form of direct democracy. One of them brings the example of Sweden, where between 1970 and 1990 there were 63 referenda.⁵

The Democracy of Ancient Athens

In the analysis of the weaknesses of modern representative democracy, there is a tendency to return to the original principles of democracy, namely to the democracy of ancient Athens, the distant source, both historically and ideologically, of modern democracy, yet its source of inspiration. Briefly presenting ancient Athenian democracy will allow us to see how far we have moved away from it or how much we recognize in it the features of modern democracy.

The city-states of ancient Greece had several kinds of government: *the monarchy*, with only one leader, *the oligarchy*, with a few aristocrat leaders and *the democracy* or the tyranny of the demos.

⁵ Bruno S. Frey, „Direct Democracy: Politico-Economic Lessons from Swiss Experience”, *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 84, No. 2, Papers and Proceedings of the Hundred and Sixth Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association (May, 1994), pp. 338-342.

The demos consisted of the citizens of Athens, and the citizens were mature Athenian men (women, slaves and foreigners were excluded). Citizens were much more involved than today in politics, as making politics was considered something natural and necessary.

It has to be said that not all ancient Greeks considered democracy to be beneficial and desirable. For example, Plato in the Republic shows Socrates describing democracy and how it appears in vivid colors, but not with admiration: "Then democracy, I suppose, comes into being when the poor win, killing some of the others [rich men] and casting out some, and share the regime and the ruling offices with those who are left on an equal basis; and, for the most part, the offices in it are given by lot. [...] It is probably the fairest of the regimes, I said. Just like many-colored cloak decorated in all hues, this regime, decorated with all dispositions, would also look fairest, and many perhaps, I said, like boys and women looking at many-colored things, would judge this to be the fairest regime."⁶

In a parable about a ship, Socrates describes how sailors want to pilot themselves the ship, considering the only one who has the necessary knowledge, the true pilot, idealistic and useless: "The sailors are quarreling with one another about the piloting, each supposing he ought to pilot, although he has never learned the art and can't produce his teacher or prove there was a time when he was learning it. Besides this, they claim it isn't even teachable and are ready to cut to pieces the man who says it is teachable. [...] They don't know that for the true pilot it is necessary to pay careful attention to year, seasons, heaven, stars, winds, and everything that's proper to the art, if he is really going to be skilled at ruling a ship. And they don't suppose it's possible to acquire the art and practice of how one can get hold of the helm whether the others wish it or not, and at the same time to acquire the pilot's skill. So with such things happening on the ships, don't you believe that the true pilot will really be called a stargazer, a prater and useless to them by those who sail on ships run like this?"⁷

Moreover, the death sentence of Socrates, pronounced by a democratic Athenian tribunal (399 b.Ch), may be an example of the imperfection of this system. Socrates himself explains why his ideas were not agreed, as the spread of Socratic ideas among young Athenians was not favorable to the demo's supremacy: "[...] each ruling group sets down laws for its own advantage; a democracy sets down democratic laws; a tyranny, tyrannic laws; and the others do the same. And they declare that what they have set down — their own advantage — is just for the ruled, and the man who departs from it they punish as a breaker of the law and a doer of unjust deeds. This, best of men, is what I mean: in every city the same thing is just, the advantage of the established ruling body. It surely is master; so the man who reasons rightly concludes that everywhere justice is the same thing, the advantage of the stronger."⁸

Aristotle believed that a political leader/ruler must possess certain virtues that distinguish him from the ruled: "Practical wisdom is the only virtue peculiar

⁶ Plato, *The Republic*, Second edition, translated with notes and an interpretive essay by Allan Bloom, Basic Books, A Division of Harper Collins Publishers, 1968, Book VIII, p. 235.

⁷ *Ibidem*, Book VI, 488b-489b, p. 168.

⁸ *Ibidem*, Book I, 339a, p. 16.

to a ruler; for the others, it would seem, must be common to both rulers and ruled. At any rate, practical wisdom is not the virtue of one who is ruled, but true opinion is. For those ruled are like makers of flutes, whereas rulers are like the flute players who use them.”⁹

In order to present some characteristics of the Athenian democracy as well as the significance of the election by lot used within this political system, in our opinion a valuable and nice bibliographic source is the work of James Wycliffe Headlam, *Election by lot at Athens*.¹⁰ Election by lot (sortition) of the city officials was used, says the author, in order to ensure the demo's supremacy and sovereignty and the rotation of the citizens (only adult Athenian men) in these offices. The sortition was made out of ten electoral constituencies, corresponding to the ten tribes (*phyle*, plural *phylae*) in which the city was divided: 50 citizens were randomly selected from each constituency each year, resulting the Council of 500 (*Boule*). The 50 members who were elected by lot from a tribe formed the *pritanía*, an executive committee, that was functioning one tenth of a year, namely 36 days, and one *pritan*, also elected by lot, chaired the work of this committee or of the Assembly (*Ekklesia*) for one day. But all the important decisions of the city were made by the Assembly, which met quite often, even once a week, with a quorum of approximately 6,000 citizens, and the Council was providing the conditions for making these decisions. Ten military generals (*strategos*, plural *strategoí*) were elected by vote (this time not by lot) by the Assembly each year; they were the leaders of the city from the military point of view. Pericles, the famous Athenian leader, was the prime *strategos* of the ancient Athena, elected each year between 443 and 429 BC.

The method of election by lot was intended to preserve the power of the Assembly. It has been discussed the origin and the religious motivation of the election by lot including in politics, because it was known that the ancient Greeks believed that the gods intervened in people's lives, and the result of a sortition could reflect the will of the gods.¹¹ However, James Wycliffe argues, it seems that in the 5th century BC, the election by lot was already secularized.¹² And, once secularized through long practice, the election by lot has become an important democratic instrument in the Athenian politics of time. The elected citizens were not the representatives of the people in the sense of today, they were really in the service of the people and offered to the Assembly the infrastructure for making decisions. “They [the Greeks] saw well enough that the power of the demos was like that of a monarch, and that a “democracy” could allow no power in the state independent of the Assembly. The “tyrant demos” was a very stern reality to Thucydides and Plato and Aristotle.”¹³

⁹ Aristotle, *Politics*, Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by C.D.C. Reeve, Hackett Publishing Company, 1998, Book III, 1277b25-29.

¹⁰ James Wycliffe Headlam, *Election by lot at Athens*, Cambridge Historical Essays. No. IV, Prince Consort Dissertation, 1980, Cambridge: At the University Press, 1891.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 5-6.

¹² *Ibidem*, pp. 8-12.

¹³ *Ibidem*, pp. 31-32.

The fact that the generals were elected by vote, and not by lot shows, however, that for military matters, vital to the city, it was obvious that people with certain virtues were needed, and their election was not left to chance.

Direct Democracy Reloaded

More than 2500 years have passed since the establishment of the democratic constitution in ancient Athens by Cleisthenes (508 BC). Over time, there have been revivals/reinventions of the sovereignty of the people at the level of philosophical ideas, some of these ideas coming down from the library in the real life and creating history and revolutions. Modern democracy regains its roots in the Enlightenment philosophy, which places the myth of the rational man in its center. These ideas have been applied since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the revolutions in Europe and America and are still being applied today. In 1796 George Washington illustrated the sovereignty of the American people and offered a lesson of democracy: “The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, ‘till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole People is sacredly obligatory upon all.”¹⁴

Under the mask of democracy, in the sense of taking over the political power by the people, also presented itself the application of the Marxist paradigm in the USSR, in the other states that were to the East of the Iron Curtain, but also in other parts of the world. “The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class to win the battle of democracy”¹⁵ we writing Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the *Communist Party Manifesto*. And, as a reply, we quote from a speech of Margaret Thatcher: “Socialists cry Power to the people, and raise the clenched fist as they say it. We all know what they really mean-power over people, power to the State.”¹⁶

Today, in the Western world, a general model of representative democracy has emerged, with variations from state to state in different political organizations, republics or monarchies, democratic political structures and mechanisms are in place of honor in these states, but the way they work is sometimes questioned. There are laws that seek to prevent undemocratic influences in politics, such as the financing of parties and electoral campaigns, or regulations regarding how lobby groups may or may not influence various policy measures in their benefit.

¹⁴ George Washington, *Farewell Address*, 1796, <https://www.whatsoproudlywehail.org/curriculum/the-american-calendar/the-wisdom-of-george-washington>.

¹⁵ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, 1848; Source: Marx/Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. One, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969, pp. 98-137; Translated: Samuel Moore in cooperation with Frederick Engels, 1888.

¹⁶ Margaret Thatcher, *Speech to Conservative Central Council* (15 March, 1986) - Second term as Prime Minister.

The spectacular development of the internet, including the viral phenomenon of social media, globalization, blurring of borders, ideas and actions to reduce the role of the state as a leader in the destiny of nations, all these elements have created a tendency to reinvent politics, including on digital bases. The internet seems to be a genuine "paradise" in which people can communicate and engage in political life through what is called *e-participation*. An example is the online platform opened by the European Commission for the European citizens: 'Initiative for European Union Citizens'.¹⁷ EU-level research is also being conducted "to determine whether ICT tools could help to improve EU's democratic quality and legitimacy among citizens as well as its entire political system".¹⁸

Analyzing the efficiency of *e-democracy/e-participation* with its three components - *e-information*, *e-consultation*, *e-decision making* - Jan van Dijk has seen an improvement in citizens' access and exchange of political information. Consultations, debates and creation of online political communities do not seem to have gone too far and "no perceivable effect of these debates on decision making of institutional politics' has been detected".¹⁹

In *The Network Society*, Jan van Dijk shows that the political system has a network structure, consisting of established relations between political actors that can be relations of power and/or exchange of information/communication relations. This network structure allows the use of internet, and ICT facilitates both the expansion and concentration of political relations through national and international networks.²⁰ The network structure and the use of ICT on the channels of this structure also facilitate mutual control between political actors: both government control and public administration over citizens, and citizens' control over the activities of the state.²¹ The way these tools are used depends on people, as the internet can be used both for freedom and for control.

Jan van Dijk identifies six contemporary, more or less revolutionary visions of democracy, all considering the use of ICT and the internet²² (see Table 1).

¹⁷ <http://ec.europa.eu/citizens-initiative/public/welcome>.

¹⁸ Iris Korthagen, Ira van Keulen (Rathenau Institute), Leonhard Hennen (KIT/ITAS), Georg Aichholzer, Gloria Rose (ITA/OEAW), Ralf Lindner, Kerstin Goos (Fraunhofer ISI), Rasmus Øjvind Nielsen (DBT Foundation), *Prospects for e-democracy in Europe. Study summary*, In-Depth Analysis, Science and Technology Options Assessment, European Parliamentary Research Service, Scientific Foresight Unit (STOU), February 2018 – PE 603.213, p. 5.

¹⁹ Jan van Dijk, *Digital Democracy: Vision and Reality*. In: Snellen, I., Thaens, M. and van de Donk, W. (eds.) *Public Administration in the Information Age: Revisited*. Amsterdam et al.: IOS-Press, p. 49-61. In *Prospects for e-democracy in Europe. Study summary*, 2012, p. 7.

²⁰ Jan van Dijk, *The Network Society*, Third edition, Sage Publishing, 2012, p. 102.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² *Ibidem*, pp. 105-108.

Models of e-democracy

Table 1

Models of democracy	Features	Using of ICT and internet	
Legalist democracy	Regards constitution and laws as the foundation of democracy. The basic principles are: separation of powers in the state, a system of control between these powers, and representation.	Should offer more information between government on one side and citizens on the other side. It increases the effectiveness government.	Reinforcement of institutional democracy
Competitive democracy	Is specific to the countries with two competitive parties and/or a presidential system.	As the two parties and/or the candidates for the presidency are competing to gain the public support, internet and ICT represent a support for the candidates in order to connect/communicate with the citizens during the electoral campaigns.	
Plebiscitary democracy	Political decisions are made through referenda or plebiscites. This kind of `teledemocracy` It is a model of direct democracy that aims to resemble Athenian democracy.	The internet offers support for electronic discussions, telepolls and telerferenda. The internet plays the role of ancient agora.	Socialization of politics
Pluralist democracy or deliberative democracy	Deliberation is emphasized, opinion formation is very important. Democracy is not the will of majority, but that of a constantly changing coalition of minorities. Representation is exercised by politicians, but also by the organizations of civil society.	The internet offers support for debates and discussions.	
Participatory democracy	It is o combinations of direct and representative democracy and emphasizes active citizenship and a public formation of the opinions as broad as possible.	The internet plays important roles for public debates, public education and for the largest citizen participation as everybody must participate.	
Libertarian democracy	„In its most extreme form, institutional politics and the national state are held to be obsolete and to be superseded by a new political reality collectively created in networks. [...] A combination of Internet democracy and a free-market economy will serve as a replacement.” It is a form of direct democracy.	The internet is indispensable for this construction, citizens create their own politics in an autonomous manner, using horizontal communication on the internet.	

The absolutisation of the democratic role of the internet, the so-called *Internet-centrism*²³, ignores the social and political context in which it is used, as well as its disadvantages (difficulties in accessing the network, the necessary knowledge/skills to use it, unauthorized intrusions, the fact that not only democratic forces can use it, but also antidemocratic ones, etc.).²⁴

In connection with the role of the Internet in modern politics, there are studies on its use, including social media (Facebook and Twitter, etc.), for manipulation and misinformation.

A study by Oxford University on computational propaganda²⁵ reveals worrying results. "Computational propaganda is the use of algorithms, automation, and human curation to purposefully distribute misleading information over social media networks." The results of the study show that different methods, both automatic and involving the human factor, are used on social media for such actions with political impact, and authors show the danger they represent: "Computational propaganda is now one of the most powerful tools against democracy. Social media firms may not be creating this nasty content, but they are the platform for it. They need to significantly redesign themselves if democracy is going to survive social media."²⁶

Conclusions

The values that define democracy, in opposition to totalitarianism, are today some of the most important political reference points in the western world and in the areas and countries that function or aspire to function according to the same political model. It is considered that democracy and its values provide the most reliable way to have a free and comfortable life, maybe even a high living, it we think about the opportunities and about the "American dream", in a well-organized, functional society characterized by efficiency, transparency and political and social honesty.

The idea that democracy is a political and social organization in which citizens, rational people in general, lead their own destiny and build their own lives persists, although the system of representative democracy leaves them little space of movement. On the other hand, both economic and political failures of democratic political systems, more or less well-established, failures with immediate negative effects on the lives of individuals (lower living standards in general, unemployment, lower incomes, dependence on bank loans, poor infrastructure and public services) create frustrations that find their relief in the possibility of public intervention, ultimately reaching the direct intervention of

²³ Evgeny Morozov, *The Net Delusion, The Dark Side of Internet Freedom*, New York, Public Affairs, 2011, apud Jan van Dijk, *The Network Society*, Third edition, Sage Publishing, 2012, p. 109.

²⁴ Jan van Dijk, *The Network Society*, Third edition, Sage Publishing, 2012, p. 109.

²⁵ Samuel C. Woolley, Philip N. Howard, *Computational Propaganda. Research Project*. Working paper No. 2017.11, *Computational Propaganda. Worldwide: Executive Summary*, Oxford University, Oxford Internet Institute, <http://comprop.oii.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/89/2017/06/Casestudies-ExecutiveSummary.pdf>

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 11.

the *demos*, namely the return to direct democracy, preferably on internet, “a medium that is democratic by nature”²⁷.

However, the point is not simple at all. Wanting to change something for the better is a necessary thing, but not enough and good intentions do not ensure the solving of the problems of the contemporary world. They have reached a complexity that makes it possible to intervene successfully only through a profound understanding of the facts. Just the statistics, the majority vote, however large the numbers are, do not guarantee the choice of the right solutions.

Sometimes the lack of knowledge, wisdom and honesty at high-level is in fact one of the causes of the democracy failures. Of course, an important question is how the leaders should be chosen. It is also very important what prerogatives they have, if and to what extent they can become tyrants. But the most important question is who these leaders are. Who are the politicians, what knowledge they have, how wise are they, what are their intentions, what qualities have these people? Are they wise enough and, in direct connection with their wisdom, are they modest enough? Are they motivated by utilitarianism alone or are they also considering the public and national interest?

Turning back to the Greek philosophers forever in search for virtue, it is and remains clear that only profound education, including moral and humanistic education, can provide hope and long-term solutions. Deep education, including the humanist education, this is the answer. And then the election of leaders not randomly, not by lot, but with great care.

Values of Good should never be forgotten, they are and remain at the basis of human flourishing, and are the only way in which people can live better and nicer in a world of freedom and mutual respect.

References

Aristotle, (1998), *Politics*, Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by C.D.C. Reeve, Hackett Publishing Company.

Bușoi, Simona, (2012), *Piața politică. Paradigme și realități [Political Market. Paradigms and Realities]*, Bucharest, ASE Publishing House.

Van Dijk, Jan, (2012), *Digital Democracy: Vision and Reality*. In: Snellen, I., Thaens, M. and van de Donk, W. (eds.) *Public Administration in the Information Age: Revisited*. Amsterdam et al.: IOS-Press, pp. 49-61. In *Prospects for e-democracy in Europe. Study summary*.

Van Dijk, Jan, (2012), *The Network Society*, Third edition, Sage Publishing.

Morozov, Evgeny, (2011), *The Net Delusion, The Dark Side of Internet Freedom*, New York, Public Affairs.

Frey, Bruno S., (1994), “Direct Democracy: Politico-Economic Lessons from Swiss Experience”, *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 84, No. 2, Papers and Proceedings of the Hundred and Sixth Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association (May, 1994).

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 108.

Headlam, James Wycliffe, (1891), *Election by lot at Athens*, Cambridge Historical Essays. No. IV, Prince Consort Dissertation, 1890, Cambridge: At the University Press.

Korthagen, Iris, Ira van Keulen (Rathenau Institute), Leonhard Hennen (KIT/ITAS), Georg Aichholzer, Gloria Rose (ITA/OEAW), Ralf Lindner, Kerstin Goos (Fraunhofer ISI), Rasmus Øjvind Nielsen (DBT Foundation), (2018), *Prospects for e-democracy in Europe. Study summary*, In-Depth Analysis, Science and Technology Options Assessment, European Parliamentary Research Service, Scientific Foresight Unit (STOU), PE 603.213.

Marx, Karl, Frederick Engels, (1848), *Manifesto of the Communist Party*; Translated: Samuel Moore in cooperation with Frederick Engels, 1888; Source: Marx/Engels, 1969, *Selected Works*, Vol. One, Moscow, Progress Publishers.

Olson, Mancur, (1965/1971), *The Logic of Collective Action. Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*, Harvard Economic Studies, Volume CXXIV, Harvard University Press, https://moodle.drew.edu/2/pluginfile.php/225050/mod_resource/content/2/Olson%20%281967%29%20Logic%20of%20Collective%20Action%20%28book%29.pdf.

Plato, (1968), *The Republic*, Second edition, translated with notes and an interpretive essay by Allan Bloom, Basic Books, A Division of Harper Collins Publishers.

Plattner, Marc F., (2015), *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 26, Number 1, National Endowment for Democracy and Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 5-10, <https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/sites/default/files/Plattner-26-1.pdf>.

Thatcher, Margaret, (1986), *Speech to Conservative Central Council* (15 March).

Washington, George, (1796), <https://www.whatsoproudlywehail.org/curriculum/the-american-calendar/the-wisdom-of-george-washington>

Woolley, Samuel C., Philip N. Howard, (2017), *Computational Propaganda. Research Project*. Working paper No. 11, *Computational Propaganda. Worldwide: Executive Summary*, Oxford University, Oxford Internet Institute, <http://comprop.oii.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/89/2017/06/Casestudies-ExecutiveSummary.pdf>

<http://ec.europa.eu/citizens-initiative/public/welcome>

ROMANIA AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Florentina Burlacu*

florentina.burlacu@yahoo.com

Abstract: Romania is a country blessed with abundant and good agricultural land. Our country was, and still is, a predominantly agrarian country. Therefore, in the accession negotiations with the European Union, the agriculture chapter played a major role and was negotiated with great care by the Romanian authorities. After 2007, the year of Romania's accession to the EU, the Romanian agriculture is guided to the future according to the provisions of the Common Agricultural Policy.

Keywords: Romania, European Union, Common Agricultural Policy, CAP.

Introduction

After 1989 the economic relations between Romania and the European Communities begin to develop. In 1991, an Agreement on Trade and Commercial and Economic Cooperation was negotiated, signed and entered into force. In the same integrationist spirit of the European Communities we can also inscribe Romania's Association Agreement to the EU. Negotiations for this agreement began in May 1992 and took place in six rounds, being finalized on 17 November 1992. Our country signed the act mentioned above on 1 February 1993, but it could only be applied in February 1995, when it was ratified by the parliaments of all Member States. Meanwhile, the commercial provisions were applied under an Interim Agreement, which entered into force in May 1993.¹

As part of the Association Agreement, agriculture is the subject of distinct approaches, the emphasis being placed mainly on the commercial transactions with certain agricultural products of Romanian or Community origin. This document stipulates the following:

- agricultural products from Romania will benefit from a reduction of levies, within the limits of the Community's quotas or a reduction in customs duties;
- both our country and the European Community will abolish quantitative restrictions on mutual imports of agricultural products;
- the two parties will examine product with product in the Association Council and will be able to grant new concessions;
- Romania and the Community will have regular consultations within the Association Council on the strategy and modalities for implementing agricultural policies.²

* **PhD. student at The Bucharest University of Economic Studies.**

¹ Popescu, G., *Agricultural policies. European Agreements*, Bucharest: Economic Publishing House, 1999, p. 212.

² *Ibidem*, pp. 214-215.

The agreement is aimed primarily at economic cooperation, and within it, agriculture cooperation is dealt with in a distinct way and aims to modernize, restructure and privatize the agriculture and the agro-industrial sector in Romania.³

Between 2000-2004 the Romanian Government set out in its Action Plan certain measures that sought to move from “exclusively agricultural to rural development” policy. Thus, an “integrated rural development” policy is being promoted by improving the basic infrastructure and supporting investments in the downstream sectors of agriculture as well as “viable segments of agriculture”.⁴

The Action Plan mentioned above also sets out the necessary measures to develop the institutional framework for the implementation of the pre-accession structural programs – SPP (Special Preparatory Programme for the Structural Funds) and SAPARD (The Special Accession Programme for Agricultural and Rural Development).⁵

In the National Strategy for Economic Development of Romania in the medium term, elaborated in the same period, it is underlined that the rural development policy - focused “mainly on the financial support under the SAPARD Program of the European Union” aims at achieving the following objectives:

- modernization and articulation of the production and marketing sectors “in accordance with European Union quality standards and rules”;
- consolidation of the optimal agricultural holdings and “the diversification of complementary non-agricultural activities”;
- development of social-public infrastructure;
- advising agricultural producers.⁶

Although the Romanian authorities tried to reform the agricultural sector by implementing measures aimed at modernizing this branch so important for the economic development of our country, the results were not what was expected.

Romania’s accession to the European Union

The Accession Treaty of Romania to the European Union was signed on 25 April 2005 in Luxembourg. It stipulates the conditions of Romania’s accession to the EU and is the result of the negotiation process of the 31 chapters.⁷

The Accession Treaty stipulates the management of pre-accession assistance funds by the implementing agencies, assistance granted through the PHARE program, the PHARE-CBC (Cross-Border Cooperation) program, the ISPA program, the SAPARD program and the Facility for the transition period.⁸

In the Accession Treaty of Romania to the European Union there are summarized a number of transitional measures agreed in the negotiations. In chapter 7 - Agriculture we find the following transition periods stipulated:

³ *Ibidem*, p. 215.

⁴ Mazilu, D., *European Integration, Community Law and European Institutions*, Course, 4th Edition, Bucharest: Lumina Lex Publishing, 2006, p. 276.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 276-277.

⁷ http://www.mdpl.ro/_documente/negocieri/prezentare_tratat_aderare.pdf

⁸ *Ibidem*.

- 8 years until 31 December 2014 for the deforestation of 30.000 ha occupied by prohibited hybrids and replanting them with varieties of *Vitis vinifera*, with the recognition of replanting rights;
- 3 years until 31 December 2009 for the modernization and refurbishment of the cutting units and the alignment with the European requirements of the meat processing units (26 units);
- 3 years until 31 December 2009 for the modernization and refurbishment of the poultry processing units (2 units);
- 3 years until 31 December 2009 for the modernization and refurbishment of the milk processing units (28 units), as well for the organization of collection and standardization centers for milk;
- 3 years until 31 December 2009 for compliance with the Community requirements for dairy farms and the quality of the raw milk obtained;
- 3 years until 31 December 2009 for the use of plant protection products currently approved in Romania which are containing the following active substances included in Annex I to Directive 91/414/EC: sulfur, acetochlor, dimethoate and 2 years until 31 December 2008 for the active substance 2,4 D, copper (in the form of a sulfate, oxychloride or hydroxide).⁹

With Romania's accession to the European Union on 1 January 2007, for the Romanian village, as a whole, new gates were opened towards a natural development. These opportunities have not been capitalized to their full potential, much of the European funds destined for measures to support the development of Romanian rural space remain unaccounted for.¹⁰

The Romanian agriculture goes under the influence of the Common Agricultural Policy when Romania accedes to the European Union. Starting 1 January 2007, the Common Agricultural Policy is the one that draws the directions of development of Romanian agriculture.

Common Agricultural Policy (CAP)

The Common Agricultural Policy is provided for under the Treaty of Rome (1957), but its principles are set out later at the Stressa Agricultural Conference (1958), being implemented only from 1962 following the Brussels Agreement. Under this agreement, have been established the following: the basic elements of this policy, the objectives, the operating mechanisms, the products or groups of products subject to intervention, as well as the Community rules on production, prices, agricultural imports and exports.¹¹

The need to formulate a common agricultural policy, which would lead to the revival of production and the satisfaction of consumption, started from the very precarious situation of this sector.¹²

⁹ *Ibidem.*

¹⁰ Balog, I.M., Grăf, R., and Lumperdean, I., (Ed.), *Regional Economy: Rural and Urban Situations*, Cluj: Cluj University Press, 2011, p. 49.

¹¹ Popescu, G., *op.cit.*, p. 60.

¹² *Ibidem.*

Western Europe had not yet managed to overcome the economic delays and imbalances caused by the years of war despite the American support provided by the Marshall Plan and the efforts to coordinate development policies within the OECD. Even the most modern European agricultures (Great Britain, the Netherlands, Denmark) were still very little mechanized, used low amounts of fertilizer, and the role of plant protection products was ignored. Small, non-specialized family holdings could only provide subsistence income in a self-consumption farming, they could in no way provide food supplies and even less be competitive with US foreign competition.¹³

The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) wished to be, in the context presented above, the solution for achieving three categories of objectives:

- *economic* - promoting technical progress, optimal allocation of resources, increasing production;
- *social* - fair living for farmers, reasonable prices for consumers;
- *political* - guaranteeing food security.¹⁴

Three key principles have been applied to achieve the objectives of the Common Agricultural Policy:

- *the unity of the market* - the free movement of agricultural products between EU countries by eliminating customs duties, quantitative restrictions or other commercial policy measures having a similar effect;

- *Community preference* - eliminates the dependence of consumption on the external market. Its application was achieved through a variable levy system (variable duty) and import refunds. It ensures complete isolation of the internal market through absolute protection.

- *Financial solidarity* - managing and jointly supporting the related expenditure. In order to achieve this, in 1962 the Council established The European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF) to cover agricultural market expenditure and the pricing policy. The EAGGF also supports structural reforms, the achievement of social policy objectives and also supports the development of rural areas.¹⁵

Another fund that must be mentioned here is the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD), which focuses on financing sustainable rural development measures and ensures a unitary and coherent context of European support for local development strategies.¹⁶

The Common Agricultural Policy is composed of two pillars, namely:

- *common market organizations* - common measures to regulate the functioning of agricultural markets;
- *rural development* - structural measures aimed at the balanced development of rural areas.¹⁷

¹³ Pascariu, G.C., *European Policies*, Course Support, "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iasi, Center for European Studies, p. 12.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ *Ibidem.*, pp. 13-14.

¹⁶ *Ibidem.*, pp. 33-34.

¹⁷ <https://www.mae.ro/node/1625>

Romania's accession to the European Union in 2007 marked a new era in the agricultural economy and the rural development of our country, the Romanian state having to adapt quickly to integrate into the internal market of the European Union and to adopt the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP).¹⁸

Accession to the EU has been, and still is, the strongest pressure for the rapid reform of the Romanian agriculture and rural economy, given the need for successful integration into the European rural economy.¹⁹

The European agricultural model is based on a competitive, market-oriented sector that also carries out other public functions such as protecting the environment, offering more convenient residential settlements for the rural population, and integrating agriculture with the environment and forestry.²⁰

The Common Agricultural Policy moves its focus from the direct subsidies to agriculture (Pillar I of the CAP) towards the integrated development of the rural economy and the protection of the environment (Pillar II of the CAP).²¹

In June 2013, the EU institutions agreed on a new direction for the CAP. The aim of the reform is to help farmers provide a long-term quality food source, make the farming sector more sustainable and preserve the diversity of rural space, traditions and farming practices in Europe.²²

The new CAP focuses on:

- *ensuring food security* by promoting diversity and food quality, by supporting without exception the different types of farms and agricultural practices, by promoting research and new technologies;

- *protecting the environment* by supporting farmers to ensure biodiversity and environmental protection, by allocating funds for sustainable and environmentally friendly practices, and also for organic farming;

- *preserving the vitality of the rural areas* by stimulating employment, entrepreneurship and local food chains, supporting rural activities through funding.²³

Initially, the Common Agricultural Policy was implemented in Romania through the National Rural Development Program 2007 - 2013 (NRDP), and now the CAP is implemented through the National Rural Development Program 2014 - 2020. Through the NRDP are granted non-reimbursable funds from the Union European and Romanian Government for the economic and social development of the rural areas in Romania.²⁴

The NRDP - which is funded by the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development - supports the development of the rural space through the following objectives:

1. Restructuring and increasing the viability of agricultural holdings;

¹⁸ <http://www.madr.ro/agricultura.html>

¹⁹ *Ibidem.*

²⁰ *Ibidem.*

²¹ *Ibidem.*

²² http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/cap-for-our-roots/index_ro.htm

²³ http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/cap-for-our-roots/cap-reform/index_ro.htm

²⁴ <http://www.fonduri-ue.ro/pndr-2014>

2. Sustainable management of natural resources and combating climate change;
3. Diversification of economic activities, job creation, improvement of infrastructure and services for improving the quality of life in rural areas.²⁵

The amounts allocated to Romania through the NRDP 2014-2020

From the European Union documents, we find out that during the period 2014-2020 to Romania was allocated 9.5 billion Euro. This amount is allocated over a period of 7 years (2014-2020) and is composed of: 8.1 billion Euro from the EU budget, including 112.3 million Euro transferred from CAP direct payments, and 1.34 billion Euro summing up the national co-financing from Romania.²⁶

On 15 March 2018, the state of implementation of the NRDP 2014-2020 was as follows:

- 44,339 projects amounting to 7,004,792,890 Euro have been submitted;
- 23,846 projects worth 3,555,356,447 Euros were selected;
- the number of contracted projects (in progress and completed) being 22,206 in value of 2,940,673,274 Euro;
- 1,599 projects worth 197,930,951 Euro were completed;
- 74 projects were terminated, amounting to 23,750,171 Euros;
- the projects transferred under the transition procedure (the unfinished contracts for 2007-2013 that are paid from the funds for the programming period 2014-2020) are classified as follows:
 - contracted projects (in progress and finalized) - 22,636 projects amounting to 436,652,916 Euros;
 - completed projects - 18,069 projects worth 217,150,316 Euros;
 - terminated projects - 3,243 projects amounting to 22,634,505 Euros;
- the total amount of payments made is 2.251.490.507 Euro;
- the total amount of payments made for the transition procedure is 765,559,298 Euros.²⁷

Conclusions

If by 15 March 2018, the total amount of payments made (transition procedure payments included) is 3,017,049,805 Euros of the total amount of 9.5 billion Euros attributed to Romania for the 2014-2020 period, then we can conclude that attracting European funds for Romanian projects is a poor one.

To attract 6 billion Euro for agricultural projects over the next two years, by the end of 2020, will be very difficult and will require a titanic work. To achieve this goal, all parties involved must work together, from peasants and farmers submitting projects to the officials and state authorities with competence in this area.

²⁵ *Ibidem.*

²⁶ https://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/sites/agriculture/files/rural-development-2014-2020/country-files/ro/press-summary-26-05-2015_en.pdf

²⁷ <http://www.madr.ro/pndr-2014-2020/implementare-pndr-2014-2020/situatia-proiectelor-depuse-2014-2020.html>

References

- Balog, I.M., Gräf, R., and Lumperdean, I., (Ed.), (2011), *Regional Economy: Rural and Urban Situations*, Cluj: Cluj University Press.
- Mazilu, D., (2006), *European Integration, Community Law and European Institutions*, Course, 4th Edition, Bucharest: Lumina Lex Publishing.
- Pascariu, G.C., *European Policies*, Course Support, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iasi, Center for European Studies.
- Popescu, G., (1999), *Agricultural policies. European Agreements*, Bucharest: Economic Publishing House.
- http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/cap-for-our-roots/index_ro.htm
- http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/cap-for-our-roots/cap-reform/index_ro.htm
- https://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/sites/agriculture/files/rural-development-2014-2020/country-files/ro/press-summary-26-05-2015_en.pdf
- <http://www.fonduri-ue.ro/pndr-2014>
- <http://www.madr.ro/agricultura.html>
- <http://www.madr.ro/pndr-2014-2020/implementare-pndr-2014-2020/situatia-proiectelor-depuse-2014-2020.html>
- <https://www.mae.ro/node/1625>
- http://www.mdlpl.ro/_documente/negocieri/prezentare_tratat_aderare.pdf

TO WORK OR NOT TO WORK? THE DILEMMA OF JAPANESE WOMEN

Niculina Nae*

nae@nucba.ac.jp

Abstract: *The present paper discusses the concept of Japanese womenomics and the dilemma Japanese women are facing regarding participation in the workforce. The author argues that, while the number of working women is undoubtedly greater now than ever before, vertical segregation and conservative attitudes of employers, as well as obsolete tax legislation aimed at keeping women out of regular employment have resulted in large numbers of women staying out of the labor force. The article presents the two options Japanese women have: to work, most often in non-regular jobs, with no benefits or prospects of advancement, or to stay away from work (temporarily or permanently) and become full time wives and mothers. The author questions the possibility that Abe's ambitious targets be attained without dismantling the obsolete system of gendered employment and in the absence of measures that genuinely protect and encourage a wider participation of women to the economic revival of the country.*

Keywords: *Japan, women, employment, womenomics*

1. Background

A male dominated society, in which the man is regarded as the sole bread winner of the family, pre-Meiji Japan imposed a submissive role to its women, who, according to the Confucian values, were expected to obey three men throughout their lives: the father in their youth, the husband after marriage, and the son in old age.¹ Women had no right to administer or use the family fortune, or the assets they brought with them upon marriage, as the man was legally considered the head of the household and the sole entitled to manage, use and retain the profits which resulted from the wife's property.² The role of women as "domestic appendixes" was also reflected in their education. After 1900, the compulsory education curriculum was similar for boys and girls through the four or six years of schooling. Nevertheless, after that their career paths would diverge significantly. Boys continued on to a five-year middle school or vocational school, whereas girls' subsequent education over the following four to five years (if any at all) had the sole purpose to instruct them in "home economics", that is, in "how to create a happy home life".³ Very few women went to university, as it was commonly believed that too much education was unnecessary for a woman, whose mission should be to become "a good wife and wise mother". A woman was expected to help her husband, who "goes outside to work to earn his living"... "for the common interests of the house, ... by sympathy and encouragement, by

* **Professor, Nagoya University of Commerce and Business, Aichi, Japan.**

¹ Robert T. Smith, "Gender inequality in contemporary Japan", *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 13(1), (1987), p. 6.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 7, footnote 12.

relieving him of anxieties at home, managing household affairs, looking after the household economy, and, above all, tending the old people and bringing up the children in a fit and proper manner.”⁴

In pre-war Japan, the status of women changed somewhat, to the effect that a large number of young women were employed in factories, mostly in textile and light industries, and contributed to the country’s economic growth.⁵ However, their status did not change very much. Although more women worked outside the household, the jobs were poorly paid, and were often temporary, “dead-end jobs”.⁶ As Smith points out, even to the present day, although women may enter the workforce in greater numbers than before, most of them are at best able to hold a “job”, but very few of them can have a “career”.⁷ This is because female employment has long been regarded as secondary to her household duties. If one can speak of a real career in case of women, that is “full time housewife” (*sengyo shufu*). Even at present, when most young women enjoy equal educational opportunities with men, society expects women to adhere to the traditional view that women belong in the household. As Masu Okamura notes, old habits die hard:

As long as society continues in the traditional belief that girls must sooner or later marry, leave their families and be absorbed into their husband’s family, become dependent on him, and find their happiness in being married to a man of high social and economic standing – as long as these conventional beliefs remain prevalent, so will the current system of educating women persist.⁸

Full time motherhood was, and still is, the social norm. Motherhood in particular has been considered something that cannot be accomplished on a part time basis. Women are expected to put all their energy in child rearing and education and are priding themselves in their special relationship with their offspring, which is considered to be “their greatest satisfaction, their purpose in life (*ikigai*)”.⁹

2. Japanese “womenomics” and its implications for the future of female employment

In 2013 Japanese Prime Minister Shinzou Abe announced an ambitious plan aimed at reviving the stagnating economy of the country. The three arrows of the plan, also known as Abenomics, are “(1) fiscal stimulus, (2) monetary easing, and (3) structural reform.”¹⁰ The structural reform includes “womenomics”, a policy whose goal is to solve the demographic problem by engaging more women in the workforce, and especially in leadership positions. Abe promised to build “a society

⁴ Dairoku Kikuchi, *Japanese Education* (London: John Murray, 1909), p. 266, cited in Smith, *Gender Inequality in Contemporary Japan*, p. 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Smith, p. 9.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 9.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 14.

⁸ Masu Okamura, *Changing Japan: Women’s Status* (Tokyo: International Society for Educational Information, 1973), pp. 81-82, cited in Smith, p. 12.

⁹ S. Vogel, and S. Vogel, *The Japanese Family in Transition: From the Professional Housewife Ideal to the Dilemmas of Choice*. Rowman & Littlefield Pub. Inc. 2013, p. 13.

¹⁰ Helen Macnaughtan, *Womenomics for Japan: is the Abe policy for gendered employment viable in an era of precarity?* *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 13(1), 2015, p. 1.

in which women can shine” (josei ga kagayaku shakai). To this end, the Abe Cabinet set a number of targets to be reached by the year 2020. Among these targets are increasing female participation in leadership positions to 30 percent, increasing women’s workforce participation to 73 percent, raising the percentage of women who return to work after childbirth to 55 percent, eliminating waiting lists for childcare facilities (by 2017), and increasing the percentage of men who take paternity leave to 13 percent. The interest in utilizing the latent potential of Japanese working age female population is not new. Dalton points at several initiatives dating back in the 1990s and during former Prime Minister Koizumi’s time, such as the Basic Law for a Gender Equal Society (1999), which established target numbers of women in leadership positions.¹¹ Moreover, she adds, the term “womenomics”, which has become a sort of standard bearer for Abe’s “gender revolution” was first discussed in 1999 by Kathy Matsui, chief Japan strategist for Goldman Sachs, who, in a report titled *Womenomics: Buy the Female Economy*, suggested that the currently underutilized female potential would greatly benefit the country’s economy.¹² The idea that women could save the country is not new either. According to Macnaughtan, in the 1960, Japanese women were encouraged to enter the labor force in great numbers, as they were “perceived as essential to meet increased demand for labor under high levels of economic growth”.¹³ Then, too, the reluctance to rely on immigrant workers had spurred the government to welcome women in the workforce. History repeats itself now, when Abe is trying once again to increase the working population without falling back on immigration, against the backdrop of an aging society which sees a rapid decline of fertility rates and therefore of working age population. Once again women are called upon to fill the gaps in the workforce and, in a traditional vein, to support the male workers in permanent employment.¹⁴ However, it is highly unlikely that the targets set by the Abe Cabinet will be achieved without any fundamental changes in the status quo of gendered employment and employers’ discriminatory practices.

3. Women in the workforce: why work?

At present more than half of Japan’s female working age population is employed. Equal health and education opportunities as well as high college attainment rate of Japanese women aged 25-54 years old are factors which could spell success for business and economy. Kathy Matsui argues that “[e]ducated women contribute to the quality, size, and productivity of workforces. They can get better paying jobs, allowing them to provide daily necessities, health care, and education to support the family. Our research shows that investments in female education can yield a ‘growth premium’ in GDP trends and that narrowing the gender gap boosts per capita income.”¹⁵

¹¹ Emma Dalton, Womenomics, ‘equality’ and Abe’s neo-liberal strategy to make Japanese women shine, *Social Science Japan Journal* 20(1), 2017, p. 96-8.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 96.

¹³ Macnaughtan 2015, p. 13.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Matsui estimates that narrowing the gender gap by attracting more women in employment would help solving the problem of workforce shortage due to aging population and demographic decline and would boost the country's GDP by about 13 percent.¹⁶

A 2016 OECD statistics reveals that 66 percent of the Japanese women of working age were in employment, compared with 59.6 percent in 2000.^{17,18} Female labor force has been steadily growing since the 1980s. Some theorists believe that the implementation of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law in 1986 was a turning point which spurred the growth of female workforce. However, skeptics consider that there is no causality between the two, as many companies have since used strategies to bypass the law and continue their discriminatory practices.¹⁹

While the figures indicate certain progress, Japan is far from accomplishing gender parity in many respects. According to the 2017 Global Gender Gap Report, Japan ranks 114th out of 144 countries in terms of gender disparities, on par with countries like Guinea and Ethiopia. Despite equal access of women to healthcare, education and technology, Japanese female population earns 71 percent of men's average pay, it holds 15 percent of ministerial posts, has only 9 percent representation in parliament, and 12 of legislators, senior officials and managers are women.^{20,21}

A labor force survey conducted in 2016 by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications reveals the gender gap in employment. Figure 1 below shows that in contrast with men, most of whom are employed in regular (full time) jobs, with a good salary, career advancement prospects and job security, the greatest portion of working women is involved in non-regular (part time, dispatch, temporary) employment, with low wages, no promotion, no training and no job security. Moreover, it is evident that over the past three decades the proportion of female staff in regular employment decreased from 67.9 percent in 1985 to 44.1 percent in 2016, while more than half of the working women were employed in part time²² or temporary jobs in 2016.²³ It appears that, although

¹⁶ Kathy Matsui et al., "Womenomics 4.0: Time to Walk the Talk" Japan: Portfolio Strategy, Goldman Sachs, May 30, 2014. Accessed July 31, 2017. <http://www.goldmansachs.com/our-thinking/outlook/womenomics4-folder/womenomics4-time-to-walk-the-talk.pdf>

¹⁷ Elena Holodny, "This might be the 'silver lining' for Japan", Business Insider Apr. 9, 2016. Accessed at 12 Feb. 2017. <http://www.businessinsider.com/japanese-women-entering-workforce-2016-4>

¹⁸ "Global Employment Trends for Women 2012," International Labor Organization (December 11, 2012).

¹⁹ Charles Weathers, Equal opportunity for Japanese women – what progress? *The Asia Pacific Journal*, 3(10), 2012, <https://apjif.org/-Charles-Weathers/2012/article.html> [Accessed March 9, 2018].

²⁰ World Economic Forum: The Global Gender Gap Report 2017. Accessed Nov. 15, 2017. http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2017.pdf

²¹ Joseph Quinlan, & Jackie Vander Brug, *Gender Lens Investing: Uncovering Opportunities for Growth, Returns, and Impact*, Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2017, p.30.

²² The term "part time" (*paato* in Japanese) is not so much about the length of working time, but on the status of the employee within the company (Gottfried & O'Reilly, Reregulating breadwinner models in socially conservative welfare systems: Comparing Germany and Japan).

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

more women work, the quality of their employment is not improving, on the contrary, it keeps deteriorating gradually, with negative effects on their welfare.

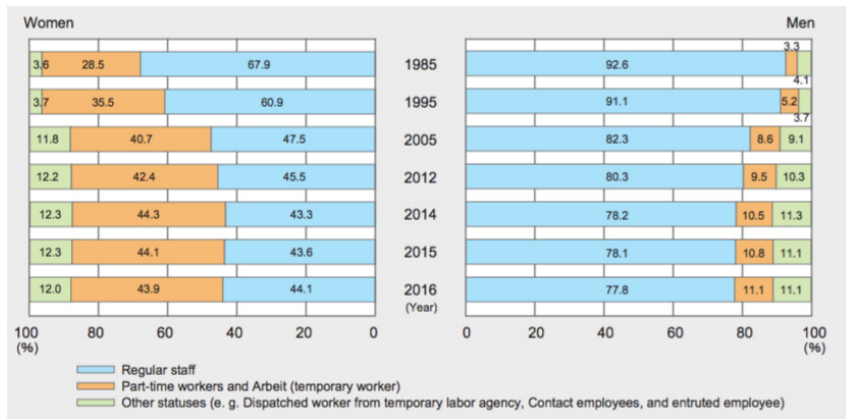


Figure 1. Employee composition ratio by employment status excluding company executives. Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications.

The figure also reveals two worrying trends in Japanese employment. First, as the ratio of full time male employees continues to decline, that of females in full time employment does not increase either, on the contrary, it also decreased considerably in 2015 and 2016 compared with 1985. This may be explained by the increased job insecurity in the years after the burst of the economic bubble, but also by the rapid decline in the number of working population (aged 15-64), which is expected to decrease by 2065 by 40 percent from 2015 levels.²⁴

Women have jobs, men have careers – vertical segregation in the workplace

Why do most women, many of whom are college educated, choose non-regular employment? First, as Nemoto notes, against the background of deregulation and liberalization of the employment system, the part time/temporary employment system has acted like a buffer protecting the welfare of full time male workers, and reinforcing the male as breadwinner/ female as caregiver model.²⁵ In exchange for tax deductions and pension benefits, many women have been encouraged to work part time instead of full time, a relatively flexible arrangement which allows them to earn some money and fulfill their household duties.²⁶ Nevertheless, the wife’s earnings, not exceeding a certain threshold of 103 million yen, are considered at the best supplementary to the budget of the household, but are by no means sufficient to support the family in

²⁴ Nikkei Asian Review, April 11, 2017.

²⁵ Kumiko Nemoto, “When culture resists progress: masculine organizational culture and its impacts on the vertical segregation of women in Japanese companies”, *Work, Employment and Society*, 27(1) 2013, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017012460324> p. 154.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

the absence of the main income.²⁷ This places the wife in a precarious position of inferiority and permanent dependence to the main breadwinner.

Second, although the numbers of college educated and full time working females have substantially increased, the “gender revolution” is yet to happen due to existing gender discriminatory practices in the workplace. Most women face what Nemoto and others call “vertical segregation” – that is, the concentration of female workers in clerical and low level management jobs, and one of the main causes of corporate gender inequality.²⁸ The dual track employment system reflects the fundamental distinction between “job” and “career”. Women have jobs, men have careers. Despite receiving similar education in universities, men are chosen for career track positions, whereas women are hired in clerical jobs in most of the cases.²⁹ Clerical jobs have little responsibility, and require no transfers, but on the downside, the wages are lower and the career progression opportunities are also very limited.³⁰ Cooke explains that the employers’ discriminatory practice is motivated by the fact that they are reluctant to invest money, time, and resources in training women, who are likely to marry and quit their jobs after a few years.³¹ Smith summarizes below employers’ rationale for the discriminatory treatment of female workers:

1. Women are inferior to men in intelligence, strength, and commitment to work.
2. Married women are unable to devote their full energy to work as they need to carry the burden of housework.
3. Women will quit their jobs after marriage or childbirth, so investing in their training is a waste.
4. College graduates will soon quit to get married, so they are the worst risk.
5. Because of their lack of training, women cannot take up more demanding tasks, so they cannot get pay increases.³²

Women are often assigned extra secretarial jobs, such as making copies, serving tea and answering the phone, and are often typecast as seductresses, pets, or iron maidens.³³ Senior male workers expect even college educated women to behave in a “feminine” way, to be obedient listeners or even sex objects.³⁴ In addition to this, the age limit and marital status play an important part. Women are pressured to marry when they reach a certain age, or to quit their jobs when they get married or become pregnant. In recent years, the term *matahara* (short for maternity harassment) has often made the news headlines as more women are suing employers or companies which either harassed them into quitting their jobs

²⁷ Fang Lee Cooke, “Women's participation in employment in Asia: a comparative analysis of China, India, Japan and South Korea”, *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 21:12, 2010, 2249-2270, DOI: 10.1080/09585192.2010.509627, p. 2258.

²⁸ Nemoto 2013, p. 155.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

³⁰ Cooke, p. 2258.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2260.

³² Smith, p. 16.

³³ Nemoto 2013, p. 161.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

or terminated their contracts after they became pregnant. As Cooke points out, pregnant women, who have special needs compared to ordinary employees, are regarded as “less desirable employees” by employers, and they are in many cases bullied into resigning from their jobs.³⁵

The third issue is related to career break. Typically, most Japanese women enter employment in their early twenties after graduating from secondary or tertiary education and work until around early thirties, when they quit their job to get married or have their first child. Then, for about ten years they devote themselves to their families and children. Some of them reenter the workforce around the age of 40, after their children are old enough to take care of themselves. As can be seen in Figure 2 below, unlike Japan, where the female employment pattern has the shape of a letter M, in other developed countries like Sweden, France, Germany, and the U.S., the phenomenon of career break is almost non-existent.

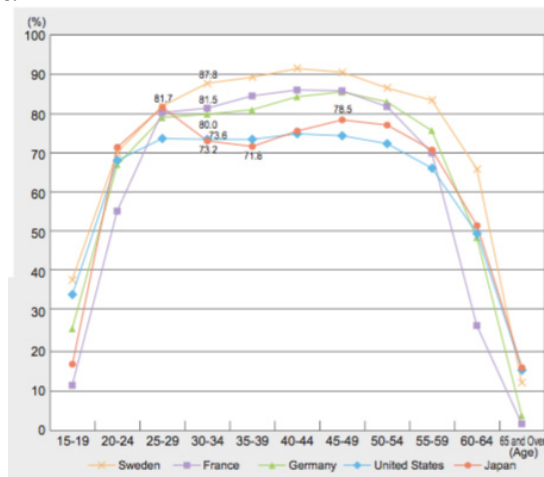


Figure 2. Female labor force participation rate by age group.
Sources: “Labor Force Survey 2016” Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, “LABORSTA”, “ILOSTAT”, International Labor Organization (2014).

However, this arrangement is not without problems. Few of those who decide to return can take back their previous jobs. Hewlett stresses that only 43 percent of these women, whom she calls “on-rampers”, manage to find full time employment, albeit in most of the cases with lower salary, fewer responsibilities and decreased promotional prospects.³⁶ All the others have to make do with part time or other temporary forms of employment.

A new trend: choosing work over marriage and childbirth

In recent years, the number of women who are delaying marriage and birth is increasing as more women choose to pursue a career and continue working well

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2260.

³⁶ Sylvia Ann Hewlett, Japan working-woman problem. *Time*, Dec. 11, 2011, <http://ideas.time.com/2011/12/11/japans-working-woman-problem/>. [Accessed March 9, 2018].

into their thirties.³⁷ Kingston points out that half of the women remain single at the age of 30.³⁸

The concept of “career woman” bears negative connotations in Japanese corporate culture, as it tends to be associated with masculine attributes of competitiveness, toughness and ruthlessness. In the absence of female role models, Japanese career women tend to emulate these masculine attributes in order to fit it.³⁹ From a cultural viewpoint, the image of a career woman is associated with spinsterhood and childlessness, since it is assumed that holding a career is an extremely difficult and time-consuming endeavor which leaves the woman no time and energy for family duties. During the 1990s, such women were criticized for their selfish and lavish lifestyles, and for failing to fulfill their life mission of becoming wives and mothers.⁴⁰

Nonetheless, as more companies are compelled to hire more women in career track jobs at least for the sake of complying with Prime Minister Abe’s policy of increasing female workforce participation, more women choose work over the traditional path of good wife, wise mother. Some of the women, who consider that their work is a means of self-actualization⁴¹, shun the idea of marriage considering that it would require them to renounce their emotional and financial autonomy, and because they have higher expectations vis-à-vis a prospective partner.⁴² In addition, these women tend to break with a long tradition of female subservience, and instead regard marriage as partnership, in which both spouses share housework and childrearing tasks. They avoid repeating the traditional model of family, in which the woman takes the brunt of housework and child rearing while the man is absent most of the time and unable to care for himself.^{43,44} While the tendency to marry late or not marry at all spells disaster for Japan’s already dismal birth rate, it may be a modality for Japanese women to assert themselves and find their own identity, and a form of protest against the misogynistic stereotype of women as “baby making machines”.⁴⁵

³⁷ L. Schoppa, *Race for the Exits: The Unraveling of Japan’s System of Social Protection*. 2006, Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press.

³⁸ Jeff Kingston, *Japan’s Quiet Transformation; Tokuhiro, Marriage in Contemporary Japan*. London: Routledge Courzon, 2006.

³⁹ S. Liff and K. Ward, (2001), Distorted views through the glass ceiling: the construction of women’s understandings of promotion and senior management positions. *Gender, Work and Organization* 8(1): 19–36, 2001, 25-7.

⁴⁰ Vincent Mirza, Young women and social change in Japan: Family and marriage in a time of upheaval. *Japanese Studies*, 2016, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10371397.2016.1143331>, p. 7

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴² Nemoto 2008, 226-234.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 234.

⁴⁴ Mirza, p.10.

⁴⁵ On January 27, 2007, Hakuo Yanagisawa, the then health minister of Japan addressed the low birth rate saying, “Because the number of birth-giving machines and devices is fixed, all we can ask for is for them to do their best per head.” (Source: *Time*, Feb. 05, 2007) http://business.time.com/2007/02/05/are_women_babymaking_machines/ [Accessed March 9, 2018].

4. Women out of workforce – reasons and implications

In 2014 The Economist wrote that 70 percent of Japanese women stop working for a decade or more after giving birth to the first child, compared with only 30 percent in the United States.⁴⁶ A Meiji Yasuda Institute of Life and Wellness poll conducted in 2016 revealed that a considerable number of women in their twenties (73.1 percent) and half of women in their thirties dropped out of employment after childbirth.⁴⁷ Worse yet, a lot of these women never return in employment.⁴⁸ Moreover, another survey conducted by the same organization in 2016 found that women continue to have rather conservative views regarding gendered employment, with 43 percent of the female being in favor of women as full time housewives.⁴⁹

At present, more than 70 percent of the college educated women drop out of workforce.⁵⁰ Citing data from the Center for Work-Life Policy, Hewlett notes that highly educated Japanese women are more likely to quit their jobs due to lack of professional satisfaction or because they are “pushed off the career track by unsupportive work environments and managers who do not value them.”⁵¹ Hewlett et al. point out that there are two kinds of factors which cause highly educated women to become “off-ramped”, that is, drop out of employment. These are “pull factors”, which refer to the influence of family, community, and society, and “push factors”, which are related to working environment and conditions.⁵² Discussing similar situations in Britain and Japan, Ikeda refers to the concept of preference, which, he says, “is consistent with the family orientation”.⁵³ He also argues that women who opt for or against reentering employment might do so due to internal factors such as their mothers’ behavior and future prospects, but, on the other hand, their choice is nonetheless conditioned by external factors like the structure of the labor market and family background.⁵⁴ He points out those women’s personal choices are based not only on the maternal model, but also on the work-life balance options offered by the employers. In large companies, the work-life balance system, including maternity leave, is more or less established and regulated; however, small and medium-sized companies often frown upon, or

⁴⁶ Holding Back Half the Nation, *The Economist*, Mar. 29th 2014. <https://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21599763-womens-lowly-status-japanese-workplace-has-barely-improved-decades-and-country> [Accessed March 9, 2018].

⁴⁷ Meiji Yasuda Institute for Life and Wellness. *Survey Regarding Attitudes Towards Child Birth and Child Rearing Among People Aged Between 20-40. Attitudes Towards Marriage and Child Birth (8th Survey)* 2014. http://www.myilw.co.jp/life/enquete/o8_marriage_birth.html [Accessed 18 Jun. 2015].

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Meiji Yasuda Institute for Life and Wellness. *Survey Regarding Attitudes Towards Marriage and Child Birth (7th Survey)* 2014. http://www.myilw.co.jp/life/enquete/pdf/22_01.pdf [Accessed 19 Jun. 2015].

⁵⁰ Hewlett, 2011.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Sylvia Ann Hewlett, Laura Sherbin, Catherine Fredman, Claire Ho, and Karen Sumberg. *Off-ramps and on-ramps Japan: Keeping talented women on the road to success*. New York: Center for Work-Life Policy, 2011.

⁵³ Shingou Ikeda, The factors of Japanese female workers’ job quitting for childbirth/childrearing. *The XVIII ISA World Congress of Sociology*, Yokohama, Japan, 2014, p. 4.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

provide little information regarding women's rights, leaving them with no alternative but to drop out of employment altogether.⁵⁵

The long hiatus women take for child care is another impending factor. As mentioned earlier, most women used to quit their jobs around the age of 30, and returned in employment about ten years later. However, this is not as easy as might be expected, even for college educated women with working experience. Matsui stresses that “[m]ost human resources departments reject women when they have a ten-year blank in their curriculum. For them, that suggests that you must have forgotten everything you ever learned and therefore are not suitable for hiring.”⁵⁶

The obsolete tax break system introduced in 1961 is a major hurdle for women's return to regular employment. The breadwinner (usually the male spouse) benefits from tax deductions of 380,000 yen if their spouses stay at home or earn a limited income (up to 1.03 million yen)⁵⁷. The system, thought as a means to reconcile the need for cheap, “no strings attached” labor with the traditional gender division of work, is a strong disincentive for those women who want to re-enter regular employment. Yet, as in 2015 the number of dual income families (11.14 million) surpassed the number of single income households (6.87 million), the long overdue abolition of the spousal tax deduction system is a measure expected if not to solve the female employment problem, at least to encourage more women to reenter the workforce.⁵⁸

Lack of childcare facilities is another serious issue which continues to hinder women's attempts to return to work. Japan Today reports that, as of April 2017, over 47,700 children were waitlisted for daycare centers.⁵⁹ In February 2016, an angry blogpost written by a desperate mother who could not work because her child had failed to get a spot in a daycare center, caught the attention of the government and spurred other parents in a similar situation to protest the chronic lack of childcare facilities.⁶⁰ The blogpost, titled “*Hoikuen Ochita. Nihon Shine!!!*” (Didn't get a Slot in Day Care. Drop Dead, Japan!!!), prompted the government to open 200,000 additional slots over the following two years. However, the problem is far from being solved yet. As of February 2018, 35,000 children up to the age of 2 years old were rejected in the process of screening for day care centers.⁶¹ In the absence of extended family to care for the young

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵⁶ Daan Bauwens, Japan values women less – as it needs them more, *Inter Press Service*, Jan. 31, 2013.

⁵⁷ Changing the spousal tax break, *The Japan Times*, Sep. 24, 2016, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2016/09/24/editorials/changing-spousal-tax-break/> [Accessed March 9, 2018].

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Over 47,700 children waitlisted for daycare centers nationwide, *Japan Today*, Apr. 4, 2017, <https://japantoday.com/category/national/over-47700-children-wait-listed-for-daycare-centers-nationwide> [Accessed March 9, 2018].

⁶⁰ Tomohiro Osaki, Angry blog post sparks movement for improved day care, *The Japan Times*, Mar. 7, 2016, https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/03/07/national/angry-blog-post-sparks-movement-for-improved-day-care/#.WqKB7WU_XeQ [Accessed March 9, 2018].

⁶¹ Waiting lists persist at Japan's municipal day care centers, *The Japan Times*, Feb. 27, 2018, https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2018/02/27/national/social-issues/waiting-lists-persist-japans-municipal-day-care-facilities/#.WqKIbmU_XeQ [Accessed March 9, 2018].

children while mothers are at work, women have little choice but to give up working and stay at home with their children.

Although many of the studies concerning Japanese society and gender gap have focused on the situation of women who are willing (or constrained by circumstances) to work, some women stay out of employment by choice. These women, some of whom are generally highly educated and qualified women, are married to men whose financial situation allows to keep them out of work. They enjoy the good life suggestively called *sanshoku hirune tsuki* (three meals and a nap), spending their time pursuing hobbies, shopping and dining at expensive restaurants. An opinion poll conducted by Meiji Yasuda Institute for Life and Wellness in 2011 regarding female happiness revealed that 58 percent of the full time housewives declared themselves happy compared to 40.3 percent full time working women and 38.5 percent of women in part time or other forms of non-regular employment.⁶² Chiavacci and Hommerich argue that, in fact, closing the gender gap would generate more inequalities in income distribution among Japanese households. They point out that highly educated women who marry wealthy husbands can afford not to work and in general become full time wives and mothers. On the other hand, women with lower qualifications marry less wealthy husbands and thus have to work to supplement the spouse's income.⁶³ At any rate, although the Japanese fulltime housewives enjoy more respect compared to their counterparts in other countries, their number is expected to decline in the coming years, as the increased costs of living might not be sufficient for a single income.⁶⁴

5. Will womenomics succeed?

Since the debut of Abe's womenomics in 2013, some progress has undoubtedly been made. Nevertheless, it has been painstakingly slow, and most of the ambitious targets have yet to be achieved. Thus, the target of having 30 percent of the leadership positions occupied by women by 2020 was lowered to 7 percent for national public servants and 15 percent for local governments and private sector. As of 2017, however, 13 percent of managerial positions were occupied by women, with only 3.4 percent in listed companies, compared to 30 percent in France and 17 percent in the US.

As for the second target, increasing women's labor participation to 73 percent, this has yet to materialize, despite the positive strides in this respect. It is expected that the government continue its efforts to attract women in employment, but the main issue is whether women will find these efforts convincing enough or not.

⁶² Meiji Yasuda Institute for Life and Wellness. *Survey Regarding Female Happiness*. http://www.myilw.co.jp/research/report/pdf/myilw_report_2011_01.pdf [Accessed March 9, 2018].

⁶³ David Chiavacci and Carola Hommerich, Reassembling the pieces: The big picture of inequality in Japan, In *Social Inequality in Post-Growth Japan* (David Chiavacci and Carola Hommerich eds.), New York: Routledge, 2017, pp. 288-9.

⁶⁴ Evie Nyan, Do young Japanese women want to be housewives? *Japan Today*, Nov. 30 2016, <https://japantoday.com/category/features/lifestyle/do-young-japanese-women-want-to-be-housewives> [Accessed March 9, 2018].

Regarding eliminating waitlists for daycare centers by 2017, this target has not been attained yet either. As of 2017, there were 47,700 waitlisted children nationwide, which appears that a lot more effort and financial resources must be poured into solving this crucial issue.

Finally, as far as increasing the number of male employees who take paternity leave to 16 percent, as of 2016 only 3 percent of the men took paternity leave. As at the moment Japan is struggling with other issues related to employment, such as increasing work efficiency and improving the work life balance by encouraging men to spend less time at work, the paternity leave measure might provide an added incentive for men to take time off work.

Will womenomics turn out to be a success? Nobody knows. Skeptics think that the sole reason for the government's enthusiasm towards gender equality is that "gender equality is good for business"⁶⁵. However, Matsui tends to be more optimistic regarding the long term benefits of gender equality policies and argues that "Japan takes a long time to decide to change, but given [the] homogenous nature of this society, once change starts, my advice is: don't blink."⁶⁶

References

Catalyst, (2012), *Women in the labour force in Japan*. Available at <http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/women-labour-force-japan>. [Accessed 22 Apr. 2014].

Chiavacci, D. and Hommerich, C., (2017), Reassembling the pieces: The big picture of inequality in Japan, In *Social Inequality in Post-Growth Japan* (David Chiavacci and Carola Hommerich eds.), New York: Routledge, 288-300.

Cooke, F.L., (2010), Women's participation in employment in Asia: a comparative analysis of China, India, Japan and South Korea. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 21(12), 2249-2270, DOI: 10.1080/09585192.2010.509627.

Dalton, E., (2017), Womenomics, 'equality' and Abe's neo-liberal strategy to make Japanese women shine, *Social Science Japan Journal* 20(1), 95-105, doi: 10.1093/ssjj/jyw043.

Gottfried, H. and O'Reilly, J., (2002), Reregulating breadwinner models in socially conservative welfare systems: Comparing Germany and Japan. *Social Politics*, Spring 2002, Oxford University Press, 29-59.

Hewlett, S.A., (2011), Japan working-woman problem. *Time*, Dec. 11, 2011, <http://ideas.time.com/2011/12/11/japans-working-woman-problem/>. [Accessed March 9, 2018].

Hewlett, S.A., Sherbin, L., Fredman, C., Ho, C., and Sumberg, K., (2011), *Off-ramps and on-ramps Japan: Keeping talented women on the road to success*. New York: Center for Work-Life Policy.

⁶⁵ Mari Osawa, 'Government Approaches to Gender Equality in the mid-1990s'. *Social Science Japan Journal* 3(1): 3-19, 2000, cited in Dalton, 2017 p.97.

⁶⁶ Kristal Hartig, How far will womenomics go in Japan? *The Interpreter*, 8 March 2017, <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/how-far-will-womenomics-go-japan>[Accessed March 9, 2018].

Holodny, E., (2016), This Might be the ‘Silver Lining’ for Japan. *Business Insider*, Apr. 9, 2016. Available at <http://www.businessinsider.com/japanese-women-entering-workforce-2016-4> [Accessed 12 Feb. 2017].

Ikeda, S., (2014), The factors of Japanese female workers’ job quitting for childbirth/childrearing. *The XVIII ISA World Congress of Sociology*, Yokohama, Japan, 2014.

Kingston, J., (2006), *Japan’s Quiet Transformation; Tokuhiko, Marriage in Contemporary Japan*. London: Routledge Courzon.

Liff S and Ward K., (2001), Distorted views through the glass ceiling: the construction of women’s understandings of promotion and senior management positions. *Gender, Work and Organization* 8(1): 19–36.

Matsui, K., Suzuki, H., Tatebe, K., and Akiba, T., (2014), Womenomics 4.0: Time to walk the talk. Japan: Portfolio strategy, Goldman Sachs, May 30, 2014. Available at <http://www.goldmansachs.com/our-thinking/outlook/womenomics4-folder/womenomics4-time-to-walk-the-talk.pdf> [Accessed July 31, 2017].

Macnaughtan, H., (2015), Womenomics for Japan: is the Abe policy for gendered employment viable in an era of precarity? *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 13(1), 2015, 1-19.

Nemoto, K., (2008), Postponed marriage: Exploring women’s views of matrimony and work in Japan. *Gender & Society*, 22(2), 2008, 219-237. DOI: 10.1177/0891243208315868.

Nemoto, K., (2013), When culture resists progress: masculine organizational culture and its impacts on the vertical segregation of women in Japanese companies. *Work, Employment and Society*, 27(1) 153-169 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017012460324>.

Pesek, W., (2014), *Japanization: What the World can Learn from Japan’s Lost Decades*. Singapore: John Wiley & Sons.

Quinlan, J. and VanderBrug, J., (2017), *Gender Lens Investing: Uncovering Opportunities for Growth, Returns, and Impact*. Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.

Schoppa, L., (2006), *Race for the Exits: The Unraveling of Japan’s System of Social Protection*. Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press.

Smith, R.J., (1987), Gender inequality in contemporary Japan. *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 13(1), 1-25.

Vogel, S. and Vogel, S., (2013), *The Japanese Family in Transition: From the Professional Housewife Ideal to the Dilemmas of Choice*. Rowman & Littlefield Pub. Inc.

Weathers, C., (2012), Equal opportunity for Japanese women – what progress? *The Asia Pacific Journal*, 3(10), <https://apjif.org/-Charles-Weathers/2012/article.html> [Accessed March 9, 2018].

World Economic Forum: The Global Gender Gap Report 2017. Available at http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2017.pdf [Accessed Nov. 15, 2017].

FROM COMMUNITY TO SOCIETY AND THE FUNDAMENTS OF COOPERATION

Lucia Ovidia Vreja*

lucia.vreja@man.ase.ro

Abstract: *The analysis of the transition from community (Gemeinschaft) to society (Gesellschaft) and from mechanical solidarity, based on a similarity of goals, to organic solidarity, based on an advanced specialization and diversification of goals and division of labour, constitute an important step in identifying and understanding the factors that led to social change. Although various studies focus on a wide variety of sources of social change, among which the cultural, environmental and political factors are frequently mentioned, the most important determinants of human evolution are the so-called “three C’s”, namely cognition, culture and cooperation. Together, the three C’s facilitated the “great leap forward”, meaning the transition from small communities of the past to vast societies of today, although the really fundamental source of social change was cooperation. Cooperation, understood as the capacity of human beings to solve the problems of survival and reproduction by sharing both the costs and benefits of working together for achieving common goals, made possible both the increase of cognitive competences and emergence of a highly complex culture or survival tool kit.*

Keywords: *community, society, mechanic solidarity, organic solidarity, cognition, culture, cooperation, ultrasociality.*

Community and society

The concept of community is applied in social sciences to define a wide range of social phenomena, although two separate and distinct meanings have been most extensively used by social scientists¹.

A first meaning of “community” is the **spatial** one, referring to a common territory or a geographical space, an environment in which people live and carry on their activities of everyday life. The second meaning of the concept is the **relational** one, referring to the quality or the type of human relations that naturally bind people together and spontaneously lead to the formation of a social group.

Numerous sociological studies regarding community focus on either one of these main meanings or genuinely combine both of them, although others use completely new definitions, depending on their research objectives². In spite of a large interest in community studies all over the world, after more than two centuries of research no generally accepted theory of community was developed, not even a satisfactory common definition³. Given this multitude of definitions of

* Associate Professor, PhD., University of Economic Studies, Bucharest, Romania

¹ J. Gusfield, *Community: A Critical Response*, New York: Harper & Row, 1975, pp. xv-xvi.

² W.R. Goe, S. Noonan, “The Sociology of Community”, pp. 455-464, in C.D. Bryant, D.L. Peck (Eds.), *21st Century Sociology: A Reference Handbook*, Vol. 1, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 2007.

³ C. Bell, H. Newby (Eds.), *The Sociology of Community. A Selection of Readings*, New York: Frank Cass and Co. LTD, 2012, p. xliii.

community and the diverse objectives and focuses of various social scientists, finding and accepting a common meaning of the concept seems even impossible.

Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning here the assumptions of the “founding fathers” of sociology, such as Émile Durkheim, Max Weber and Ferdinand Tönnies, who focused their attention, at the end of the XIX-th century, on the social consequences of modernity, in particular the development of the capitalist industrial society.

A well-known theorist of community was the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies, who made a clear distinction between community (*Gemeinschaft*) and society (*Gesellschaft*), asserting that the development of the industrial capitalism has led to the change of the foundation of the social cohesion, seen as the collective will that establishes behavioural expectations and governs the social relations between individuals⁴.

According to Tönnies, the *Gemeinschaft*, or the community materialized in the rural traditional communities, is characterized by close relations, based on the affiliation to social groups such as family or church. These primary groups tend to be enlivened by common goals and beliefs, social interactions between individuals being based on trust and cooperation. On the other side, the *Gesellschaft*, or the society embodied by the large modern organizations or associations of people, rests on the division of labour and the mobility of the work force, which led to the erosion of the traditional relations and, as a result, the relations among individuals became impersonal and superficial and based on the personal interest instead of reciprocal aid and support. In terms of motivations for social action, the traditional community is based on a *natural will* of acting cooperatively, while the modern society is based on a *rational will* of acting toward a specific goal.

In his turn, the French sociologist Émile Durkheim associated the factors that shaped the modern society with the industrialization, which led to a new form of solidarity based on the division of labour. He operated an explicit distinction between mechanic solidarity, specific to small, traditional societies, and organic solidarity, characteristic of large, modern societies⁵.

In Durkheim’s view, the *mechanical solidarity*, or “solidarity by similarities” is found in “primitive”, small and traditional societies, such as hunter-gatherers groups, where individuals perform approximately the same activities and the society is maintained and functions on the basis of a sense of common goals and experiences, of shared beliefs and values, which leads to a “collective consciousness” that is the foundation of solidarity. At the opposite side, the *organic solidarity* refers to a characteristic of modern societies that, as they grow in size and complexity, replace the similarities between individuals with an increased specialization or division of labour, necessary to achieve goals which are progressively diversified and complex.

⁴ F. Tönnies, *Community and Civil Society*, edited by J. Harris, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 22-91.

⁵ É. Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*, edited by S. Lukes, Second edition, Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, pp. 57-104.

Similarly, Max Weber performed a clear distinction between *communal* and *associative* social relationships, a terminology comparable to that of Ferdinand Tönnies, although relatively different⁶. In Weber's view, communal relationships (*Vergemeinschaftung*) are characterized by affection and closeness between the members of a group, being based on a common, subjective feeling of belonging and interdependence. On the other side, associative relationships (*Vergesellschaftung*) are rational and impersonal, being based on common interests and on mutually agreed accords for satisfying instrumental, objective needs. In other words, communal relationships are formed and maintained in order to satisfy individuals' expressive needs, such as the need to belong or to establish close bonds, while associative relationships are formed and maintained in order to fulfill individuals' instrumental needs.

Community in the XXIst century

In spite of the lack of clarity and consensus among theorists in defining the concept, community continues to be relevant⁷ in studying the social behaviour as individuals continue to perform a series of specific actions, such as:

- settling in politically confined and defined geographic territories: although the community, viewed as a geographic territory, is largely different today from that small *Gemeinschaft* defined by Tönnies, the concept will continue to gain meaning in the future by incorporating larger cities or focusing on sections of such cities, such as neighbourhoods;

- searching for and establishing primary, affective personal relations with other members of the society: although today the primary, affective relations tend to be replaced by rational, instrumental ones, the need of belonging and solidarity will continue to be one of the basic, fundamental human needs;

- organising systems for extracting, producing and distributing resources necessary for survival: although today the systems that provide the necessary resources for the survival of groups or individuals tend to become globalized, the community will continue to be relevant for the sustenance of populations and preservation of public goods;

- affiliating to social groups and constructing social identities: although today individuals tend to operate with social identities constructed on multiple communities, not necessarily confined to specific geographic areas, the need of belonging and affiliation will continue to play an important role in the social life.

Nevertheless, in order to assess the relevance of the community in the future, one should also take into account the factors that made possible the "great leap forward", suggestively and figuratively summarized by the American science writer Michael Shermer in just a few sentences: the Yanomamö people, living along the Orinoco River, are hunter-gatherers, with an annual average income of \$ 100 per person, owning approximately 300 goods at the level of the village (including here various tools, medicine, pets, food and clothing items); the

⁶ M. Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, edited by G. Roth, C. Wittich, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978, pp. 40-41.

⁷ W.R. Goe, S. Noonan, *op.cit.*, pp. 462-464.

“Manhattan” people, living along the Hudson River, are consumer-traders, with an annual average income of \$ 40,000 per person, owning at the level of the “village” approximately 10 billion of goods available in stores, restaurants, factories or super-markets⁸.

Given that for the most part of their existence humans lived in a state of relative economic simplicity, it is reasonable to ask ourselves what might have happened in the last 11,000 years that led to an increase of the annual income by 400 times and of the available goods by 33 million times⁹? Understanding the factors that made the transition from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*, from community to society, from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity is of utmost importance today, given that some traditional mechanisms are still found in modern societies, especially in rural areas, and might be useful in fostering cooperation or solving conflicts. Furthermore, all modern humans are the “result” of thousands of natural experiments about how to build a human society and identifying the factors that made possible or even caused the “great leap forward” might be useful for solving problems specific to modern, developed societies, given the so-called “environmental mismatch”¹⁰. Analysts, such as the British sociologist Anthony Giddens¹¹, are asserting that small communities, enlivened by mechanical solidarity, are a clear proof that some of the current institutions are not “natural” features of the human life, and are even lamenting that some characteristics of the community (such as the lack of war, the lack of major inequalities in wealth and power and the focus on cooperation instead of competition) indicate that the modern industrialized societies, based on organic solidarity and an increased division of labour, are not necessarily equated with progress.

Sources of social change

For centuries, various theorists and experts have tried to explain the nature of social change, mainly invoking several wide categories of factors that led to the big evolutionary leap from old hunter-gatherer societies to the current post-industrial societies¹². Although not exhaustive, the following list of catalytic factors might be quite informative and supportive for any attempt of identifying the forces that led to the “great leap forward”:

- **Cultural factors:** primarily refer to the effects of religion (which can act as either a conservative or innovative force in social life), of communication systems (i.e., the invention of writing has led to a better control of material resources and to the emergence of big organization, as well as to the change of the perception regarding the past-present-future relation), or of types of leadership (the emergence of religious, political, military figures, who managed to unite the

⁸ M. Shermer, *The Mind of the Market*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2009, pp. 1-3.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

¹⁰ J. Diamond, *The World Until Yesterday: What Can We Learn from Traditional Societies?*, New York: Penguin Books, 2013, pp. 6-9.

¹¹ A. Giddens, *Sociology*, Fifth Edition, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006, pp. 36, 38.

¹² S.K. Sanderson, “Social Change”, pp. 560-568, in C.D. Bryant, D.L. Peck (Eds.), *21st Century Sociology: A Reference Handbook*, Vol. 1, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 2007.

masses around them or around a common idea or interest, and challenged the pre-established social order);

- **Environmental factors:** humans develop different social systems of organization and modes of production depending on the characteristics of the physical and geographical environment and on the living opportunities provided by a certain environment (i.e., the environmental conditions determine a series of characteristics that are specific to a society, such as what clothes are practical, what food should be eaten and how food should be prepared, what type of economy is best suited given the resource scarcity or affluence, etc.);

- **Political factors:** the type of political organization and military power determines the course or trajectory of a society, yet the political factors are also influenced by environmental, technological, economic, etc. determinants of a society;

- **Technological factors:** technology, understood as the totality of knowledge, techniques and tools necessary for transforming resources into usable goods, as well as the knowledge and skills necessary for making use of produced goods¹³, influences the norms and values of a society, as well as the shape of social relations between individuals.

The variety of theories focusing on one of these catalytic factors or on a combination of such factors might explain social changes in certain societies, at least to a certain degree, yet the primary causes or determinants that led to the emergence of such factors in the first place are not the target of such theories. In terms of ultimate causes leading to a “human major transition” from small communities of hunter-gatherers to large societies consumer-traders, the American evolutionary biologist David Sloan Wilson¹⁴, summarising the researches of well-known scientists, mentions the big “three C’s” of human evolution, namely¹⁵:

- **Cognition**, which includes the capacity of humans to mentally operate with symbols, which basically leads to language and spirituality, as well as to symbolic communication;

- **Culture**, which includes the capacity of human beings to gather valuable knowledge over generations, to transmit it within or across generations and to ultimately ensure adaptive behaviours through cumulative cultural selection;

- **Cooperation**, which includes the capacity of humans to cooperate and make alliances with individuals who are not necessarily members of the same narrow groups (such as close relatives) or small communities (such as the extended family), but members of more distant or even unknown groups.

The cognitive revolution

As stated by the Australian philosopher Kim Sterelny, the uniqueness of humans is based on a series of cognitive adaptations arising through natural

¹³ D. Kendall, *Sociology in Our Times. The Essentials*, Eighth Edition, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, 2012, p. 55.

¹⁴ D.S. Wilson, “The human major transition in relation to symbolic behaviour, including language, imagination and spirituality”, pp. 133-140, in C.S. Hensilwood, F. d’Errico (Eds.), *Homo Symbolicus. The Dawn of Language, Imagination and Spirituality*, Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2011.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 133.

selection (such as the capacity to “read” other people’s minds or the theory of mind, as well as the capacity of social or cultural learning, which made possible the acquisition of a high quantity of valuable, relatively inexpensive, adaptive knowledge), but also on external environmental factors (e.g., technological artifacts)¹⁶.

When talking about cognitive adaptations that made humans one-of-a-kind in the animal world, one should also mention the “Social Brain Hypothesis”¹⁷, which relates the size of the human brain, the dimension of the social group and the emergence of language, assuming that a greater complexity of the social network (such as the increase of the number of group’s members) generates cognitive pressure and requires mechanisms of control, both formal (e.g., rituals, religion, exchange) and informal (e.g., alliances based on kinship or friendship). For instance, for groupings of hunter-gatherers, the community (or the clan of approximately 150 individuals) includes individuals who jointly have the right of access to territorial resources (hunting areas, permanent water supplies, ritual sites, etc.) based on reciprocity and obligations derived from the common religion¹⁸.

Nevertheless, managing a bigger number of social relations and implicitly an increasingly complex system of norms and obligations and mechanisms of social control, requires considerably higher and more efficient cognitive abilities, ultimately leading to a “cognitive revolution” in the history of the human species.

The cultural revolution

Culture, simply defined as a “tool kit” which provides the necessary equipment for dealing with current problems¹⁹ (including here knowledge, language, values, norms, material artifacts, all transmitted from individual to individual or from a generation to another within a group or society), made possible the unique evolution of humans, by providing a new, more efficient, more rapid and spectacular way of adapting to a specific environment, different from the genetic adaption²⁰.

For instance, the emergence of social norms allowed social groups to solve the problems of survival and reproduction through cooperation, thus reducing the costs of each individual acting alone. At the same time, for eliminating the “parasites” or free riders (individuals who enjoy the benefits of cooperation without paying the costs associated with it), the cultural selection has favoured mechanisms of control based on association to the great detriment of those based on individual action.

¹⁶ K. Sterelny, *The Evolved Apprentice. How Evolution Made Humans Unique*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2012.

¹⁷ R. Dunbar, *The Human Story. A New History of Mankind’s Evolution*, London: Faber and Faber Limited, 2004, p. 113.

¹⁸ J. Gowlett, C. Gamble, R. Dunbar, “Human Evolution and the Archaeology of the Social Brain”, in *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 53, No. 6 (December 2012), pp. 693-722.

¹⁹ A. Swidler, “Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies”, in *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 51, No. 2, (April 1986), pp. 273-286.

²⁰ R. Boyd, P.J. Richerson, *The Origin and Evolution of Cultures*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 3-11.

Similarly, culture and cumulative cultural adaptations made possible the transition from community to society. The increase of the dimension of human societies once with the discovery and expansion of agriculture (and, implicitly, of concentration of natural resources) has led to the emergence and development of new mechanisms for solving coordination and exploitation problems through cultural selection. Although some of these mechanisms were based on individuals' conscious or deliberative selection of alternatives, many other are the result of random "social experiments".

The social revolution of cooperation

Although, at a first sight, living in large social groups seems to incur higher costs for any individual (mainly related to the more rapid exhaustion of local resources or the problem of free riders), the "group-level selection" should be regarded as a social contract through which the individual costs associated with survival and reproduction can be consistently reduced by equally sharing them among individuals with common objectives²¹. Simply thinking, the benefits of cooperation at the level of the group seem to be bigger than the benefits resulting from each individual's exploitation of the group, thus selection has most probably favoured the transition of humans from groups *of* organisms to groups *as* organisms²².

Individuals acting separately or disorganized groups do not stand a chance in face of the "group as organism", which acquires "ecological dominance" through the coordination of its mental activities (primarily social learning and symbolic thinking). Therefore, although a controversial idea, selection also operates at the level of the group, with cooperative groups or societies being more successful in terms of survival than non-cooperative groups. As a result, according to David Sloan Wilson, the three C's of human evolution – cognition, culture and cooperation – are, in fact, the manifestation of only one "C", namely cooperation, which is the most important factor of evolution²³. Borrowing a famous phrase from the economic science, the selection at the level of the group or society is the "invisible hand" that operates for individuals to work together for the common good. When this "invisible hand" is not working, the society stops functioning as a collective unit, with negative consequences for each of its members.

Moreover, according to authors such as scientist Peter Turchin²⁴, the transition from small communities of hunter-gatherers to the large societies of today, although not linear, was facilitated by the non-discriminatory, large scale cooperation between individuals belonging to different groups, which is a very recent characteristic or capacity in human history. The mechanism that, in the case of the human species, has led to "social ultra-cooperation" or "ultrasociality" within the group was the war between the groups. In Turchin's opinion, war is a mechanism of selection for cooperation, which favoured the emergence and development of "civilization" or large societies, alongside several other

²¹ J. Gowlett, C. Gamble, R. Dunbar, *op.cit.*, p. 701.

²² D.S. Wilson, *Evolution for Everyone*, New York: Delta Trade Paperbacks, 2008, p. 145.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 154.

²⁴ P. Turchin, *Ultrasociety*, Kindle Edition, Chaplin, Connecticut: Beresta Books, LLC, 2016.

technological factors such as the domestication of animals and the invention of agriculture. Competition between societies favoured the survival of the societies with a bigger and more efficient internal cooperation, which were capable of developing more capable and functional organizations.

Conclusions

Solid evidence and analyses suggest that the main factor that made possible the transition from small, emotionally constructed communities to large, rationally constructed societies was cooperation, which also promoted two other elements of social change, namely cognition and culture.

At the level of the individual, the game theory constantly demonstrates that individuals are or can be altruistic and cooperative, the relations between them being mediated by cognition and emotions, thus seriously questioning the mainstream theory of the rational, economic agents, who are always and relentlessly interested only in pursuing their selfish goals.

At the level of the group or organization, entities that act or operate in highly competitive environments are constantly faced with dangers related to their very survival, and those which are not cohesive and do not promote internal cooperation have smaller or no chance of successfully competing with cooperative ones.

References

Bell C., Newby H. (Eds.), (2012), *The Sociology of Community. A Selection of Readings*, New York: Frank Cass and Co. LTD.

Boyd R., Richerson P.J., (2005), *The Origin and Evolution of Cultures*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Diamond J., (2013), *The World Until Yesterday: What Can We Learn from Traditional Societies?*, New York: Penguin Books.

Dunbar R., (2004), *The Human Story. A New History of Mankind's Evolution*, London: Faber and Faber Limited.

Durkheim É., (2013), *The Division of Labour in Society*, edited by S. Lukes, Second edition, Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Giddens A., (2006), *Sociology*, Fifth Edition, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Goe W.R., Noonan S., (2007), "The Sociology of Community", pp. 455-464, in C.D. Bryant, D.L. Peck (Eds.), *21st Century Sociology: A Reference Handbook*, Vol. 1, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Gowlett J., Gamble C., Dunbar R., (2012), "Human Evolution and the Archaeology of the Social Brain", in *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 53, No. 6 (December), pp. 693-722.

Gusfield J., (1975), *Community: A Critical Response*, New York: Harper & Row.

Kendall D., (2012), *Sociology in Our Times. The Essentials*, Eighth Edition, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.

Sanderson S.K., (2007), "Social Change", pp. 560-568, in C.D. Bryant, D.L. Peck (Eds.), *21st Century Sociology: A Reference Handbook*, Vol. 1, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Shermer M., (2009), *The Mind of the Market*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC.

Sterelny K., (2012), *The Evolved Apprentice. How Evolution Made Humans Unique*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Swidler A., (1986), "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies", in *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 51, No. 2, (April), pp. 273-286.

Tönnies F., (2001), *Community and Civil Society*, edited by J. Harris, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Turchin P., (2016), *Ultrasociety*, Kindle Edition, Chaplin, Connecticut: Beresta Books, LLC.

Weber M., (1978), *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, edited by G. Roth, C. Wittich, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wilson D.S., (2011), "The human major transition in relation to symbolic behaviour, including language, imagination and spirituality", pp. 133-140, in C.S. Hensilwood, F. d'Errico (Eds.), *Homo Symbolicus. The Dawn of Language, Imagination and Spirituality*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Wilson D.S., (2008), *Evolution for Everyone*, New York: Delta Trade Paperbacks.

FEMINIZATION OF MIGRATION

Raluca Malvina Stanciu*

stanciu.ralucamalvina@gmail.com

Abstract: *The topic of interest in the present work is the process of international female migration. I chose this theme by trying to make a correlation between this subject and the issue of parental migration and school integration of children following this process. Within the family, each member has to perform certain roles, and if one or both parents leave, such roles will be redistributed to the parent who is left at home, to those in whose care the children are left or even to the children if they were not left to anybody's care. Thus, if parents choose to go abroad to find a job, children will have to adapt to the new family situation.*

Keywords: *Migration, feminization, children, impact*

To begin with, I will briefly present the role of the woman in the household since the 20th century, and then I will review the categories of individuals who choose to go according to the temporary period (the period will be divided into three stages) the historical areas they come from, the countries they choose, and the occupations they will have in the host country. Finally, I will briefly present the women who chose Italy and Spain as host countries between 1990 and 2006.

“Family work has a dual nature: internal and external, domestic and wage. As a result of the woman's emancipation during the second half of the 20th century, the articulation of these two dimensions has changed profoundly. Women are invading the labor market along with men. This does not mean that they have never worked”¹. They have always worked, participating in various forms in the production process, especially after the Second World War, when they began to grow more and more intellectually, and could be active in professional spheres as men.

On the one hand, this can be seen as an evolution in terms of female sex, but on the other hand, this emancipation can lead to the idea that the woman begins to neglect her family and household chores, to the detriment of the professional sphere after their integration into the labor market, time is shared between family and work, the time spent on activities and family tasks being reduced considerably. However, this did not lead to greater involvement of men in household chores and those that concerned children's education. “Since the 1980s, more and more

* Ph.D. Student, Doctoral School of Sociology, University of Bucharest, Faculty of Sociology and Social Work. SNSPA – The research program for investigating the Romanian diaspora "Spiru Haret" (Programul de cercetare pentru investigarea diasporei românești „Spiru Haret”), (PN-III-P1-1. 1-BSH-2-2016-0005; This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian Ministry of Research and Innovation, CNCS – UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P1-1.1-BSH-2-2016-0005, within PNCDI III;

¹ M. Segalen, *Family Sociology (Sociologia Familiei)*, Polirom Publishing House, Iași, 2011, p. 287

women - including mothers with young children - have been engaged in the labor market, this has not meant a male takeover of domestic tasks”².

Mental schemes are encountered when “in our minds there is information about the sequential unfolding of actions and events [...] knowing the algorithm or plan by which certain behaviors, events, phenomena are usually carried out, we organize our own actions and we can foresee those of others”³.

The mental scheme that individuals have had since ancient times when thinking about the concept of a woman is about the following aspects: house / household, child care, care for cleanliness and food, care for good functioning of the family from an affective point of view. Over time, however, this scheme has undergone some changes that have been brought about by her emancipation and evolution.

With the development of the migratory phenomenon in Romania, many women chose to leave their country of origin and, implicitly, their home and family in order to gain a better living for both her and loved ones. In the following pages I will talk in detail about this issue and start, as I mentioned earlier, with a brief presentation of the phenomenon of migration.

According to Sandu, if in the first stage (1990-1995) the people who chose to leave the country were in a smaller percentage - 5%, their number increased considerably in the following stages: 1996-2000 - 10%, 2001-2006 - 28%. This is primarily due to emigration policies. Since the accession of Romania to the European Union and accession to the Schengen area, people who wanted to leave the country to find a job abroad have been facilitated by this border crossing to the host country⁴.

In the first two stages, the Moldovans chose to go to Italy and Israel, those from Oltenia to Canada, Muntenia to Turkey, and those in Dobrogea turned to Italy and Germany. In the second stage, preferences changed. Thus, out of total migrants, 34% opted for Italy and 20% for Spain⁵.

According to the literature, both men and women chose to go abroad to gain a better living, but they had different migration periods. In the first stage, those who left were predominantly “male, married, with vocational school or high school, from the urban environment”⁶. Over time, the situation diversified, with the number of women reaching three times the initial level. The percentage of females who left between 1990 and 1995 was 12%, and between 2002 and 2006 the percentage increased to 45% (according to the LTS survey)⁷.

According to statistics⁸, the construction sector is preferred by 98% of men and the household by 88% of women. We can say that there is also a common

² M. Segalen, *Family Sociology* (Sociologia Familiei), Polirom Publishing House, Iași, 2011, p. 287.

³ S. Chelcea, P. Iluț, *Encyclopedia of Psychosociology* (Enciclopedie de Psihosociologie), Economica Publishing House, Bucharest, 2003, p. 322.

⁴ D. Sandu, *Social Worlds of Romanian Migration Abroad* (Lumile sociale ale migrației românești în străinătate), Soros Foundation, January, 2010.

⁵ D. Sandu, *Temporary Residence Abroad. Economic Migration of Romanians: 1990 – 2006* (Locuirea temporară în străinătate. Migrația economică a românilor: 1990-2006), Soros Foundation, Bucharest, 2006.

⁶ *Idem*, 6.

⁷ *Idem* 6

⁸ *Idem*, 6.

area of preferences, namely agriculture.

In recent years, migration studies have begun to pay more attention to female migration, mainly focusing on the impact that migration would have on traditional gender values and norms⁹.

The feminization of migration has forced the study of certain factors and certain issues that so far had not had such a great impact on family life. Given the current context, we can discuss the tensions created within a married couple when the woman decides to live thousands of miles away, leaving her partner alone for a long time, and in some situations, even with the task of taking care of children or changing the social system with another, where gender norms are different¹⁰.

When a woman settles in the host country, she will have to adapt and comply with the country's rules of conduct and values, due to being exposed to a more liberal model. As I said before, there is a good chance that gender values will undergo some changes. Also within this framework, we can bring into question the financial independence and autonomy that a woman gains when she gets a higher income, or maybe an income that did not exist until the time she left Romania. This can also entail a greater responsibility for women, since their income may be the only source of income in the household¹¹

If the previous ones could represent the positive parts of feminine migration, I believe that the less beautiful parts, such as the inequalities and vulnerabilities that arise with the entry into the labor market of the host country, could be mentioned. Women may be subjected to differentiated, sometimes stereotyped, work-related treatments.

As I have already said, the main activity of women who have gone to Italy or Spain is domestic work. Unfortunately, very few of them work with under work contract¹², where the terms, conditions, obligations and duties of both parties are well-specified. Under these circumstances, women are exposed to abuses (for example, their hours of rest are not respected), they cannot have access to healthcare, or they may have difficulties when they have to receive their salary.

In addition, women who have their domicile at their workplace can be exploited and isolated - things that can lead to depression, and in the long run, such people may become unable to integrate into society and communicate with other individuals¹³.

⁹ M. Boyd, E. Grieco, *Women and Migration: Incorporating Gender into International Migration Theory*, The Online Journal of the Migration Policy Institute, 2003.

¹⁰ *Idem*, 10.

¹¹ M. Boyd, E. Grieco, *Women and Migration: Incorporating Gender into International Migration Theory*, The Online Journal of the Migration Policy Institute, 2003; S. Jolly, și H. Reeves, *Gender and Migration. Overview Report*, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, Bridge Publications, 2005; G. Chammertin, *The Female Face of Migration. International Migration Programme*, 2009 available online at: <http://www.caritas.org/includes/pdf/backgroundmigration.pdf>

¹² D. Sandu, *Temporary Residence Abroad. Economic Migration of Romanians: 1990 – 2006 (Locuirea temporară în străinătate. Migrația economică a românilor: 1990-2006)*, Soros Foundation, Bucharest, 2006.

¹³ G. Chammertin, *The Female Face of Migration. International Migration Programme*, 2009 available online at: <http://www.caritas.org/includes/pdf/backgroundmigration.pdf>

Another issue that can be addressed in this paper is that of family reunification and the degree of involvement of the authorities in this issue. In general, social policies label these women as individual entities without taking into account families left behind¹⁴. If we bring up again the situation of women living in the house where they work, the possibility that they are visited by their husband and children is quite low. This is due both to the very small place where she lives, but also to the fact that the host family does not agree with this¹⁵.

Also, the most important social status of the woman, that of the mother, must also be raised. As she went to work abroad, her roles in the house were redistributed to other family members, and automatically they were met by others, and they lost their importance. Here we can bring together important events in children's lives such as the first day of school, celebrations such as Christmas or Easter, but also activities in everyday life - walking in the park, at the cinema, attending other children's birthdays and so on. The mother's place cannot be taken by any other person, regardless who that woman is - grandmother, older sister, friend or father, and emotional involvement.

Even though we cannot say that there are differences between girls and boys when it comes to mother, adolescence, especially for girls, is marked by important events, where the maternal image plays an important role, both for the development as individuals as well as for their development as future women and why not, mothers. When the mother is absent, regardless of the frequency of voice or video calls, nothing can replace physical proximity and the observation of everyday emotional experiences.

School results are also important to be mentioned in this theme because in most cases, at least during the primary cycle, the mother is the one who stands by the child when he/she learns and does their homework. As soon as she is not, the child feels the need for help, which he/she cannot get from their grandparents or caregivers, whether due to lack of time or lack of knowledge or lack of patience that only a mother can prove. In the case of older children, the lack of mother can affect emotionally because they are at an age they always need encouragement even if they have less satisfactory results or excellent learning outcomes.

From the point of view of remittances, there is no difference between who sends more money home - men or women, but there are differences in their value. In this sense, we can say that women are the ones who send more money. This is because they know better the value of all household spending, but also the needs of each member¹⁶.

With regard to future plans for returning to Romania, as Ionela Vlase says "For women, returning to the country is equivalent to returning to the pre-migration status, that of the housewife without any other options. For men, the

¹⁴ M. Boyd, *Migration Regulations and Sex Selective Outcomes in Developed Countries*, in: *International Migration Policies and the Status of Female Migrants*. United Nations Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis, Population Division. New York: United Nations, 1995.

¹⁵ D. Sandu, *Romanian Communities in Spain (Comunități românești în Spania)*, Soros Foundation, February, 2009.

¹⁶ G. Chammertin, *The Female Face of Migration. International Migration Programme*, 2009, available online at: <http://www.caritas.org/includes/pdf/backgroundmigration.pdf>

return is, usually, accompanied by the construction of personal economic projects to ensure both the need for living and the social recognition of their merits: the success of migration, the merit of investing and running their own business¹⁷.

Direct exposure to another family model (Italian or Spanish) has made women have a completely different view of life in general, but especially of family life. Households with at least one family member who chose to go abroad, those residing at home consider emigration to be a plus in both the life of their offspring and their lives¹⁸.

Concluding, I can say that the phenomenon of migration is not a gender-neutral process. Feminine migration has the same impact as the whole concept, especially if we look at the family, especially the children left at home.

References

Boyd, Monica, Grieco, Elisabeth, (2003), *Women and Migration: Incorporating Gender into International Migration Theory*, The Online Journal of the Migration Policy Institute.

Boyd, Monica, (1995), *Migration Regulations and Sex Selective Outcomes in Developed Countries*, in: *International Migration Policies and the Status of Female Migrants*. United Nations Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis, Population Division. New York: United Nations, available online at : http://homes.chass.utoronto.ca/~boydmon/research_papers/immigrant_women/Boyd_UN_1995.pdf

Chammertin, Gloria, (2009), *The Female Face of Migration*. International Migration Programme, available online at: <http://www.caritas.org/includes/pdf/backgroundmigration.pdf>

Chelcea, Septimiu, Iluț, Petru, (2003), *Encyclopidia of Psychosociology (Enciclopedie de Psihosociologie)*, Economica Publishing House, Bucharest.

Jolly, Susie, Reeves, Hazel, (2005), *Gender and Migration*. Overview Report, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, Bridge Publications.

Sandu, Dumitru, (2006), *Temporary Residence Abroad. Economic Migration of Romanians: 1990 – 2006 (Locuirea temporară în străinătate. Migrația economică a românilor: 1990 – 2006)*, Soros Foundation, Bucharest.

Sandu, Dumitru, (February, 2009), *Romanian Communities in Spain (Comunități românești în Spania)*, Soros Foundation.

Sandu, Dumitru, (January, 2010), *Social Worlds of Romanian Migration Abroad (Lumile sociale ale migrației românești în străinătate)*, Soros Foundation.

Segalen, Martine, (2011), *Family Sociology (Sociologia Familiei)*, Iași, Polirom Publishing House.

Vlase, Ionela, (2011), *Migration of return of Romanians from Italy. Case study in Vulturu, Vrancea (Migrația de întoarcere a românilor din Italia. Studiu de caz în Vulturu, Vrancea)*, Quality of Life.

¹⁷ I. Vlase, *Migration of return of Romanians in Italy. Study case in Vulturu, Vrancea (Migrația de întoarcere a românilor din Italia. Studiu de caz în Vulturu, Vrancea)*, Quality of Life, 2011.

¹⁸ D. Sandu, *Social Worlds of Romanian Migration Abroad, (Lumile sociale ale migrației românești în străinătate)*, Fundația Soros, January, 2010.

EXPRESSIVE SPRECHAKTE DER MISSBILLIGUNG AUS DEM BLICKWINKEL DER SPRACHLICHEN REALISIERUNG

Adriana Dănilă*

adriana.danila2013@gmail.com

Abstract: The present paper aims to analyse the online comments of the readers on the content of the newspaper article about the scandal over ICR-Fauxpas in Paris before the state visit of Johannis (*Paris: Eklat um ICR-Fauxpas vor Johannis-Besuch*). There are 9 comments, which appeared online between 10th and 12th of February and express a negative point of view and an unfavourable attitude towards the ICR-gaffe. The utterances used by the participants to perform an expressive speech act of disagreement, communicating their internal states, beliefs, principles and values, are analysed from a pragma linguistic perspective of the speech acts and interculturality.

Keywords: *speech act theory, intercultural communication, pragmalinguistics, expressive speech acts, disapproval, judgements.*

1. Vorbemerkungen

Die vorliegende Arbeit setzt sich zum Ziel, die Online-Leserbeiträge unter dem am 10 Februar 2015 in der Zeitung *ADZ für Rumänien* veröffentlichten Artikel *Paris: Eklat um ICR-Fauxpas vor Johannis-Besuch* aus sprechakttheoretischer Perspektive zu analysieren. Es handelt sich um 9 Beiträge, die in der Zeitspanne zwischen 10. und 12. Februar online erschienen und die eine negative Einstellung des angegebenen Sachverhalts oder die Meinungsäußerung zu den anderen Leserkommentaren versprachlichen. Sprachliches Handeln in dem Online Medium Leserkommentare zu einem Artikel setzen einen höheren Grad an Dialogizität voraus, in dem Sinne dass, die Interaktionsbeteiligten auf den Inhalt des Artikels reagieren oder auf die von anderen gestellten Kommentare Stellung nehmen.

Die sprachlichen Manifestationen der Interaktionsbeteiligten werden aus dem Standpunkt der Pragmalinguistik, der Sprechakttheorie und der Interkulturalität bewertet bzw. untersucht.

2. Daten über den Analysekorpus

Das Untersuchungsmaterial besteht aus 9 Leserbeiträgen, die in der Zeitspanne zwischen 10. und 12. Februar geschrieben wurden. Es handelt sich um kurze, auf Deutsch verfasste Texte, in denen die Textproduzenten eine missbilligende Einschätzung des in dem ADZ Artikel dargestellten Sachverhalts zum Ausdruck bringen. Der Zeitungsartikel berichtet darüber, dass das rumänische Kulturinstitut (ICR) "irrtümlicherweise dem Essayisten Radu Portocală neben der Einladung zu dem aus diesem Anlass organisierten Empfang auch eine Liste mit wenig schmeichelhaften Bemerkungen über die geladenen

* Lecturer Ph.D., Bucharest.

Gäste¹ verschickte. Die Leiterin des Kulturinstitutes in Paris hat den Inhalt der Einladungen nicht mehr überprüft und sie so weitergeleitet. "Im Anhang der Mail befand sich"² - laut ADZ Bericht - "jedoch auch eine hausinterne Excel-Gästeliste der Botschaft mit mehr oder minder beleidigenden Vermerken zu den einzelnen Personen, die von *will nur in Begleitung seiner Frau* über *unerwünscht* bis hin zu *ekelhaft* reichen."³

3. Das Handlungsfeld und die Eigenschaften der interkulturellen Kommunikation

Infolge der Globalisierung entsteht ein neuer Kontext, in dem Menschen aus verschiedenen Kulturkreisen in Kontakt kommen, die situativ sozialen Rahmenbedingungen nach den Orientierungsmaßstäben des eigenen Wertsystems wahrnehmen bzw. bewerten und dann im Dialog handeln. Internationale Verhandlungen und Kooperationen, die grenzüberschreitende Zusammenarbeit und nicht zuletzt die medialen Vernetzungen (wie Internet, Radio, Fernsehen usw.) ermöglichen ein zwischenmenschliches Kommunikationsmedium, wo kulturbedingte Dimensionen in den Vordergrund treten: die Perzeption des fremdkulturellen Gegenübers und dessen Interpretation und dabei kennzeichnende Merkmale der eigenen Kultur.

Sprachhandeln in heterogenen und diversen Gruppen bestehend aus Angehörigen verschiedener Nationalitäten und Ethnien führt unvermeidlich und kontinuierlich zur Herstellung kultureller Bedeutungen und zum gemeinsamen Austausch von Informationen. Es handelt sich um ein dynamisches und komplexes Handlungsfeld, wo die Interaktionabeteiligten bestimmte kulturelle Muster und Denkweisen als normal und selbstverständlich finden oder sie für eigenartig oder falsch halten. Aufgrund vom Missverständnis der Handlungsmodelle aus anderen kulturellen Räumen können Unbehagen und Ärger entstehen oder man kann zu Störungen des Kommunikationsprozesses kommen, die zur Beendigung des Gesprächs führen.

4. Die Sprechakttheorie als Beschreibungs- und Analysemodell des sprachlichen Handelns

Lars Bülow besteht in seinem Beitrag darauf, "dass die Sprache über ein hochgradig performatives Potential verfügt"⁴ und das geschieht im konkreten Sprachgebrauch unter Einbezug der einmaligen kommunikativen Situation. Die Interaktionsbeteiligten gebrauchen sprachliche Ausdrücke absichtlich und bewußt, zum Beispiel um Sachverhalte in der Umgebung zu beschreiben bzw. darzustellen, eine Veränderung zu bewirken oder andere Individuen zu bestimmten Taten zu bewegen. Dieses Handeln mit Sprache, das vorwiegend zielorientiert ist, wurde zuerst von Austin erkannt und in einer Vorlesungsreihe

¹ siehe Zeitungsartikel <http://www.adz.ro/artikel/artikel/paris-eklat-um-icr-fauxpas-vor-johannis-besuch/>

² *Ibidem.*

³ *Ibidem.*

⁴ Lars Bülow u.a. (Hrsg.), *Performativität in Sprache und Recht*, Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter Mouton Verlag, Sprache und Wissen (SuW), Band 23, 2016, Seite 3.

How to do things with words (1955) erklärt. Später wurde diese Auffassung von seinem Schüler John Searle (1969) im Rahmen der Sprechakttheorie weiter erarbeitet und damit verfeinert.

Sprechakte sind spezifische sprachlich-kommunikative Handlungen, die von den Interaktionsbeteiligten ausgeführt werden. Weil sie immer dialogal gerichtet sind, setzen sie die Erreichung eines bestimmten Zwecks voraus. Mit jeder einzelsprachlichen Äußerungsform werden im eigentlichen situativen Verwendungskontext jedes Mal anders, individuell auf den Kommunikationspartner bezogen, bestimmte Bedeutungen hergestellt.

Viele Sprachwissenschaftler haben sich mit den Sprechakten auseinandergesetzt und auf der Basis des Sprechhandlungstheoretischen Konzeptes haben versucht, die Sprechhandlungen nach bestimmten Kriterien aufzuteilen und dabei eine systematische Rechtfertigung der Funktionen von sprachlichem Handeln darzubieten. "Unter systematischem, Sprechakttheoretischem Gesichtspunkt zählt von diesen zahlreichen Versuchen im Grunde nur Searles Taxonomie (1975a), da sie bis zu einem gewissen Grad durch Kriterien begründet ist und andere Autoren auf ihr aufbauen."⁵

John Searle stellt fünf Kategorien von Sprechakten auf, die den jeweiligen Sprecherabsichten oder illokutionären Zwecken entsprechen. Die illokutionäre Bedeutung der sprachlich-kommunikativen Handlung wird anhand performativer Verben verdeutlicht:

1. *Repräsentative* oder *Assertive* – der Sprecher produziert eine sprachliche Äußerung, in der die Übernahme des propositionalen Wahrheitsgehaltes durch den Sprecher vorliegt. Die performativen Verben, die ein repräsentativer Sprechakt signalisieren, sind: *sagen, behaupten, bemerken, feststellen, festhalten, hinweisen, versichern, die Behauptung aufstellen.*

2. *Direktive* – Mit dem Vollzug eines direktiven Sprechaktes versucht der Sprecher, seinen Kommunikationspartner die von ihm (dem Sprecher) gewünschte Handlung zu vollziehen; damit bewirkt er eine Veränderung des Verhältnisses zu dem betreffenden Interaktionsbeteiligten bzw. eine Veränderung der kommunikativen Handlungsbedingungen. Die Sprechakt-bezeichnenden Verben sind: *befehlen, anordnen, auffordern, vorschlagen, empfehlen, nahelegen.*

3. *Kommissive* – der Sprecher versprachlicht fest und deutlich seine Absicht und zugleich verpflichtet er sich zur Aufführung der betreffenden Tätigkeit. Dazu dienen performative Verben wie *versprechen, versichern, sich verpflichten, die Verpflichtung eingehen / übernehmen, schwören, garantieren, das Wort geben.*

4. *Expressive* – Sie beziehen sich auf jene Redehandlung in der Interaktion, die die kritische Bewertung oder die emotionale Stellung des Sprechers zu einem Sachverhalt in der Realität signalisiert. Die performativen Verben dieses illokutionären Typs sind: *gratulieren, beglückwünschen, sich entschuldigen, danken, zustimmen, die Zustimmung zu etwas geben, einverstanden sein, verweigern, missbilligen.*

5. *Deklarativa* – Sie werden in der Regel als sprachliche Routineformeln betrachtet, weil sie nur in Rahmen einer gesellschaftlichen Institution Wirkung

⁵ Weigand, Edda, *Sprache als Dialog. Sprechakttaxonomie und kommunikative Grammatik*, 2. neubearbeitete Auflage, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2003, Seite 40.

haben können. Durch den Vollzug eines deklarativen Sprechaktes wird ein neuer Sachverhalt hergestellt, der von den Interaktionsbeteiligten akzeptiert werden muss, indem sie sich angemessen benehmen und eine bestimmte Haltung zeigen. Die sprechakt-bezeichnenden Verben sind: *erklären* (typische Ausdrucksformen wie *Ich eröffne hiermit die Tagesordnung.* / *Ich erkläre die Sitzung für geschlossen.*), *taufen, ernennen* (*Ich ernenne euch hiermit zu Mann und Frau* / *Ich ernenne dich zum Prinzen von Preußen*), *befördern* (*Ich befördere dich zum Leutnant*).

5. Der expressive Sprechakt der Missbilligung

Der Sprechakt Missbilligung ist eine kommunikative Handlung, die mit sprachlichen Mitteln eine negative Bewertung oder ein ablehnendes Urteil des Sprechers in Bezug auf einen Sachverhalt zum Ausdruck bringt. Der Produzent der Äußerung hat aber vor dem Vollzug des expressiven Sprechaktes der Missbilligung einen Normverstoß festgestellt, der seinen Standardvorstellungen über richtiges Handeln bzw. gutes Verhalten nicht entspricht. Es handelt sich um ein präsupponiertes Ereignis, das von dem Sprecher abgelehnt wird und zu dem er eine negative Einstellung nimmt.

6. Sprachliche Realisierungen des expressiven Sprechaktes der Missbilligung in den Online Diskussionsbeiträgen

In diesem Teil der Arbeit beschäftigen wir uns mit der pragmalinguistischen Untersuchung von online Diskussionsbeiträgen mit dem Ziel, die typischen sprachlichen Ausdrucksformen von Missbilligung in diesen online Texten zu identifizieren bzw. herauszuarbeiten. Die Schreibenden sind aktiv teilnehmende Nutzer, die ihre Meinung über den Eklat um ICR-Fauxpas äußern aber auch auf die Kommentare anderer reagieren, wobei solche Reaktionen neue Redehandlungen bei den Beteiligten auslösen, deren Beitrag vorhin kritisiert wurde. In dem betreffenden online Netzwerk entsteht ein stark interaktives aber auch authentisches Handlungsspiel mit einer einmaligen konkreten Situation. Die neun analysierten Diskussionsbeiträge enthalten abwertende Bemerkungen und negative Bewertungen über verschiedene Aspekte der sozialen Situation in Rumänien.

Der erste Diskussionsbeitrag, am 10.02.2015 online veröffentlicht, kann als Missbilligung des Umstandes in Paris betrachtet werden.

(1) Es ist jetzt Narrenzeit und da passt diese Klamotte der Botschaft in Paris doch bestens ins Bild. Sich endlich mal richtig die Meinung sagen und das auch noch schriftlich: das sind Botschaften des 21. Jahrhunderts.

Der Autor bezeichnet das Ereignis als *diese Klamotte der Botschaft in Paris* und stellt fest, dass sie in der *Narrenzeit*, d.h. in der Karnevalzeit stattfindet. *Klamotte* ist laut Duden eine derbe Farce, eine Posse, die grobe Späße enthält und ein niedriges geistiges Niveau hat. Der Realitätsbezug wird also anhand eines Nomens mit abwertender Bedeutung realisiert. Die nächste Äußerung erscheint als satzartige Infinitivkonstruktion mit generalisierender Auswirkung – es geht

um das fehlende Subjekt, d.h. Agens der Infinitivkonstruktion. Andererseits erscheint die Infinitivform in einer reflexiven Variante (*sich die Meinung sagen*), was nicht der Standardformulierung entspricht. Die strukturalen Konnexionen im Nukleus des Verbs *sagen* erlauben die akusativische Ausdrucksform *die Meinung*, die eine engere Verbindung zum Verb eingeht aber das Verb darf nicht mit einem Reflexivpronomen im Akkusativ vorkommen, denn das gefährdet den strukturellen Bestand des Satzes und der Satz wird ungrammatisch. Das Verb *sagen* kann mit einem Reflexivpronomen im Dativ gebraucht werden – *sich (D) sagen* – mit der Bedeutung *sich überlegen, sich denken*. Der Gebrauch der Konstruktion *sich die Meinung sagen* in einem schriftlichen online Medium kann als typische umgangssprachliche Ausdrucksweise der rumäniendeutschen Sprachvarietät angesehen werden oder als Lehnübertragung verstanden werden. Außerdem gibt es in dem Text Modalpartikeln wie *endlich mal richtig, auch noch*, die ironisch verwendet werden und dadurch eine missbilligende Einstellung des Schreibenden zum Ausdruck bringen.

Der zweite Diskussionsbeitrag erscheint auch am 10.02.2015 aber einige Stunden später und ist auch als Zurückweisung der Vorgehensweise der rumänischen Botschaft in Paris zu verstehen.

(2) *Das ist ein Spiegelbild der Qualität des rumänischen Botschaftspersonals. Auch in Wien sitzen fast ausschließlich solche Idioten, die kein Gefühl für einen Umgang mit ihren Bürgern haben. Ich habe noch nie in meinem Leben so niveaulose emails (Antworten auf Anfragen von Bürgern) gesehen wie solche von der Botschaft in Wien. Da werden die Bürger ohne Respekt behandelt - wie zu alten (kommunistischen) Zeiten!*

Das Ereignis in Paris wird von dem Autor des Beitrags als *ein Spiegelbild der Qualität des rumänischen Botschaftspersonals* bewertet und weil diese Äußerung in einem spezifischen Situationskontext eingebettet ist – und zwar der Zeitungsartikel berichtet über einen von dem rumänischen Botschaftspersonal begangenen Verstoß gegen die Umgangsformen im diplomatischen Bereich - hat sie eine negative Wertung: das rumänische Personal hat minderwertige Qualität. Auch die nächsten Aussagen bringen eine negative Bewertung der üblichen Vorgehensweisen in der Botschaft in Wien zur Sprache. Deutliche Ausdrucksformen dafür sind erweiterte Nominalgruppen wie *kein Gefühl für einen Umgang mit ihren Bürgern / niveaulose emails (Antworten auf Anfragen von Bürgern)* oder passivische Formulierungen - *Da werden die Bürger ohne Respekt behandelt*. Die Angestelltenschaft an der Botschaft in Wien wird mit Hilfe der Struktur *fast ausschließlich solche Idioten* charakterisiert – eine Nominalgruppe mit negativem Inhalt: Ignoranten, die Unkenntnis auf diplomatischem Gebiet zeigen, wobei die Adverbien *fast ausschließlich* auf eine übergroße Anzahl solcher Leute hindeuten.

Andererseits hat das Adverb *auch* in Erststellung in der Äußerung *Auch in Wien sitzen fast ausschließlich solche Idioten* eine entscheidende Rolle bei der

Interpretation des Inhaltes: nicht nur an der rumänischen Botschaft in Paris sondern auch an der Botschaft in Wien geschehen solche Unannehmlichkeiten. Am Ende werden die schlechten Vorgehensweisen an der Botschaft als unerlaubte Methoden angesehen; dazu trägt die Konstruktion *wie zu alten (kommunistischen) Zeiten!* bei.

Der dritte Diskussionsbeitrag erscheint auch am 10.02.2015 aber viel später, gegen Abend, und ist eine missbilligende Stellungnahme zu der Meinung im zweiten Diskussionsbeitrag.

(3) *HÜTET EUCH VOR DEM TERRORISMUS DES GESCHWÄTZES!!!!!!*
@Hanns... also bitte was sollen schon wieder Deine idiotischen Bemerkungen? Nicht die Schreiben von Botschaftsangehörigen in Wien sind niveaulos, sondern Dein Beitrag ist das primitivste was es gibt. Schäme Dich dafür. Du beleidigst anständige Damen und Herren, welche sich bemühen Rumänien bestens im Ausland zu vertreten (natürlich ist kein Mensch perfekt, schau Dich einmal in den Spiegel und Du wirst dies an Dir selbst feststellen). Hier wird von Deiner Seite übelste Verleumdung und Hetze gegen Rumäniens und seiner Vertreter, betrieben. In Paris handelte es sich um eine Verfehlung eines Beamte, dieser wird aus seinem Verhalten, die nötigen Konsequenzen ziehen müssen.

Die Redehandlung beginnt mit einer Aussage in der Imperativform, II. Person Plural - alles großgeschrieben und mehrere Ausrufezeichen am Ende – die, die Präpositionalgruppe *vor dem Terrorismus des Geschwätzes* enthält. Mit der Nominalphrase deutet der Produzent der Äußerung auf die negativen Folgen solches dummen, inhaltslosen Geredes hin. Auch die Interpunktionszeichen und die Großbuchstaben übernehmen die Rolle von Auslösern abwertender Effekte.

Dann folgt die Reaktion des Schreibenden auf den Inhalt des Diskussionsbeitrags zuvor. Mehrere lexikalische Einheiten signalisieren die Empörung der schreibenden Person: das Modalverb *sollen* in einem Fragesatz mit dem Fragewort *was*, die Modalpartikel *schon wieder* und die Nominalgruppe *Deine idiotischen Bemerkungen*, wo das Adjektiv *idiotisch* eine starke negative Bedeutung hat. In der nächsten Formulierung wird das Negationswort *nicht* einer Nominalgruppe vorangestellt, die sich auf das Hauptargument der Kritik in dem vorhergehenden Beitrag bezieht - *Nicht die Schreiben von Botschaftsangehörigen in Wien sind niveaulos*. Dadurch wird die negierte Nominalgruppe hervorgehoben und die Bewertung des ganzen Inhaltes als *niveaulos* abgelehnt. Bei dieser Äußerung liegt auch eine Fortsetzung mit *sondern* vor, die als Richtigstellung fungiert und die eine kritische Beurteilung des Beitrags enthält. Sie wird als Satzgefüge realisiert - *sondern Dein Beitrag ist das primitivste was es gibt*. Der Hauptsatz enthält eine nominale Struktur, die auf ein Adjektiv im Superlativ zurück geht - *das primitivste*⁶, wobei das Nomen eine abwertende Bedeutungskomponente hat. Der folgende Nebensatz, ein eingeleiteter Nebensatz

⁶ Obwohl das Wort klein geschrieben ist, gilt es als Substantiv, weil davor der bestimmte Artikel steht. Vielleicht liegt hier ein Rechtschreibungs- oder Tippfehler vor.

mit *w*-Wort als formales Verknüpfungszeichen, dient zur Betonung des negativen Inhaltes.

In dem Diskussionsbeitrag gibt es auch andere Strukturen, die die Missbilligung des Schreibenden zeigen:

- die verbale Konstruktion in der Imperativform, II. Person Singular, die als direkte tadelnde Anrede zu verstehen ist: *Schäme Dich dafür*.

- die verbale Form im Indikativ Präsens, auch II. Person Singular, ein typisches explizit performatives Verb: *Du beleidigst*.

- passivische Formulierung, in der der Urheber ausdrücklich als Präpositionalgruppe *von + D* erscheint; darüber hinaus liegt hier eine erweiterte Nominalphrase vor, die die Superlativform *übelste* und zwei abwertende Nomen *Verleumdung* und *Hetze* enthält: *Hier wird von Deiner Seite übelste Verleumdung und Hetze gegen Rumäniens und seiner Vertreter, betrieben*.

Die im dritten Beitrag missbilligende Person reagiert auf die kritischen Bemerkungen in einem kurzen Diskussionsbeitrag.

(4) @Helmut - *Sie sind auch ein typisches Spiegelbild Ihres Landes! Anders kann man Ihren Beitrag nicht interpretieren.*

Es ist eine direkte Kritik des Ansprechpartners. Darauf deuten die erweiterte Nominalphrase *ein typisches Spiegelbild Ihres Landes* und das Ausrufezeichen am Ende. Der ganze Beitrag enthält die Anredeform mit *Sie*, was der Formulierung einen höflichen Ton verleiht und eine gepflegte Ausdrucksweise und die Einhaltung bestimmter gesellschaftlicher Konventionen zeigt. Die zweite Äußerung beinhaltet das unbestimmte Pronomen *man*, das eine generalisierende Wirkung erzielt.

Der fünfte Diskussionsbeitrag bringt auch eine kritische Einstellung zu der Meinung im Beitrag drei zum Ausdruck.

(5) @Helmut: *Diese anstaendigen Damen und Herren, von denen Sie reden, sind leider entweder in der absoluten Minderheit oder aber haben dort, wo sie im Einsatz sind, nichts mit der Aussenwelt zu tun. Ein einziges Mal habe ich eine positive Erfahrung gemacht, wo der Bedienstete bemueht und freundlich war. Der Mangel an Kompetenz und Interesse ist mir bei fast jedem Konsulats- oder Botschaftsbesuch aufgefallen. Abgesehen von der Unfaehigkeit zu organisieren, hat man bei den letzten Wahlen klar gesehen, dass man es mit ueberwiegend auf Position gebrachten Leuten zu tun hat, die leider viel zu wenig Ahnung von Protokoll, Diplomatie und Respekt gegenueber denen haben, von denen sie bezahlt werden. Und im uebrigen sollten Sie mit Ihrer Wortwahl, aber auch Ihrer Rechtschreibung etwas sorgsamer umgehen, lieber Helmut!*

Mit dem Vollzug dieser Sprachhandlung realisiert der Diskussionsteilnehmer einen negativen Reaktionsbezug auf einen großen Teil der im Beitrag drei vorausgehenden Präsentation: er hält für wahr die Existenz der *anstaendigen*

Damen und Herren, von denen Sie reden aber schätzt, dass ihre Anzahl gering sei und auf sprachlicher Ebene signalisiert er das mit einer disjunktiven Satzverbindung *entweder... oder* – zwei Sachverhalte, zwischen denen eine Wahl erfolgen muss: *sind leider entweder in der absoluten Minderheit oder aber haben dort, wo sie im Einsatz sind, nichts mit der Aussenwelt zu tun*. Es handelt sich um zwei Teilsätze mit semantischer Gleichartigkeit; in dem ersten Teilsatz gibt es die lexikalischen Elemente *leider* und *in der absoluten Minderheit*, die der Mangel an gutem Personal hervorheben sollen und in dem zweiten Teilsatz die Konstruktion *haben nichts mit der Aussenwelt zu tun*, wobei das negierende Wort *nichts* die Anwesenheit des geeigneten Personals aus der Wirklichkeit ausschließt. Weiter enthält der Beitrag Nominalgruppen erweitert durch Präpositionalattributte: der nominale Nukleus deutet auf defizitäre Aspekte hin (*Mangel an, Unfähigkeit zu, viel zu wenig Ahnung von*) und die untergeordneten Elemente des Nukleus, in der Regel substantivisch realisiert, beziehen sich auf positive Eigenschaften, die die Angestellten einer Botschaft haben sollten (*Kompetenz und Interesse; Protokoll, Diplomatie und Respekt gegenüber denen; zu organisieren*).

Am Ende stellt der Schreibende auch das sprachliche Verhalten des Interaktionspartners zur Diskussion und bewertet es als nicht zum Standardmuster des Handlungskontextes gehörend. Mit der Äußerung *sollten Sie mit Ihrer Wortwahl, aber auch Ihrer Rechtschreibung etwas sorgsamer umgehen* versprachlicht er, dass bestimmte Werte und Normen des Kulturkreises überschritten sind, nämlich die Wortwahl und die Rechtschreibung – auf sprachlicher Ebene explizit genannt.

Der Autor des Diskussionsbeitrags 6 referiert auch auf die von Dialogpartner drei ins Spiel gebrachten Argumente bezüglich des Fauxpas der Botschaft in Paris.

(6) @Helmut: *Sie glauben wahrscheinlich, dass es normal ist, wie die Bürger in Rumänien von der Verwaltung behandelt werden! Wir sind allerdings anderes gewöhnt. Solche präpotente und ahnungslose Typen wie in der rumänischen Verwaltung (einschließlich den Botschaften) gibt es bei uns nicht.*

Der Produzent des Beitrags bringt mit Hilfe der Formen des Personalpronomens erste Person Plural *wir / bei uns* seine Zugehörigkeit zu einer Gruppe zum Ausdruck, die er aufwertet. Die Werte und Normen der eigenen Kultur gelten als Maßstab bei der Bewertung der Verhaltensmuster in der fremden Kultur, wobei die Äußerung *Wir sind allerdings anderes gewöhnt* eine Abgrenzung von dem in der anderen Gemeinschaft geltenden Handlungsmuster signalisiert. Das fremdkulturelle Gegenüber, mit dem sich der Schreibende auseinandersetzt, ist das Verhaltensmuster in der rumänischen Verwaltung - *wie die Bürger in Rumänien von der Verwaltung behandelt werden!* – wobei das Verb *behandeln* in passivischer Form einen klaren Sprachbezug auf das Verhalten und Handeln der Behörde enthält. Die Angehörigen der rumänischen Verwaltung werden anhand einer langen erweiterten Nominalphrase präsentiert: *Solche*

präpotente und ahnungslose Typen wie in der rumänischen Verwaltung (einschließlich den Botschaften); die zwei abwertende Adjektive, die zu der Nominalphrase treten - *präpotente und ahnungslose* - beziehen sich auf das aufdringliche, überhebliche Benehmen, auf die Unwissenheit und Ignoranz der Angestellten, was dem Bewertungsschema des Schreibenden nicht passt. Solche Eigenschaften werden negativ wahrgenommen und als Verletzungen des standardisierten Verhaltensmusters in der eigenen Kultur angesehen. Auf sprachlicher Ebene wird das mit der unpersönlichen Konstruktion *es gibt* und dem Negationswort *nicht* zur Sprache gebracht: *gibt es bei uns nicht*.

Auch der Diskussionsbeitrag (7) bezieht sich auf den dritten Leserkommentar zum ADZ-Zeitungsartikel.

(7) @ Hanns: *Also wenn der Herr Helmut nicht gerade, in seinem parteilichen "Übereifer", Grenzen des Anstandes überschreitet (was bis dato lediglich einmal vorgekommen ist), dann finde ich den von Ihm zitierten und selbst praktizierten "Terror des Geschwätzes" gar nicht so übel. Wer nämlich seine "Postings" verfolgt wird feststellen, dass er durch die von Ihm praktifizierte "Glorifizierung" der Regierungen "Doktor I - IV", seinen Parteifreunden mehr Schaden als Nutzen zufügt. So gesehen, müssten Sie eigentlich froh sein, einen so fleißigen "Mitstreiter" an Ihrer Seite zu haben ;)*

Die Missbilligung gilt der Einstellung, die die schreibende Person des dritten Beitrags zu dem ICR-Fauxpas hat. Die anvisierte Person wird explizit am Anfang des Konditionalsatzes genannt: *der Herr Helmut* – eine Nominalphrase, die die Anredeform *Herr* und das davor stehende, zur stärkeren Betonung des Nomens dienende Demonstrativpronomen enthält. Die Vorderstellung des Demonstrativpronomens wirkt in diesem Kontext ironisch und missbilligend. Dem Schreibenden wird *parteilichen "Übereifer"* zugeschrieben und das realisiert man auf sprachlicher Ebene mit Hilfe des Possessivpronomens *sein*. Das Adjektiv *parteilich* mit der Bedeutung eine Partei betreffend bezieht sich auf eine begeisterte Bereitwilligkeit, die viel Energie und Bemühung seitens der handelnden Person voraussetzt.

Eine andere missbilligende Handlung ist, dass sie die *Grenzen des Anstandes überschreitet (was bis dato lediglich einmal vorgekommen ist)*. Die explizite Nennung dieser sprechakt-bezeichnenden Verbalkonstruktion bewirkt eine deutliche Ausführung des expressiven Sprechaktes der Missbilligung. Beide verbalen Formen (*überschreitet / vorgekommen ist*) erscheinen im Indikativ, anders gesagt wird die Handlung als in der Wirklichkeit stattfindend bzw. stattgefunden präsentiert.

Der Beitragsproduzent (7) bewertet die Postings im dritten Leserkommentar auch kritisch und dazu gebraucht er mehrere erweiterte Nominalgruppen mit abwertender Bedeutung: *den von Ihm zitierten und selbst praktizierten "Terror des Geschwätzes" / die von Ihm praktifizierte "Glorifizierung" der Regierungen "Doktor I - IV"*. Die Vorwürfe werden auch hier explizit mit Hilfe Partizipialkonstruktionen zum Ausdruck gebracht, wobei die partizipialen

Formen *zitiert* und *praktiziert* (zweimal gebraucht) das Agens in den Vordergrund bringen und die Nominalgruppen, mit Genitivattributen erweitert, (*Terror des Geschwätzes / "Glorifizierung" der Regierungen "Doktor I-IV"*) die konkreten Handlungen explizit nennen. Die Struktur "*Doktor I – IV*", eine Angabe zum nominalen Kern *Regierungen*, bezieht sich auf einen Wirklichkeitsausschnitt des rumänischen politischen Lebens, und zwar, dass es zu viele rumänische Politiker den akademischen Doktorgrad haben, wobei es in den Medien über viele Plagiatsaffären berichtet wurde.

In dem Diskussionsbeitrag (8) handelt es sich auch um eine abwertende Meinung in dem letzten Teil des Textes.

(8) Heute mittag besuchte ich meine Siebenbürger Sachsen und zeigte ihnen mal die Beiträge der Leute in dem forum..die ich romanisierte nenne..die Antwort auf die Beiträge lautete..was haben wir mit rumänien zu tum..im Sommer fahren wir in unsere Heimat..und die heißt Siebenbürgen und nicht rumänien..Zitat Ende..solche Berichte wie in diesen Beitrag ist politisch unterste Schublade..deswegen und wegen vieler anderer Vorkommnisse..haben es die Rumänen satt. Sie wählten einen Sachsen..dem sie andere charakterliche Eigenschaften zusprechen. Johannes befreie uns vor dem übel. Amen.

Der Produzent der Äußerung bewertet das in dem Zeitungsartikel dargestellte Ereignis als *politisch unterste Schublade* - eine Nominalphrase, der Umgangssprache gehörend, mit der Bedeutung niveaulos, ordinär, gemein, die ein ablehnendes Urteil in Bezug auf den betreffenden Sachverhalt abgibt.

Der Schreibende berichtet in dem Diskussionsbeitrag (8) aber auch über die Auseinandersetzung der Menschen aus zwei verschiedenen Kulturkreisen - den Siebenbürger Sachsen und den Rumänen - mit den politischen und wirtschaftlichen Problemen in Rumänien. Wenn er sich auf die Perzeption der Angehörigen der Gruppe der Siebenbürger Sachsen hinsichtlich des ICR Fauxpas bezieht, beruht er sich auf die Autorität des Zitats, um mehr Glaubwürdigkeit der Aussage zu verleihen. Dazu dienen die Formulierungen *die Antwort auf die Beiträge lautete* und *Zitat Ende*. Das betreffende Zitat wird von dem Schreibenden in den eigenen Satzbau eingefügt und verweist auf die Haltung einiger Vertreter der Gruppe Siebenbürger Sachsen (*meine Siebenbürger Sachsen*): *was haben wir mit rumänien zu tum..im Sommer fahren wir in unsere Heimat..und die heißt Siebenbürgen und nicht rumänien*. Inhaltlich bringt das Zitat weder Ab- noch Aufwertung zur Sprache aber eine Abgrenzung von dem fremdkulturellen Gegenüber wird klar auf sprachlicher Ebene signalisiert: die interrogative Form des ersten Satzes (*was zu tun haben?*), das Negationswort *nicht* vor dem Eigennamen *Rumänien* und der Gebrauch von Indikativ (auch Wirklichkeitsform genannt).

Anschließend produziert der Schreibende Aussagen über die Haltung der Rumänen gegenüber der politischen und sozialen Gegebenheiten in Rumänien. Es handelt sich um Formulierungen im Indikativ Präsens bzw. Präteritum, was die Handlung in eine sichere Wirklichkeit einbettet: *deswegen und wegen vieler*

anderer Vorkommnisse..haben es die Rumänen satt. Sie wählten einen Sachsen..dem sie andere charakterliche Eigenschaften zusprechen. Die verbale Form *es satt haben* im Präsens und in Bezug auf die Rumänen deutet explizit auf das Überdrüssig-Sein der rumänischen Angehörigen hinsichtlich der sozialen Situation. Dabei wird eine Hervorhebung des kulturspezifischen Wertemusters bezüglich der deutschsprachigen Minderheit der Siebenbürger Sachsen zur Sprache gebracht, nämlich einem Vertreter der Sachsen werden von den rumänischen Wählern *andere charakterliche Eigenschaften zugesprochen*. Diese passivische Konstruktion lässt eine spezifische Wahrnehmung und eine bestimmte Denkweise in den Vordergrund kommen und zwar, dass die Deutschen zuverlässig und vertrauenswürdig sind. Diese Denkweise wird auch in der letzten Aussage verstärkt, die in Form eines religiösen Gebetes realisiert wird: die rituelle Zuwendung an eine Gottheit erscheint hier als Eigennamen *Johannis* und die Struktur mit einer verbalen Form im Imperativ *befreie uns vor dem übel. Amen.* ist eigentlich eine direkte Übernahme des Schemas am Ende eines Gebetes.

Der Beitragsproduzent (10) reagiert auf eine vom Diskussionsteilnehmer (9) vollzogene sprachliche Handlung.

(9) @Norbert: *Ihre Siebenbürger Sachsen gibt es biologisch schon fast nicht mehr; alles nur noch eine Frage der Zeit. Ihre Sachsen wollten nämlich zu den leichten DM-Fleischtöpfen und dort leiden sie nun an Wohlstandskrankheiten - wenn sie denn überhaupt noch leben. Was Sie erzählen ist Blöf und Kukulores - Ihre Sachsen schauen mittlerweile nämlich die Radischen von unten an!! ES GIBT SIE KAUM NOCH!*

Es geht um einen missbilligenden Reaktionsbezug auf eine vorausgehende sprachliche Manifestation, der einem weiteren natürlichen Ablauf eines interaktionalen Prozesses entspricht. Der Schreibende vollzieht einen Themenwechsel, indem er sich explizit darauf festlegt, dass die Kategorie der Siebenbürger Sachsen nicht mehr gibt. Dazu bringt er verschiedene Argumente vor, die auf sprachlicher Ebene unterschiedlich realisiert sind:

- Abtönungspartikeln in Verbindung mit Adjektiven, Negationswörtern, Adverbien oder nominaler Aktualisierungen, die auf semantisch-syntaktischer Ebene operieren und den Realitätsgrad der Existenz der Siebenbürger Sachsen bestreiten: *biologisch schon fast nicht mehr; alles nur noch eine Frage der Zeit; - wenn sie denn überhaupt noch leben, mittlerweile nämlich, kaum noch;*

- spontan gebildete zusammengesetzte nominale Erscheinungsformen, typisch für den umgangssprachlichen Sprachgebrauch, die sich auf bestimmte geschichtliche Ereignisse der deutschen Minderheit beziehen: *zu den leichten DM-Fleischtöpfen⁷;[sie leiden an] Wohlstandskrankheiten;*

⁷ Es handelt sich um die Auswanderung der rumäniendeutschen Minderheit in die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, die 1967 begann - den sogenannten Freikauf. Die deutsche Bundesregierung zahlte einen Geldbetrag („Kopfgeld“) für jeden Rumäniendeutschen, so dass vor dem Umbruch in Rumänien 1989 über 16.000 Deutsche aus Rumänien ausgewandert sind. Nach 1989 verließen sehr viele Rumäniendeutsche das Land.

- umgangssprachliche Redewendung, die auf das Aufhören des Lebens einer Person hinweisen: *schauen die Radischen von unten an*;
- auch die Großschreibung der letzten Aussage soll die Missbilligung der schreibenden Person in Bezug auf Sprachhandlung im Beitrag (8) hervorheben.

6. Fazit

Die analysierten Beiträge sind kommunikative Ereignisse in einem online Medium, die eine interaktionslogische Reihenfolge und eine eigene Dynamik aufweisen. Das sprachliche Handeln ist eng mit dem weiteren natürlichen Ablauf des Kommunikationsprozesses verbunden, wobei die sprachliche Handlung nicht nur von dem Inhalt des kommentierten Zeitungstextes sondern auch von dem vorangegangenen Beitrag abhängt.

In diesem online Handlungskontext, von bestimmten situativ sozialen Faktoren begleitet, finden ein gemeinsamer Austausch von Meinungen und eine Auseinandersetzung mit verschiedenen kulturspezifischen Denk- und Verhaltensmustern statt und das wird direkt durch Sprache vermittelt. Nicht nur der ICR Fauxpas sondern auch das sprachliche Verhalten mancher online Interaktionsbeteiligten werden auf verschiedene Arten wahrgenommen und über sprachliches Produzieren als missbilligend dargestellt. Die sprachlichen Realisierungen haben unterschiedliche Ausdrucksformen, wie z.B. Verben im Indikativ, Abtönungspartikeln, umgangssprachliche Redewendungen, erweiterte nominale Aktualisierungen und adjektivale Elemente mit abwertender Bedeutung. Manche Ausdruckseinheiten sind spontan gebildet und haben einen hohen expressiven Wert, wie z.B. *“Glorifizierung” der Regierungen “Doktor I – IV”; zu den leichten DM-Fleischtöpfen*. Auch Interpunktionszeichen wie Anführungs- oder Ausrufezeichen sollen eine ironische Bedeutung signalisieren und den lexikalischen Einheiten eine abwertende Färbung verleihen. Es lassen sich auch aus dem Englischen übernommene Wörter identifizieren - *seine “Postings”* – was eine typische Erscheinung der umgangssprachlichen Sprachverwendung ist. Es handelt sich also um wichtige relevante Merkmale auf sprachlicher Ebene, die ein negatives Urteilen und Missbilligung der schreibenden Individuen zum Ausdruck bringen.

Literatur

Baier, H. u.a., (2013), *Geschichte und Traditionen der deutschen Minderheit in Rumänien*, Lehrbuch für die 6. und 7. Klasse der Schulen mit deutscher Unterrichtssprache, 5. Auflage, Hermannstadt, Verlag Central.

Beck, G., (1980), *Sprechakte und Sprechfunktionen. Untersuchungen zur Handlungsstruktur der Sprache und ihren Grenzen*, Reihe Germanistische Linguistik 27, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Bolten, J., (2012), *Kulturelle Kompetenz*, 5. ergänzte und aktualisierte Auflage, Erfurt, Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Thüringen.

Bülow, L. u.a., (Hrgs.), (2016), *Performativität in Sprache und Recht*, Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter Mouton Verlag, Sprache und Wissen (SuW), Band 23.

Dănilă, A., (2016), *Practici discursive utilizate în textele media scrise*, București, Editura Pro Universitaria.

Hamel, R., (2009): *Strafen als Sprechakt: Die Bedeutung der Strafe für das Opfer*, Schriften zum Strafrecht, Berlin, Heft 208, 1. Auflage, Duncker und Humbold Verlag.

Manu Magda, M., (2003), *Elemente de pragmatolingvistică a românei vorbite regional*, București, Editura Dual Tech.

Manu Magda, M., (2012), *Dialogul în comunități plurilingve. Studiu sociolingvistic. Texte germane din zona Sibiului*, București, Editura Academiei.

Searle, J., (1969), *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*, Cambridge UK, Cambridge University Press.

Thomas, A., (2014), *Wie Fremdes vertraut werden kann. Mit internationalen Geschäftspartnern zusammenarbeiten*, erste Auflage, Wiesbaden, Verlag Springer Fachmedien.

Weigand, E., (2003), *Sprache als Dialog. Sprechakttaxonomie und kommunikative Grammatik*, 2. neubearbeitete Auflage, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Wierlacher, A., Bogner, A., (2003), *Handbuch interkulturelle Germanistik*, Stuttgart/Weimar, Metzler Verlag.

ZUR ENTWICKLUNG DES BEGRIFFS ÜBERSETZUNG. EIN EINBLICK

Evemarie Draganovici*

evemarie.draganovici@lls.unibuc.ro

Abstract: *While for laymen the translation process still requires no more than the mastery of two languages because they see the translation process as the replacement of individual linguistic means, the increasing challenges in the field of translations lead to an increasingly complex intercultural transfer. Although cultural boundaries are easier to overcome as technology evolves, the transfer of information from a source language to a target language becomes more complex because of the modern media, which now uses all signs: visual, acoustic and verbal as a whole. They must be translated as such into the target culture. Therefore, the definition of what today can be considered a translation must be extended. The aim of this paper is to provide an insight into the development of this definition in translation science from the perspective of the translation unit and the position of the source text.*

Keywords: *translation unit, source text, definition of translation, transfer, multidimensional translation.*

1. Die Anfänge

Ausgangspunkt der Untersuchung sind die 60er Jahre, die Zeit in der die Übersetzungswissenschaft bestrebt ist, sich als Wissenschaft zu etablieren. Einer der Gründe des zunehmenden Interesses für diese Entwicklung ist die maschinelle Übersetzung, die, wie festgestellt wurde, sich nicht mit technischen Problemen auseinandersetzen musste, sondern mit linguistischen, denn es sollten vom Computer "Texte in der AS (Ausgangssprache)" analysiert und "in der ZS (Zielsprache) synthetisiert werden."¹, so dass die Aufstellung einer Übersetzungstheorie zur Notwendigkeit wurde.

Zu diesem Zeitpunkt kann noch über keine Übersetzungstheorie gesprochen werden, deshalb sind die Wissenschaftler bestrebt einen Beschreibungsapparat und ein Instrumentarium aufzustellen, um die Kriterien Wissenschaftlichkeit, Objektivierbarkeit und Formalisierbarkeit zu erfüllen. Da es sich um sprachliches Material handelt² und ein valides Instrumentarium gesichert werden muss, wendet man sich an die Linguistik³, folglich wird die Übersetzungswissenschaft

* Lecturer PhD., The Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures, Bucharest University.

¹ Stolze, Radegundis, *Übersetzungstheorien. Eine Einführung*, Tübingen, Narr, 2008, S.44.

² So z.B. Catford: „Since translation has to do with language, the analysis and description of translation-processes must make considerable use of categories set up for the description of languages. It must, in other words, draw upon a theory of language - a general linguistic theory.” Catford John. C. *A Linguistic Theory of Translation, An essay in Applied Linguistics*, London, Oxford University Press, 1965, S. vii.

³ Vgl. Draganovici, Evemarie: *Zur Klassifikation der Texttypen in der Translatologie*, Ruse 2010, S.110f

von zahlreichen Theoretikern als ein Bereich der Linguistik betrachtet, so wie Catford: "The theory of translation is concerned with a certain type of relation between languages and is consequently a branch of Comparative Linguistics."⁴

Somit sind die ersten Definitionen der Übersetzung ausgeprägt linguistisch ausgerichtet, sowohl im englisch - als auch im deutschsprachigen Raum: "Translation may be defined as follows: the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL)..."⁵ oder im deutschen Raum von Werner Koller im Jahre 1972 noch streng linguistisch formuliert: "Linguistisch kann die Übersetzung als Umkodierung oder Substitution beschrieben werden: Elemente a1, a2, a3, des Sprachinventars L1 werden durch Elemente b1, b2, b3 des Sprachinventars L2 ersetzt."⁶

Es geht dabei um einen linguistischen Transfer, um eine "textreproduzierende Tätigkeit"⁷. Noch spricht Koller von einer Eins-zu-Eins-Entsprechung zwischen der Ausgangs- und der Zielsprache, wobei von einer "eigentlichen Übersetzung"⁸ dann gesprochen werden kann, wenn die Übersetzung "AS-Text-gebunden"⁹ ist, d.h. dass der Ausgangstext als entscheidender Faktor bei dem Transfer zu beachten ist. Die Übersetzung wird auf die textreproduzierende Handlung begrenzt, wobei jede Transfertätigkeit, bei deren Ausführung in den Ausgangstext in irgendeiner Form eingegriffen wird, als Textverarbeitung oder Textproduktion aufgefasst wird. Die Übersetzungseinheit ist noch, unter dem Einfluss der maschinellen Übersetzung, der Satz.

2. Übersetzt werden Texte

In den 60er Jahren wendet sich die Linguistik vom Satz als linguistische Bezugseinheit ab und zum Untersuchungsobjekt wird der Text. Diese Tendenz kann in den Definitionen der Übersetzungswissenschaft festgestellt werden. Catford definiert die Übersetzung als "an operation performed on languages: a process of substituting a text in one language for a text in another."¹⁰ und Kade versteht ... daher unter Übersetzen die Translation eines fixierten und demzufolge permanent dargebotenen bzw. beliebig oft wiederholbaren Textes der Ausgangsprache in einen jederzeit kontrollierbaren und wiederholt korrigierbaren Text der Zielsprache. Unter Dolmetschen verstehen wir die Translation eines einmalig (in der Regel mündlich) dargebotenen Textes der Ausgangssprache in einen nur bedingt kontrollierbaren und infolge Zeitmangels kaum korrigierbaren Text der Zielsprache.¹¹

⁴ Catford John. C. *A Linguistic Theory of Translation, An essay in Applied Linguistics*, London, Oxford University Press, 1965, S.20.

⁵ Catford John. C. *A Linguistic Theory of Translation, An essay in Applied Linguistics*, London, Oxford University Press, 1965, S.20.

⁶ Koller, Werner, *Grundprobleme der Übersetzungstheorie*, Bern/München, Francke, 1992, S.69.

⁷ Koller, Werner, *Grundprobleme der Übersetzungstheorie*, Bern/München, Francke, 1992, S. 81.

⁸ Koller, Werner, *Grundprobleme der Übersetzungstheorie*, Bern/München, Francke, 1992, S. 82

⁹ Koller, Werner, *Grundprobleme der Übersetzungstheorie*, Bern/München, Francke, 1992, S. 85.

¹⁰ Catford John. C., *A Linguistic Theory of Translation, An essay in Applied Linguistics*, London, Oxford University Press, 1965, S.1.

¹¹ Kade, Otto zit. in Snell-Hornby, Mary, *Translation (Übersetzen/Dolmetschen) / Translationswissenschaft/Translatologie*, In: Snell-Hornby, M./Hönig, H. G./Kussmaul, P./Schmitt, P. A. (Hrsg.), *Handbuch Translation*, Tübingen, Stauffenburg, 1998, S.37.

Otto Kade, Vertreter der Leipziger Schule, führt den Begriff Translation als Oberbegriff für Übersetzen und Dolmetschen ein, das Produkt nennt er Translat und den Ausführenden Translator. Die Vertreter der Leipziger Schule entnehmen die Begriffe der Nachrichtentechnik und der Kommunikationswissenschaft, und passen sie der Übersetzungswissenschaft an, so dass der ursprüngliche Begriff Kode, Zeichenvorrat mit der Lexik gleichgesetzt wird und die Verknüpfungsregeln mit der Syntax. Die drei Vertreter Gert Jäger, Otto Kade, Albrecht Neubert betrachten die Kommunikationswissenschaft als Grundierung für die Translation und die Translation als Teilbereich der kontrastiven Sprachwissenschaft und obwohl nicht von Anfang an, sprechen sie von der Übersetzung von Texten und nicht von Sätzen.

Ein weiterer Anhänger der Leipziger Schule, Jumpelt¹² plädiert für die sprachlich-stilistische Adäquatheit und versteht darunter die grammatische Korrektheit und die Einhaltung der linguistisch-stilistischen Gebrauchsnormen der jeweiligen Texte. Trotzdem muss er einräumen, dass eine wissenschaftliche Analyse des Textes auf lexikalischer, morphologischer und syntaktischer Ebene nicht immer ausreicht, vor Allem wenn es um literarische Texte geht. Deshalb wendet er sich den Texten aus dem Bereich der Wissenschaft und Technik zu, wo der Inhalt den Vorrang hat. Die Textgattung bestimmt die Übersetzungsverfahren und -prinzipien.

In den 60er und 70er Jahren werden als Folge der intensiven Auseinandersetzung mit dem Text¹³ Themen wie kommunikative Interrelation zwischen Ausgangstext, Texttyp, Übersetzer und Zieltextrezipient zum Gegenstand der Übersetzungstheorie. Man befasst sich mit der methodischen und systematischen Unterscheidung der verschiedenen Textsorten und ordnet ihnen verschiedene Übersetzungsverfahren zu. Schon 1969 veröffentlichen Nida und Taber "The Theory and Practice of Translation". Hier definieren die Autoren das Übersetzen: "Translation consists in reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source language message, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style."¹⁴

Damit setzt Nida die Grundlagen für die moderne Übersetzungswissenschaft, indem er syntaktische Analyseetappen für das Übersetzen einführt und so annimmt, dass man auch die Intention der Botschaft erfasst. Von ihm wird der erste kommunikative Ansatz entwickelt, in dem er davon ausgeht, dass Texte übersetzt werden und nicht Grammatikformen, beizubehalten ist die Wirkung

¹² Jumpelt, Rudolf, Walter, Die Übersetzung naturwissenschaftlicher und technischer Literatur, Berlin, Langenscheidt, 1961, S. 45f.

¹³ Von einer zweiten Phase kommunikationsorientierter Textlinguistik spricht man Anfang der 70er Jahre. Diese entwickelte sich von dem Hintergrund der linguistischen Pragmatik, die die Bedingungen sprachlich-sozialer Verständigung zwischen den Kommunikationspartnern einer bestimmten Kommunikationsgemeinschaft zu beschreiben und zu erklären versucht. In sprachtheoretischer Hinsicht stützt sie sich hauptsächlich die innerhalb der angelsächsischen Sprachphilosophie entwickelte Sprechakttheorie (J.L. Austin, J.R. Searle). „Text wird nicht mehr als grammatisch verknüpfte Satzfolge, sondern als (komplexe) sprachliche Handlung, mit der der Sprecher oder Schreiber eine bestimmte kommunikative Beziehung zum Hörer oder Leser herzustellen versucht“. (Brinker, Klaus, *Linguistische Textanalyse. Eine Einführung in Grundbegriffe und Methoden*, Berlin, Erich Schmidt, 1988, S.15).

¹⁴ Nida, A. Eugene/Taber, R. Charles, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, E.J.Brill, Leiden, 1982, S. 12.

der Texte, der Informationsgehalt. Man ist bestrebt übersetzungsrelevante Texttypologien¹⁵ zu erstellen und texttypenorientierte Übersetzungstheorien zu erarbeiten, vorwiegend im deutschen Raum.

Katharina Reiss' Ziel ist es, eine für Übersetzungen einheitliche und allgemein akzeptierte Terminologie zu entwickeln, die der jungen Übersetzungswissenschaft - ähnlich wie der neueren Linguistik - bis dahin noch nicht zur Verfügung stand. Sie versucht ein Verhältnis zwischen Texttypen und der ihnen jeweils angemessenen Übersetzungsmethode aufzubauen und hält die Bestimmung des Texttyps des Originals für die wichtigste Aufgabe bei der Übersetzungskritik. Der Texttyp¹⁶ entscheidet darüber, wie übersetzt werden soll und in welcher Reihenfolge die ausgangssprachlichen Invarianten erhalten bleiben sollen. Eine ähnliche Meinung vertreten W. Koller und R.W. Jumpelt (1961), die der Überzeugung sind, dass es in keiner Weise möglich sei, sämtliche im Ausgangstext enthaltenen Invarianten im Zieltext zu erhalten. Vorgeschlagen wird die Aufstellung vom Übersetzer einer "Hierarchie der in der Übersetzung zu erhaltenden Elemente (...) aufgrund deren er eine Hierarchie der Äquivalenzforderungen bezüglich des betreffenden Textes"¹⁷ ableiten kann.

Koller passt seine Definition aus der Perspektive der Übersetzungsäquivalenz an, wobei nicht ausgangssprachliche Elemente mit zielsprachlichen Elementen ersetzt werden, sondern von einem sprachlich-textuellen Prozess ausgegangen wird.

Eine Übersetzung ist das Resultat einer sprachlich-textuellen Operation, die von einem AS-Text zu einem ZS-Text führt, wobei zwischen ZS-Text und AS-Text eine Übersetzungs- (oder Äquivalenz-)relation hergestellt wird. [...] Eine zentrale Aufgabe der Übersetzungswissenschaft als empirische Wissenschaft besteht darin, die Lösungen, die die Übersetzer in ihren Übersetzungen anbieten, zu analysieren, zu beschreiben, zu systematisieren und zu problematisieren.¹⁸

Wie man der Definition entnehmen kann, geht Kollers Theorie von einem linguistischen Ansatz aus, doch es geht nicht mehr nur um die syntaktische Analyse des AS-Textes, um die Inhalts- und Wirklichkeitsgleichheit zu wahren, sondern um das Textganze, wobei sprachliche aber auch außersprachliche Faktoren beachtet werden. Denn Sprach- und Textanalyse sind die Voraussetzung einer qualitativ befriedigenden Übersetzung.

1971 formuliert Katharina Reiß zwar keine Definition der Übersetzung, aber sie vertritt die Einstellung, dass der Texttyp die Übersetzungsmethode bestimmt, und die Übersetzungseinheit wird auf den Text erweitert und reduziert sich nicht mehr nur auf die syntaktisch-semantischen Ebenen. Noch muss die Treue zum Original, d.h. die Beibehaltung des kommunikativen Wertes des Ausgangstextes, als entscheidender Faktor bei einer Übersetzung in Betracht gezogen werden, aber dabei muss auch auf die Funktion des Ausgangstextes in der Zielsprache

¹⁵ Nida unterscheidet 1964 primär referentielle und primär emotive Texte; Mounin 1965 religiöse, literarische, lyrische, technische Texte, Synchronisationstexte, Kinderbücher und Theaterstücke; Irmen 1971 kontemplative, senderorientierte und aktionale, empfängerorientierte Texte.

¹⁶ Ihrer Auffassung nach hat der Texttyp eine größere Relevanz als die Textart.

¹⁷ Vgl. Koller, Werner, *Grundprobleme der Übersetzungstheorie*, Bern/München, Francke, 1992, S. 266.

¹⁸ Koller, Werner, *Grundprobleme der Übersetzungstheorie*, Bern/München, Francke, 1992, S. 6.

geachtet werden, wenn mit einem Text oder Textelement in einer konkreten Kommunikationssituation und unter Berücksichtigung einer konkreten Textsorte derselbe kommunikative Effekt erzielt wird, wie er durch den Ausgangstext in der Ausgangssprache erzielt wurde bzw. worden wäre¹⁹.

3. Zieltextfunktion bestimmt Texttransferverfahren

Wenn 1976 Reiß den Ausgangstext noch als das „Maß aller Dinge“ als „die unverrückbare Bezugsgröße“ betrachtet und ihn als „Bindung“ darstellt, auf die der Übersetzer bei aller Souveränität seines Tuns („translatorisches Handeln“) nicht verzichten kann und darf, wenn er noch als Übersetzer gelten will²⁰, ist der Ausgangstext in der 1984 von Vermeer und Reiss aufgestellten Skopostheorie als ein „Informationsangebot in einer Zielsprache und deren –kultur über ein Informationsangebot aus einer Ausgangssprache und deren –kultur“²¹ an einen Rezipienten seitens eines Produzenten zu betrachten. Der Translator formuliert einen Zieltext, der als Text somit ebenfalls ein Informationsangebot an einen Rezipienten ist. So ist das Translat ein Informationsangebot bestimmter Sorte über ein Informationsangebot. Die primäre Translationseinheit ist der Text, Wörter interessieren den Translator nur als Textelemente. Die gesamte übersetzerische Handlung wird von deren Zweck bedingt: „Für Translation gilt, ‚Der Zweck heiligt die Mittel.‘“²²

Der Translator ist Teil einer Gesellschaft, einer Gruppe zu einer gewissen Zeit, was auf sein Handeln und somit auf das Produkt seinen Einfluss übt. *Sprache* wird mit *Kultur* ersetzt, es wird die Interdependenz von Sprache und Kultur betont, denn Sprache gehört zur Kultur, sie ist das konventionelle Kommunikations- und Denkmittel einer Kultur.²³ Hier kann es den einen Ausgangstext nicht geben, sondern nur eine endliche Anzahl möglicher Interpretationen in einer ebenso endlichen Anzahl von Situationen.

Das von Justa Holz-Mänttärri vorgeschlagene kooperative Handlungsmodell kann als Ergänzung, als Vervollständigung der Skopostheorie betrachtet werden. Sie hat keine ausschließlich textuelle Perspektive und sieht den Gegenstand der Translationswissenschaft in allen Handlungen, die als Ziel die qualifizierte Erstellung von Texten haben und plädiert dafür, „dass Texte oder Teile davon oder gar

¹⁹ Prunč, Erich, *Einführung in die Translationswissenschaft*, Graz, Institut für Translationswissenschaft 2002, S. 60.

²⁰ Reiss, Katharina, *Texttyp und Übersetzungsmethode. Der operative Text*, Heidelberg, 1976, Groos, S. 73.

²¹ Reiss, Katharina/Vermeer, Hans. J., *Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie*, Tübingen, 1991, S.76.

²² Reiss, Katharina/Vermeer, Hans. J., *Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie*, Tübingen, 1991, S.101.

²³ Vermeer betont das kulturelle Element, indem er eine Translation als einen kulturellen Transfer definiert. Er ergänzt 1986 in „Übersetzen als kultureller Transfer“ die Behauptung „Eine Translation ist abhängig vom Zweck des Translats“ mit der Bemerkung „Dieses Translat ist aber Element der Zielkultur, also mit dieser eng verknüpft. (...) Eine Translation ist also immer auch ein transkultureller Transfer, die möglichste Lösung eines Phänomens aus seinen alten kulturellen Verknüpfungen und seine Einpflanzung in zielkulturelle Verknüpfungen.“ (Vermeer, Hans, *Übersetzen als kultureller Transfer*. In: Snell-Hornby, Mary (Hrsg.), *Übersetzungswissenschaft - eine Neuorientierung. Zur Integrierung von Theorie und Praxis*, Tübingen-Basel, Uni Taschenbücher, S. 34).

Sprachen "übersetzt" werden.²⁴ Deshalb zieht sie den Begriff translatorisches Handeln dem Übersetzen vor, um die zahlreichen Formen der interkulturellen Kommunikation, nicht nur Übersetzung, Paraphrasieren oder Adaptation, sondern auch Textdesign und Beratung unter diesem Begriff zu vereinen.²⁵

Unter dem Begriff Text als Übersetzungseinheit wird mehr als nur der verbalisierte Teil verstanden. Auch in diesem Fall ist der Ausgangstext ein Informationsmaterial, das der Translator vom Auftraggeber erhält oder sich durch Recherche selbst erarbeitet, der Text ist also ein Ausgangsmaterial. Dadurch räumt der Ausgangstext seine zentrale Stellung zugunsten der Funktion des Zieltextes in der Zielsprache. Übersetzen heißt bei Holz-Mänttari nicht die Suche nach Äquivalenz zum Ausgangstext, sondern das Ersetzen des Ausgangstextes mit einem Zieltext, der den Wünschen und Bedürfnissen des Bedarfsträgers entspricht.

Diesen Standpunkt vertritt auch Anthony Pym. Die Nebeneinanderstellung eines so genannten Ausgangstextes und dessen Zieltext lehnt Pym kategorisch ab, dabei werde nur eine Analyse durchgeführt, die den Linguisten von Interesse ist, und nicht unbedingt mit der Translation zu tun hat. Er lehnt die Möglichkeit einer Verbindung zur Texttypologie von Reiss ab, da "transfer-based analysis concerns the position and role of the second person within an inclusive "we"²⁶; ein Text kann und muss oft verändert werden, so dass ein Transfer möglich ist:

Texts can be transformed in order to pass over one threshold or another, and the modes of rewriting need not affect text-type models based on criteria other than those of transferability. This is one reason why I do not expect much help from text linguistics on this point.²⁷

Pym schlägt vor, die Textanalyse "gewaltsam zu beseitigen", indem man mit den außertextlichen Faktoren die Analyse angeht, d.h. aus der Perspektive des Transfers, denn er fasst das Übersetzen als "a special kind of response to things that have been transferred or are meant to be transferred"²⁸ und die Übersetzungen als *moving objects* auf, die von einer Kultur in eine andere Kultur übertragen werden.

4. Mutidimensionalität des Transfermaterials

Eine Herausforderung sind für die Translatoren und die Übersetzungswissenschaft die Erscheinungsformen der neuen Textsorten, die mit der Technologie im engen Verhältnis stehen. Die modernen translatorischen Aufgaben beachten weniger die interlinguale, intralinguale und polysemiotische Kategorisierung, und setzen Kenntnis- und Textmanagement voraus, z.B.

²⁴ Holz-Mänttari, Justa, *Translatorisches Handeln*, In: Snell-Hornby, Mary (Hrsg.), *Übersetzungswissenschaft. Eine Neuorientierung*, Tübingen, Francke, 1986, S. 354.

²⁵ „Unter den Oberbegriff Textdesign fallen demnach alle professionellen Tätigkeiten, bei denen Designtexte (auch im multimedialen Botschaftsverbund) zur Verwendung in anderen Handlungsrollen als der des Textdesigners entstehen, direkt oder indirekt.“ (Holz-Mänttari, Justa, *Bildungsstrukturen und Netzwerke für ein Tätigkeitsfeld Textdesign*, in: *TextconText* 8.3/4, 1993, S. 261).

²⁶ Pym, Anthony, *Translation and Text Transfer*, Tarragona, Intercultural Studies Group, 2010, S.111.

²⁷ Pym, Anthony, *Translation and Text Transfer*, Tarragona, Intercultural Studies Group, 2010, S.112.

²⁸ Pym, Anthony, *Translation and Text Transfer*, Tarragona, Intercultural Studies Group, 2010, S.17.

Terminologie und Software-Lokalisierung, Übersetzung von Hypertexten (linear zu nichtlinear)²⁹. Gerzymisch-Arbogast hebt die neuen Herausforderungen der multidimensionalen Translation³⁰ hervor, denen die Dolmetscher und Übersetzer oft nicht gewachsen sind, und die noch nicht ausreichend erforscht und dokumentiert sind.

Sie findet eine theoretische Grundlage, die für alle Übersetzungsarten, unabhängig von dem Schwierigkeitsgrad der Sprachen, von der Struktur des Textes oder des Mediums, d.h. einschließlich die multidimensionale, als Ausgangspunkt betrachtet werden kann. Denn jede Übersetzung setzt ein Ausgangsmaterial voraus, d.h. Wissen und Text (im weiten Sinne des Wortes), dass in ein Zielmaterial übertragen werden muss, d.h. anderes Wissen und anderer Text (erneut im weiten Sinne des Wortes). Es wird dabei nicht beachtet, ob das Translat in derselben Sprache, gesprochen, geschrieben, oder als Zeichen, in linearer oder nicht-linearer Form, mit Einsatz technologischer Mittel oder mit multi-medialer Unterstützung erstellt wird oder nicht. Voraussetzung einer Übersetzung bleibt das Verstehen des Textes vor der Übersetzung, der Übersetzer muss über Weltwissen verfügen, und individuelles Verständnis des Textes mit Hilfe einer Textanalyse muss gesichert werden. Der Transfer, der stattfindet, ist zwischen wenigstens zwei Kulturen, Sprachen, Zeichensystemen; der Zieltext muss der Zielkultur, -sprache, des -zeichensystems entsprechend reproduziert werden.³¹

Ausgangspunkt für ihre Definition ist, dass trotz der unterschiedlichen Auffassung³² dessen, was Übersetzen sein soll, eine Gemeinsamkeit vorhanden ist und zwar der Transfer. Folglich definiert sie die Übersetzung, ohne sie einzugrenzen als ein als Äußerung vorliegendes Anliegen/Interesse eines Sprechers bzw. Schreibers für einen Hörer bzw. Leser [dass] unter einem bestimmten Zweck mithilfe eines Zeichensystems 1, 2 und/oder 3 und eines Mediums 2 oder mehrerer Medien 3, 4, 5 (=Translat) verstehbar gemacht wird.³³

Damit überschreitet die multidimensionale Translation die traditionelle Grenzziehung zwischen intralingualer, interlingualer und intersemiotischer Übersetzung und die Grenzen der traditionellen Definitionen und ist für jede Textsorte einsetzbar. Ob aber die multidimensionale Übersetzung weiterhin als

²⁹ Als Formen der multidimensionalen Translation unterscheidet Gerzymisch-Arbogast: 1. written to oral (audio description, theatre translation, sight translation, screenplay adaptation) 2. written to image (text visualisations, pictograms, illustrative user instructions, graphics, poem into painting) 3. image into oral/oral into image (sign language and consecutive interpreting, free commentaries/tourist guides) 4. oral to written (written interpretation, subtitling, surtitling, taking notes-consecutive interpreting, translation of musical texts) 5. images to written (written sign language, video games-partly, tourist guide explanations, non-verbal sign manuals).

³⁰ Der Begriff Translation wird von Gerzymisch-Arbogast als Oberbegriff für Übersetzen und Dolmetschen verwendet.

³¹ Vgl. Gerzymisch-Arbogast, Heidrun, *Multidimensionale Translation. Ein Blick in die Zukunft*. In: 20 Jahre Transforum. Koordinierung von Praxis und Lehre des Dolmetschens und Übersetzens, Mayer, Felix [Hrsg.], Hildesheim-Zürich-New York, Olms, 2005, S. 30.

³² Als Beispiel gibt sie die Definitionen zum Übersetzen von Catford (1965), Koller (1972), Jakobson (1959) Nida/Taber (1974) und Reiß/Vermeer (1991)

³³ Gerzymisch-Arbogast, Heidrun, *Multidimensionale Translation. Ein Blick in die Zukunft*. In: 20 Jahre Transforum. Koordinierung von Praxis und Lehre des Dolmetschens und Übersetzens, Mayer, Felix [Hrsg.], Hildesheim-Zürich-New York, Olms, 2005, S. 24f.

ein Bereich der Übersetzungswissenschaft betrachtet wird oder sich von ihr trennt, bleibt offen. Werden die Tendenzen betrachtet, wird festgestellt, dass die Theoretiker der Notwendigkeit der Erweiterung dessen was Übersetzung heißt, sich bewusst sind, so zum Beispiel Prunč "Nowadays, translation is understood in its broader sense as any transformation of a source language text into a target language text."³⁴ oder Gambier, dass obwohl die Übersetzungswissenschaft die verschiedensten Textsorten als Gegenstand der Forschung hat und dabei die Komplexität der zu übersetzenden Textsorten hervorgehoben wird, darauf hinweist, dass sich die Untersuchung auf das Verbale beschränkt.³⁵

5. Schlussfolgerungen

Eine Untersuchung der Definitionen der Übersetzung bzw. des Übersetzungsprozesses ergibt, dass die Entwicklung der Übersetzungswissenschaft in engem Zusammenhang mit den neuen Richtungen in der Linguistik steht. Eine neue Richtung in der Linguistik bringt einen neuen Ansatz in der Übersetzungswissenschaft mit sich. Die in den Anfängen linguistisch-orientierten Theorien, die mit dem der Linguistik entliehenen Beschreibungsapparat der Linguistik die Wissenschaftlichkeit des Bereiches sichern, untersuchen sprachlich relevante Faktoren des Ausgangstextes, hauptsächlich sprachsystem-orientiert, so dass nichtlinguistische Faktoren nicht berücksichtigt werden. Den entscheidenden Schritt tun die funktional orientierten Theorien, die die Funktion des Informationsangebots in der Zielsprache in den Mittelpunkt setzen und somit den Translator als Experten und die textexternen Faktoren in den Übersetzungsprozess mit einbeziehen.

Je komplexer die Kommunikationsformen werden, desto komplexer gestaltet sich auch der Übersetzungsprozess und impliziert weitere Kompetenzen des Translators, so dass die Übersetzung immer weiter gefasst werden muss. Der Ausgangstext verliert seine anfangs grundlegende Stellung und je nach Funktion des Zieltextes wird er mehr oder weniger als maßgebend betrachtet.

Es bleibt zu verfolgen, inwieweit sich die Übersetzungswissenschaft den neuen Gegebenheiten anpasst und, ob sie die Übersetzung so weit fasst, dass nicht andere Forschungsrichtungen wie Lokalisierung sie als Teilbereich betrachten und die Übersetzungstätigkeit auf den sprachlichen Transfer reduzieren.

Literatur Sekundärliteratur

Brinker, Klaus, (1988), *Linguistische Textanalyse. Eine Einführung in Grundbegriffe und Methoden*, Berlin, Erich Schmidt.

Catford John. C., (1965), *A Linguistic Theory of Translation, an Essay in Applied Linguistics*, London, Oxford University Press.

Draganovici, Evemarie, (2010), *Zur Klassifikation der Texttypen in der Translatologie*, in Proceedings: Linguistics and Theory of Literature, Vol. 49, Book 6.3., Ruse, S.110- 114. (<http://www.conf.uni-ruse.bg/bg/docs/cp10/6.3/6.3-23.pdf>)

³⁴ Prunč, Erich, Editorial *Quo vadis Translation Studies?* In: EST Newsletter 25, 2004, S.1

³⁵ Vgl. Gambier, Yves, *Multimodality and Audiovisual Translation*, Copenhagen 2006, S.3, URL: http://www.euroconferences.info/proceedings/2006_Proceedings/2006_Gambier_Yves.pdf (Zugriff am 05.04.2014)

Gambier, Yves, (2006), *Multimodality and Audiovisual Translation* Copenhagen, url:

http://www.euroconferences.info/proceedings/2006_proceedings/2006_gambier_yves.pdf

Gerzymisch-Arbogast, (2005), *Multidimensionale Translation. Ein Blick In Die Zukunft*. In: 20 Jahre Transforum. Koordinierung von Praxis und Lehre des Dolmetschens und Übersetzens. Mayer; Felix [Hrsg.]. Hildesheim-Zürich-New York, Olms, S. 23-31, (http://www.uni-saarland.de/fileadmin/user_upload/professoren/fr46_profgerzymisch-arbogast/as/mutra.pdf)

Holz-Mänttari, Justa, (1993), *Bildungsstrukturen und Netzwerke für ein Tätigkeitsfeld Textdesign*. In: *Textcontext* 8.3/4, S. 259-293.

Holz-Mänttari, Justa, (1986), *Translatorisches Handeln*. in: Snell-Hornby, Mary (Hrsg.), *Übersetzungswissenschaft. Eine Neuorientierung*, Tübingen, Francke, S.348-374.

Jumpelt, Rudolf Walter, (1961), *Die Übersetzung Naturwissenschaftlicher und Technischer Literatur*. Berlin, Langenscheidt.

Koller, Werner, (1992), *Grundprobleme der Übersetzungstheorie*, Bern/München, Francke.

Nida, A. Eugene/Taber, R. Charles, (1982), *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, Leiden, E.J. Brill.

Pym, Anthony, (2010), *Translation and Text Transfer*, Tarragona, Intercultural Studies Group.

Prunč, Erich, (2002), *Einführung in die Translationswissenschaft*, Graz, Institut Für Translationswissenschaft.

Prunč, Erich, (2004), Editorial *Quo Vadis Translation Studies?*, In: *Est Newsletter* 25, S.1.

Reiss, Katharina/Vermeer, Hans. J., (1991), *Grundlegung Einer Allgemeinen Translationstheorie*, Tübingen, Niemeyer.

Reiss, Katharina, (1976), *Texttyp und Übersetzungsmethode. Der Operative Text*, Heidelberg, Groos.

Snell-Hornby, Mary, (1998), *Translation (Übersetzen/Dolmetschen)/Translationswissenschaft/Translatologie*. In: Snell-Hornby, M./Hönig, H.G./Kussmaul, P./Schmitt, P.A. (Hrsg.) *Handbuch Translation*, Tübingen, Stauffenburg, S.37-38.

Stolze, Radegundis, (2008), *Übersetzungstheorien. Eine Einführung*, Tübingen, Narr.

Vermeer, Hans, (1986), *Übersetzen als Kultureller Transfer*. In: Snell-Hornby, Mary (Hrsg.): *Übersetzungswissenschaft - Eine Neuorientierung. Zur Integrierung von Theorie und Praxis*; Tübingen-Basel, Uni Taschenbücher, S. 30-53.