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CONTENT – SOMMAIRE – INHALT – CUPRINS

VISUAL RHETORIC OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE.
AN ANALYSIS OF A POLITICIAN'S LOCAL ELECTION
CAMPAIGN FOR THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

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ABSTRACT. Political culture offers a community its values, attitudes, norms and ideals that help to the good functioning of its institutions, and it also offers the individuals a guidance through public and political life. The political discourse, as mean of communication, implies rhetoric, in order for the orator to convince their audience, and therefore obtain their votes. The rhetoric of the political discourse is of capital importance if we agree that the politician is an orator not only for the knowledge he has, but also thanks to his persuasion skills. The orator actively builds an image for himself, the party that supports him and for mass-media, as the fourth power in the state. Behind this built image that the audience expects and decrypts, there is a language of signs and meanings. This research aims to present the political candidate who successfully used the rhetoric to reach a common code with his audience.

Keywords: rhetoric, political speech, manipulation, visual communication

Rhetoric – theoretical approach

In ancient times, rhetoric was a philosophical discipline that targeted an audience who had to adopt the thesis of the orator. The ancient rhetoric was much about the language, the style and the compositional structure of the speech. In the 5th century BC, in Athens, the rhetoric was used as a main tool in politics and philosophy. Plato, as well as Aristotle, recognized rhetoric's capacity of rational foundation. Aristotle identified three types of 'evidence' achieved through speech: the speaker's character, the mood he manages to inspire the audience and the speech itself, that provide a certain proof (Aristotel, 2004).

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Various authors have a definition for rhetoric, but Marcu and Maneca define it as 'the art to select expression, used for the purpose of convincing an audience; oratory; eloquence'. (Marcu, Maneca, 1978, p.933) The new rhetoric, on the other side, is a modern philosophical discipline, that has as area of research the analysis of the means of probation used in human science, philosophy and law, that targets all audience categories and aims the most rational argumentation. Among the modern rhetoricians we quote L. Obrechts-Tyteca, Roman Jackson and Ch. Perelman, the one who introduced new terms like 'auditory', 'concrete reader', 'interlocutor'. Nowadays, in Romania, Ion Cristoiu şi Cristian Tudor Popescu are only two of the journalists who succesfully use the rhetoric. (Goia, 2007, pp.97-99).

In the visual argumentation process, to reach the status of a rhetoric, the visual image has to symbolize something, being indirectly connected to its referent, and it also has to be more than a mere sign. Visual rhetoric is a system of signs, as any other mean of communication, and requires an audience for the image to be interpreted and suggest new meanings. (Abrudan, 2008, p.150)

The legitimacy of power through political speech

Some authors agree that politics have the role, in a community, to mediate or to arbiter social conflicts, in a more or less constraining way, taking into account the main values of that community. Denni and Lecomte distinguish three types of analysis of the political attitudes of citizens in a certain community: *the sociological approach*, when the political sympathies are based on economy, demography or religion; *the Michigan paradigm*, when the electorate chooses depending on their problems, identifying themselves with a party *and the rational voter model,* when the vote is offered for the stakes. (Denni, Lecomte, 2004, p.197).

The final purpose of any political actor is to achieve and exercise power, for which there are some very well defined steps in the political speech. The political speech targets the political, economical and social situation in a certain moment, the regulations that need debating, a thorough evaluation of all the candidates, the campaign plans of the current political party. After Constantin Sălăvăstru, the political speech has some particularities: *intentionally ambiguity, dissimulated character, imperative character* and *polemic character.* Through its forms of manifestation, the political speech legitimizes political knowledge and, therefore, political power, which influences the functioning of the other means of power. (Sălăvăstru, 1999, p.173)

Marga claims that, in a speech, problems need to be validated with powerful arguments. The theoretical speech is desired to outline the truth, through arguments based on theoretical assumptions and on the empirical and theoretical knowledge of that who gives the speech, and the political speech has justice as subject, using arguments based on moral and practical knowledge. (Marga, 2006, p.53) Sălăvăstru (1999) specifies that the arguments of a political discourse can be based on deeds, examples, authority or analogy. There are different formulas being used in a speech: *the slogan*, that requires a certain sonority, rhythmicity and has to reflect the essential in the chosen field, *shock-words, cliche-sequences,* reminding of personalities that imposed themselves throughout time or which reveal an unusual truth and *rhetorical interrogation.*

In order for the political discourse to trigger action, it needs credibility, which exists as long as a political speech can be asumed by the receiver. The most important aspect of a receiver is their multidimensional personality.

The freedom of the political discourse based on the rationality of manipulation through discourse, the procedural opening of the discourse and the amplitude of the problematic commitment, and the constrains of the political discourse are determined by the political doctrine, that assures the background of the text, by the credibility that every political man aspires to and by the interest that is promoted through the discourse. (Daisa-Neșu, 2005, pp.115-117)

Political and media manipulation

Based on Mucchielli, the manipulator builds a world of cognitive objects 'whose linking together will certainly lead the manipulated towards fulfilling an action with positive meaning for them' (Mucchielli, 2002, p.192).

Among the modern ways of communication, the political discourse, through mass-media, is considered to be the most influential and direct way of politicians and political parties towards the minds of the audience with the right to vote. Politics through written media is consumed by a minority of citizens, compared to the great masses of people who digest politics through television. Among the authors who defined manipulation, there is also Irina Stănciugelu, according to whom the political speech is 'the action that determines a social actor to think and act in a way that is compatible with the interests of the initiator, but not with their own interests,

by using persuasion techniques that intentionally distort the truth, giving the impression of freedom of choice and decision' (Stănciugelu, 2009, p.187). The author distinguishes between three forms of manipulation: psychological, informational and contextual manipulation. If the way which causes certain ideas, beliefs or actions of the receptor is according to rationality and morality, we use the concept of positive manipulation. On the other side, there is the negative manipulation, which can be unintentional when there are obstacles such as the audience's knowledge of politics.

Armanca (2006) observes in the mass-media institutions managers' the firm belief of the press organs having the role of forming the audience 'correct' political beliefs, and that is why the Romanian yellow press generates a more subjective approach of the reality.

The rhetoric of the political speech through symbol

In the communication process, symbols can have different meanings for different people, based on everyone's aspirations. 'The science of communication deals mainly with the phenomena that relate to meaning and its appearance'. (Mucchielli, 2002, p.195)

Political symbolism is the most powerful cohesion tool between dominants and dominated and is composed of two poles, one of images and one of operations. There are different channels for politicians to build direct relationships with the voters. 'The diversification of the transmission channels is based on the desired type of political speech.' (Sălăvăstru, 1999, p.131). Among the classic ways of persuasion and the modern communication mechanisms, the television prevails. According to Lucien Sfez, 'the symbolic images work as a symbolic pharmacon, they are remedies for the representation's diseases.' (Sfez, 2000, p.67). The winners are those images of the political party that are able to offer: identity purpose, binding capacities and its ability to adapt, by changing the correspondent device.

In order to understand the message, the image communicates generally, and not individually used codes and sends an affective load, as well as meaning.

Last, but not least, the scenery is an element of great importance in the political discourse, which has to transcend the daily routine, thus enhancing the power of perception and persuasion of the audience. Building the political 'self' requires a multitude of symbols to express the roles the political actor desires to play.

The argument of the research

The political discourse is the most powerful tool by which the politicians can persuade a multitude of people. In Athenian democracy, the speech in front of the crowd suffced and the word of every speaker was worth a truth, but nowadays the attitude, the dress-code, the image that the politicians build of themselves, their actions and the people they associate with weigh a lot more in the art of persuasion. If in the time of Aristotle, in order to achieve credibility, the politicians needed practical wisdom, virtue and kindness, what do politicians need today to rule?

The political discourse legitimizes political power. The message a politician sends to its receptor audience is a real perspective by which one can influence the way that reality itself is perceived. The political speech has many sides. The sometimes false image that is created by politicians could be seen not as a tool of negative manipulation, but as an ideal towards which they aspire themselves as ordinary people. Only the politician who, through his discourse, will be accessible for a larger crowd, from least educated to elitists, will have a gain.

Despite the fact that politicians use mass-media to create the most desirable image of themselves for the receptor public, this is not to be entirely blamed, if it targets the interests of the society they represent. After all, we live in a world where the image we create about ourselves is our best seller.

Aims

First of all, we want to analyse the code used in the politician's political discourse. To built an image you need a diversity of visual or auditive signs and significances, so to achieve what we want, we need rhetoric. The audience understands and receives correct the political discourse if it has the same code for the receiver as for the emitter.

Afterwards, a politician who cares about his image also considers the visual rhetoric as part of the communication. This is based on audience's emotions created by the politician through his political discourse. We will analyse here his non-verbal language, gesticulation and expressions.

Also, the political candidate's activity during the electioneering, the way he created his image through mass-media, Facebook and his personal website are important facts to the way audience saw him and how they felt about him.

Methodology

Content analysis was one of the research methods we used. We analysed the videos during the electioneering where the main guest is the political candidate at the European parliamentary elections from 2014, Daniel Buda. We gave information about the images' composition, the genre of the broadcasts, the role he had there, the way his non-verbal language was filmed, so as all the techniques the politician used to convince the audience. The election photos, the TV spot, the election posters, Facebook and his website were some others tools he used in his discourse.

Another method used for the research is part of the qualitative interviews, the focus-group. This method helped us to have additional information about the way electors see this politician at one of the TV shows he has been invited and whether he would have been voted.

One of the reasons we chose this political candidate was his political proficiency. He was a deputy in the Romanian Parliament during 2004-2012, so a man with the ability to convince repeatedly. Lawyer by profession, Daniel Buda was at the time president of the Judicial, Order and Indemnity Commission of the Chamber of Deputies and Senate and president of Common Commission of the Chamber of Deputies and Senate for legislative proposals of the Constitution. Among his achievements as a deputy, he contributed to the fiscal decentralization of the contributions, financial resources of over one milliard of Euros for Cluj and the disposal of over 102 fees and contributions. The politician candidated for the European parliamentary elections with the following important goals: Romania's access to the Schengen Area, the defence of constitutional state and the independence of justice, European money to sustain all the branches, to sustain the young farmers and the development of micro-farms and the title of „Cluj - capitală culturală europeană 2021"('Cluj - European Cultural Capital of 2021') .

During the electioneering (26th of April - 25th of May), his political team shared different types of information materials about the political candidate to the electors (catalogs, folders and election posters) and also small rewards for the citizens (pens, caps and matches). They took over 500 of photos. The politician was present to eight press conferences, in the local press, on sites as citynews.ro, informatiadecluj.ro, monitorulcj.ro, cetateanulclujean.ro, gazetadecluj.ro, dej.biz, turdanews.net, stirideecluj.ro and realitatea.net, at a radio broadcast (on Napoca FM), at TV talk-shows on Digi24 (Cluj), TVR Cluj, Știri de Cluj online, Realitatea (Cluj) and ITV Satu Mare.

The limitation of this research was the fact that two of the TV talk-shows at a local television were inaccessible because of their private property after the elections. One of the advantages consist of attesting his positive image in front of the electors, using as tools his video appearances, his election photos and online activity, increasing the transparency in his political message. The other one is the focus-group, which helped us to centralize opinions of different aged and educated electors about the political man Daniel Buda.

The TV Shows

To begin with, I have analysed one of Daniel Buda's TV presences, broadcasted on April 25th, one day prior to the onset of the elections' campaign. This particular presence seemed important as it allowed us to monitor his position and prospective changes in his subsequent behaviour, examining his bearing before the audience at entering the competition for the European Parliament elections of 2014. The TV show aired on Realitatea TV Cluj and was hosted by Claudia Chira. We are referring to the talk-show called *Clujul în realitate*, broadcasted from 8:15 p.m., and ranked as the most valued political talk-show in Cluj. The program stretched for 35 minutes, out of which 20 minutes were allotted to the main guest, Daniel Buda. Apart from Daniel Buda, *Ziua de Cluj's* journalist Valentin Mălăescu was the other invited guest. Even if as a matter of course, TV hosts and their guests seem to be of the same mind, showing no interest in polemics, this time we were confronted with the opposite, as the host showcased an aggressive stance during the entire interview, a result perhaps of the divergent political orientation, in this case, a clear conflicting position. Instead of providing an open ground for sensible debate, the set turned rather into a continuous hunting ground which conceded the host the opportunity to undermine and take on the political party represented by Buda. This occurrence unfolded as Buda carried on with his account on the party's accomplishments, on his personal feats and on his objectives as a candidate with reference to Romania's current state of affairs.

As mentioned above, the talk-show took place in a small size setting, featuring only the moderator, Claudia Chira and the two guests: Daniel Buda and Valentin Mălăescu. The arrangement of the show's backdrop followed a triangle scheme, thus hinting at the introspection of the scenery's context. The filming started with a close medium shot, with a

regular angle of the anchor, who was presenting the theme of the show and general facts regarding the current political stage, onwards followed the introduction of the guests, using the same type of framing. After the first pertinent question addressed to Buda, the wide shot was used, so that we, as viewers may look over the entire setting. The main types of frames used were the medium shot and the American standard guest shot. Being filmed inside a location, the lighting seemed natural. Therefore, the main lights were used to bring out the facial features and expressions of the guests. The predominant colour (red) appears warm and suggestive of Buda's opposing party, once again creating the illusion of an accommodating space, accessible to any viewer. The host sided with Mălăescu to build a common front for interviewing the main guest, thus giving off the impression of an open battle which facilitated direct hits aimed both at Buda and at the political party he represents.

Image source: http://ziuadecj.realitatea.net/politica/clujul-in-realitate-daniel-buda-despre-miza-euroalegerilor-video--126003.html

The appearance of the guest was in tune with the message he wanted to convey. His attire seemed that of a regular individual, his blue toned shirt without tie suggesting the idea of thoughtfulness, fairness and hope. When the host announced his presence in a cursory manner, he responded accordingly, pretending to look busy (he was minding his notes). When challenged by the host in reference to the financial benefits of a member of the European Parliament, Buda plays the ignorant card and instead shifts the focus on his most recent actions. In this way, he avoids this trial, raising his eyebrows, and thus creating the expression of a preoccupied man, on a mission to persuade the audience through his discourse. Despite the aggressive tone of the addressed questions (Did people fall for your declared objectives when you went out on the field? As a MEP, member of the European Parliament, will you act like the others: make promises and

do nothing about them?) the politician held ground, talking about the fact that MEPs fail to inform the citizens in this regard, while himself was engaged in this direction, discussing how the media fails to cover European matters, mainly due to people's lack of interest, nevertheless, he insisted on the importance of a more solid involvement in order to grant a comprehensive and fair informing of the public in relation to the European order of business. In his speech, Buda seldom raised the eyebrows, in a gesture which appeared to suggest his keen interest concerning the problems of the citizens, also his left-side arm pointed towards the outside, revealing that he is an honest, fair man, opened to all communication. He talked in a fast pace, thus appearing self-assured and well-acquainted with the debated subjects and creating a feeling of competence and responsibility. In the discussion between the host, the journalist and the politician, the latter always changed his voice tone, using a calm and low voice when it came to explaining European regulations, thus impersonating a tutor who exposes the main problems of Romania: corruption, unemployment, the deficiency in absorbing European funds, addressing people from all walks of life. Moreover, Buda used his left hand with the fingers wide open, as a fan, taking his hand to his chest whenever admitting his ignorance in respect to the gravity of the matters until he was confronted directly with the facts and until he talked to people from different work sectors. This body movement indicates guilt and it is particular to manipulation, suggesting that in fact his self-esteem is being tarnished, even if apparently he only wishes to be the accomplice of ordinary folk.

During the times of closing his answers to the addressed questions, he resorts to a gesture that aims to show that he is on the same par with the host (by pointing at the host), sporting a baffling gesture for his public image that may indicate that he is in fact offering himself up. Every time the host interfered, he carried on with his sayings, insisting each and every single time on the problems of the citizens, making himself their accomplice, adopting a firm, unflinching position, thus forging the image of a thoughtful man, with no time to waste on gossip, willing to fight in the name of the common citizen. Within the same context, that of an interruption, he makes use of a gesture through which he seems to dominate his debate partners (palm faced downwards, descending from mid-air unto the table). He uses the same gesture (coupled with the raised brows) when talking about the absorption of European funding and here he proves himself to be preoccupied once again with a better absorption at national level and with

expressing his command in this matter. To describe the obstacles that Romanian have to overcome in order to access the funds, Buda provides an example from one of his close friends, who had faced several impediments in his attempt to access funds for agriculture based projects, in this manner, the guest managed to blur the lines between himself and the common man, successfully posing as one. When talking about smoothing the process for the absorption of European funds, Buda makes a suggestive stand in his discourse, drawing a digital circle with his index finger and the thumb of his left hand. This is a gesture which betrays his composure and motivation and also indicates a real desire to tackle the presented problems, yet without warranting a complete success.

He displays the image of a game-changing man by inserting in his discourse his accolades as a deputy, his contribution to the Civil Code and the Civil Procedure Code, his interest in a better legislation and a keen application of the corresponding laws. Within the same context, he makes himself the accomplice of the other guest and the host in reference to his position regarding the European Parliament and its statutory supervision over our country, stating that in his view, the country should benefit from autonomy, thus skilfully trying to win the sympathy of his fellow opponents in the set. This approach proved to be fruitful, judging on Mălăescu body movements and his gradual opening of arms (in the beginning he was sitting with his arms crossed) which showed that the journalist was opening up to the politician's exposition and was also making himself available to prospective communication.

During the show there was a time when the host sided with Mălăescu in an attempt to attack Buda and the members of his party, especially for his association with Monica Macovei, who is ridiculed. Even under this circumstance Buda remains composed, moving the speech from unfounded rumours to actual facts, quoting instead the sum of accomplishments of his party, PDL, and showing once again that he is collected and he is capable of standing his ground even relentless attacks. He talks about the people whose businesses were directly affected by Romania's failure to enter the Schengen zone. He addresses politely to the invited journalist, complimenting his political competence, and thus, winning his vote of sympathy. He also made use of his time in the show in an optimal manner, commanding most of the discussion and securing sufficient time to allow him to present his objectives and to display his composure even when playing away, on the field of the opponents.

In the moments of greatest tension, when the host and journalist where playing for the opposition, PSD party, the politician picked up the pace of the conversation, thus creating the impression of confidence and certainty with respect to his discourse. He uses the index finger when talking about Victor Ponta, the PM's attack to the rule of law, showing that he wants to extend his influence over the viewers, by making them follow the conditions in which he sets his message, whether it is true or not. Furthermore, in all his gestures, the left hand prevails being very dynamic and thus exposing to the audience a person who lacks authority, identifiable with a maternal image, a field-work man, a man of contact, bestowed with practical intelligence.

Image source: http://ziuadecj.real

In consequence, in this first TV appearance, Daniel Buda manages to put forward an engaging discourse in order to persuade the audience. Through his speech, he conveys his knowledge on current national matters, counting on the experience gathered during his two parliamentary mandates, he also boast his judicial repertoire without getting himself involved in inappropriate discussions for a member of the public, on the contrary, he appears as the champion of the people, blurring boundaries between himself and the common man. The gestures come to dress up his claims, in perfect agreement. In other words, not a single uttered word comes to contradict who he claims to be.

The second show I have chosen for the content analysis is called *Vocile Clujului*, a show airing on Digi24 HD, and hosted by Marius Bența. The program follows a talk-show format and was part of a series of debates prefacing the European Parliament elections which created a good context to become acquainted with the candidates, their supporters and to look at their plans and objectives for a future MEP mandate. The show has one host and two guests who are discussing over a general topic concerning the European Parliament. In this show, broadcasted on April 28, the host invited

Daniel Buda, president of PDL Cluj and Ioan Petran, president of PNL Cluj-Napoca, to give course to a debate on regionalization and decentralization of Romania. The set is relatively small and the studio soon becomes a carefully structured setting. The host and the guests are placed at opposite ends, separating the area of the questioner and the area of the guest, with the vanishing point towards the second setting. The filming started with a medium shot, from a normal angle (eyes level), with the presentation of the show's theme and with the introduction of the guests into the scenery game, and the filming continued with the same shooting for the guests. The wide shot was used to make the viewer aware of the entire setting for the unfolding action. During one particular moment of the show when Daniel Buda was dominating the debate and would not let Ioan Petran intervene, the close medium shot was used and the angle was that of the horse-rider, with a close-up of Buda, a very suggestive take for that moment. American framing was also used for the times when the two guests appeared to be on the same side of the debated matter. The studio was well lit, the light created a natural ambiance, more precisely, the white light highlighted the two political actors invited. The colours used in the design of the studio are cold (white, blue and grey) which points at objectivity as a purpose of the show.

Image source: http://www.digi24.ro/Emisiuni/Regional/Digi24+Cluj-Napoca/
Vocile+Clujului/Dezbatere+electorala+regionalizarea+si+descentralizarea+Romaniei

The host seems unbiased during the entire length of the program, as he gives the floor to Daniel as well as to Ioan Petran and he also intervenes when the discussions take an aggressive turn towards the opponents. In spite of this, Buda makes the best out of his alocated time, even more so, out of the 50 minutes of the program, he used more than half the time to express his own ideas, achievements and and objectives as a prospective MEP. His stage presence is once again compelling. He takes the first turn in replying

the host. In his speech, he appeals to national sentiments, reminiscing the sacrifices of the revolution and putting this on the account of the current elections. He places his left hand over the right forearm in a gesture that shows that he is willing to stands at odds with any conflict or defective statement. He is evasive enough in his speech, quoting a European journalist to reveal a possible incentive that might drive people to cast their vote in the European Parliament elections.

In matters concerning the importance of European regulations, he uses both the thumb and left index finger in a motion that betrays his imagination and desire to seize the audience. In all this time, his opponent prepares his answer, by writing it on a piece of paper, crossing his arms and suggesting that he quits in this battle. Buda discourse centres on the idea of responsibility and acknowledgment, not only his own but also those of other representatives; here he presents himself as the fittest candidate while Petran only manages to muster unclear answers, out of topic, moreover, he is often quoting and agreeing with Buda, thus improving his image.

In his discourse, Daniel Buda talks about the achievements of his party, of the achievements of other fellow MEP from PDL, while presenting them in contrast with their opponents, who have played a more modest role in politics. Buda comes forward as a regular person, who began his journey in the country-side and betting on his origins to awaken a sense of empathy and familiarity towards current issues in agriculture. In this context, he mentions the absorption of European funds for agriculture as one of his primary objectives. His tone is steady, his pace is swift, leaving no room for jokes and smiles and casting himself as a serious man. He often poses in the clothes of the competent man, calling to attention his professional development and the great advantages that a new mandate might bring. In terms of the body movement, his left hand with the fingers wide open is predominant, this hand of the guilty, which is a symbol of possession and desire to ascend. When interrupted by the host for additional comments, he systematically raises his right hand to take the floor. In his speech which revolves around him being the best possible candidate for a MEP mandate, he resorts to making the *hand gesture of the censor*, one fan opened hand and placed on the table, demanding and supporting his claims. In his speech he also talks about other inefficient measures applied by former MEPs, yet failing to come with solutions to the points he criticizes. At this point, the emotions seem to be converging, but yet he maintains his proved composure which is doubled by his gesticulation (bringing his hands together like in a prayer; this is a sign which shows that the cerebral cortex is mobilised in order to block an emotional outburst).

To create the image of a man forbearing change, he uses a much more commonplace political tool, namely, that of attacking his opponents. He recalls in his speech Romania's letdown in relation to Schengen and attributes this to the fallacy of his opponents. He becomes visibly appalled during this address in which he takes a more aggressive tone, raising his voice and talking faster and faster, making using of wide, dynamic arms gestures and using his right index to point at the culprit. In these circumstances, the moderator interferes and redirects the discussion towards another subject. In spite of this, Buda holds his ground and marshals on with his attacking utterances, contrasting the achievements of his party to the failures of the others. He seems to be casting the blame entirely on his adversaries, while always stressing out the importance of taking responsibility, in this way, reinforcing his image of a man with integrity, serious and truly preoccupied.

Image source: http://www.digi24.ro/Emisiuni/Regional/Digi24+Cluj-Napoca/
Vocile+Clujului/Dezbatere+electorala+regionalizarea+si+descentralizarea+Romaniei

In conclusion, during this show, Buda draws a clear outline in relation to his counter-candidate Ioan Petran, showcasing a responsible stature, self-aware, competent, in stark contrast to the other politician who always seem insecure in his answers, who resorts to jokes all too often and who exhibits a discourse which fails to convince.

We have analysed another program of the series „Vocile Clujului" dedicated to the elections, the last one of this kind featuring Daniel Buda as guest. The show aired on May 25, 2014, at 7 p.m. having the same host Marius Bența and Radu Zlati, PNL MP, as a second guest. Once again we can speak about the poles apart arrangement of the guests inside the setting, which overtly suggests the idea of a face-off. The lights remained in white tones, as natural as possible and the decor was using appropriate colours for an impartial television channel. The frames used here are: the wide shot to reveal the entire setting to the audience, medium shots for each of the guests and for the host and the close medium shot for Daniel Buda alone,

this last one used in the beginning of the show when he was commending the TV station for this series of programs running an elections' theme. For dynamic effects, panoramic frames are introduced to accompany the filmed guests. In this episode, the time is equally divided among the guests, the moderator remaining impartial and addressing relevant questions for the topics discussed. In spite of all these facts, there are two moments in the show that leave us under the impression that the host, and Daniel Buda, are actually in cahoots with each other; although leaving room for an easy competition in order to maintain the talk-show appearance, the ludicrous performance that keeps viewers glued to their screens.

In this show, Daniel Buda's discourse reiterates all the points taken throughout the three TV appearances he registered in this series on electoral debates, namely, he points out his own and his colleagues' accomplishments. Buda keeps up the same mien, showcasing his competencies and knowledge and not allowing his opponents to intimidate him. He is a politician that knows very well how to stand out and to pass even his flaws as something beneficial to voters. As he did previously, he poses as the common man when talking about the low subsidies of the farmers.

Image source: http://www.digi24.ro/Emisiuni/Regional/Digi24+Cluj-Napoca/ Vocile+Clujului/Unitatea+dreptei+este+posibila+dupa+alegeri

He claims that his number one objective on his MEP agenda is bringing Romanian farmers at the same level with those abroad. In this context, he seems belligerent (raising his voice, picking up the talking pace, seemingly more anchored) and he utilizes regional vocabulary in order to conceal the difference between him and the voters (*Di ce gândiţi că nu putem vinde?* Why do y'all think we can't sell?) He promises that once elected MEP he will defend the country and states loud and clear that he will fight till the end until Romania will no longer be humbled before the European

Parliament or treated differently than other states. Consequently, he reinforces his image of a fighter and patriot of the Romanian people. Conversely, his opponent Radu Zlati, shows complacency in the face of national issues, claiming that the status quo cannot be challenged, and therefore relying on the most powerful European nations to continue to hold the reins. A dynamic position is preferable in this case to a static one, of contentment. Buda's discourse is a winner here, taking the lead through the surge of optimism and thirst for making a stand, all desiderata of Romanian who got on the verge of destitution.

For the first time, Daniel Buda appears to be more tolerant as he gives the other guest the opportunity to seize as much air time as possible, even more so, he displays a partnership attitude, perhaps due to the impending union of the two right parties as they prepare for the forthcoming presidential elections.

In addition to the other shows, Buda expresses now the importance of having a MEP candidate stemming from the North-Western region of the country, emphasizing that a man accustomed to the issues and with his experience as MP and President of the Judicial Committee in the Deputies' Chamber is a necessity for the MEP position, since he is the direct representative of the common man, boasting a strong local loyalty and articulating the basic needs of every citizen of this region, but most of all having a vast experience which cannot be contested.

As always, he is very animated, but slightly more toned in gestures, this time his predominant gestures were: the palms turned towards the sky (a means of drawing the viewer's attention his way), the raised eye-brows (his deep preoccupation with the nation's issues), the index pointing towards him (suggesting that he is the fittest choice), looking straight into the camera (establishing a more intimate connection with the viewers).

Image source: http://www.digi24.ro/Emisiuni/Regional/Digi24+Cluj-Napoca/ Vocile+Clujului/Unitatea+dreptei+este+posibila+dupa+alegeri

All in all, it is a discourse anchored in the current matters of the country and in the quest for their solution, distinguishing himself from the PNL representative who seems rather anchored in problems of the past and complacent before the lack of efficiency of Romanian politicians.

The TV spot

Daniel Buda made the dynamic TV spot hand in hand with TVR Cluj. Five minutes in length, the spot has as background the PDL anthem. The spot brings into focus the political candidate at the european parliamentary elections, a man of experience (frames from the time he used to be a deputy), solidary with the party he represents (frames with meetings he had with other representatives of the party or supporters), concerned about the difficulties companies from Romania have, but also a simple, authentic Transylvanian man. Therefore, Buda's characteristics in this spot are conceived to convince the audience.

Image source: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xfYK9gjOScA

Election posters

During the electioneering for the European parliamentary elections (on 25th of May, 2014), the candidate used four election posters to promote himself. The posters presents the politician either in a strong light, as a good, calm man, either as a serious man, with the look of a man determined to accomplish things, a fighter, as the text used in one of the posters says: 'Daniel Buda defends your rights'. The colours used in the posters (white and blue) represents faith, honesty, innocence and lack of corruption. The posters show us a politician who protects the Romanian's interests, perfectly imaged by the one with the house made of hands. Also, the politician gains credibility through the support of Emil Boc, former prime minister and representative of the same party.

Image source: www.danielbuda.ro

Election photos

Daniel Buda and his political team took 400 of photos that summarises his activity during the electioneering, his visits at companies from Cluj, his meetings with citizens from Cluj, Bihor, Sălaj, Bistriţa, Maramureş and Satu Mare. These photos are important to the politician's image, talking about a popular politician, interested in any field of activity and commited.

Image source: http://www.danielbuda.ro/evenimente/

Facebook and his website

In order to make himself more visible, Daniel Buda also used Facebook. During the electioneering, he posted at least two times per day and he received over 100 of commentaries per each posting and hundreds of

"likes". He created a public page and a personal page (facebook.com/pages/Daniel-Buda and facebook.com/daniel.buda.oficial). He also has a website where citizens can find out information about him (www.danielbuda.ro).

Focus-group

In order to increase the accuracy of my research, I have created a focus-group. For the start, I chose the theme I was targeting, specifically what image is Daniel Buda creating. Next, I have identified the subjects who could fit to the suggested thematic, in this case, voting citizens aged over 18. From the educational point of view, the focus-group selected subjects formed a non-homogeneous group: five members have bachelor degree and three members have high school degree, four males and four females. Age structure: two subjects aged between 18 and 29 years old, three subjects aged between 30 and 49 and three over 50. The location used was selected as neutral, within a public space in order to avoid any kind of discrimination. I realised an interview guide with six questions with an estimated answering time between one and half minute and two minutes for each question. At the beginning the group was requested to watch one of political campaign shows broadcasted on Digi24 HD channel where Daniel Buda and his opponent candidate, Ioan Petrean were invited. Thus, the interview guide questions were:

1. What was the general impression did the political man Daniel Buda transmit, after you have watched the 'Vocile Clujului' show?

2. What do you think about moderator's attitude regarding his guests during the show?

3. How do you perceive Daniel Buda's political discourse (during the show) in comparison with his opponent, Ioan Petrean, one?

4. Can you please mention if you noticed something inappropriate to the Daniel Buda behaviour during the show?

5. After watching the show, would you vote for Daniel Buda?

6. What are the key elements of a candidate's political speech that will win your vote?

The focus group discussion was free and comfortable for the group members. The group conclusions were split in two: three persons with access to high education (one male and two females) were not convinced by Daniel Buda's message, mostly because they prefer a different political doctrine than the party he represents. The remaining group members were convinced by the same candidate political discourse. Thus, the majority of convinced group member were males with access to mid education.

Conclusions

This research shows that the citizens were convinced to vote for this politician with a specific image: a man of the people who focuses on the need of developing the Romanian agriculture, on tradition, usage of authentically language, fairness and corruption fighting, Daniel Buda.

The politician managed to successfully transmit the message to his targeted audience according to his image choice. This image has merged with the politician person, especially during his Parliament representative mandate, where he managed to accomplish most of his objectives, thus adding more credibility in front of voters. He also had a good collaboration with mass media, in order to advertise his accomplishments and his image. In our situation, the rhetoric of the political discourse proved to be a convergence of electioneering message and the political man image built specifically for a target audience identified by the politician within his campaign strategy. The campaign message, thus proved to be fully aligned with campaign strategy planning phases, mostly because the expected result was achieved.

The political message rhetorical convinced its targeted audience as presented in this research and shows that the political man Daniel Buda constructed correctly his image and was elected.

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SELF ESTEEM AND THE SELFIE PHENOMENON AT THE FACEBOOK PROSUMER TEENAGER

CLAUDIA CHIOREAN (TALAŞMAN)[1]

ABSTRACT. Teenagers spend about half of their free time during a day using various kinds of mass communication, especially the new media: Facebook. The teenager's portrait on Facebook is as varied and complex as it is in real life. In the real life, the teenager knows reality through experience, through education, by means of the family, the school and the society. In the new virtual area towards which we are moving quickly, the Internet (Facebook) is a great source of information and training of adolescent equally with family, school, society. But like any human product, Facebook's virtual world has its advantages and disadvantages, pluses and minuses. The mind's product can have, under the specific conditions, positive effects and negative effects. Sometimes enthusiastically using Facebook the teenager ignores the negative effects.

Keywords: teenager, prosumer, Facebook, irrational beliefs, behavior

As a concept, the "self" (self-esteem) can be approached from various scientific paradigms or theories. According to the humanist theory of personality – one of its representatives being Rogers – the individual perceives the exterior objects and his or her own experiences by attaching significance to them. Perceptions, next to the significances they receive, form a system which represents the individual's phenomenal field. The parts of it which the individual perceives as "mine," "I," "me," represents the self[2]. Although the self goes through transformations throughout a lifetime, it preserves at all times this characteristic of a structured, integrated, and organized system.

The self, nevertheless, is not the "small person" inside us. The self doesn't "do" anything through itself; it only coordinates the behavior of the

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[2] Rogers, C. R. (1980). A way of being. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

individual. This system of experiences and perceptions known as "self" answers, in general, to the calling coming from our consciousness, thus being able to become conscious. Although each individual has a set of experiences which he or she is not aware of, one is conscious of the image of one's self. Rogers considers that such a definition of self is accurate and useful to research at the same time since a definition of self which would take into account the subconscious material could not be used as an instrument in objective research. A structural concept related to the one mentioned is that of the ideal self. The ideal self is that image of one's self one wishes to acquire the most. It includes the perceptions and significations potentially relevant for the self but which have a great importance for the individual.

As a result, the image one forms about one's self is also an organized and unitary structure of perceptions which led to the drawing of self and of which the consciousness took note. The evaluation of one's image of one's self leads to establishing the level of one's self esteem by understanding the way in which people perceive themselves and the world. People react in such a way as to preserve the self's consistency and keep the perceptions related to self and those related to experience congruent. This is why the experiences which affect the unity of self's image can be – due to some defensive mechanisms (distortion and negation) – blocked from reaching the conscious area.

According to a series of studies, people tend to act so that they preserve and self-confirm the image of their selves. People continuously need to be appreciated and seen highly. In those circumstances in which the appreciation manifests unconditionally, the individual has the possibility to develop in an atmosphere of congruency and self-fulfillment. On the other hand, when the appreciation is conditioned, people tend to eliminate from their consciousness certain experiences and to limit their potential of self-fulfillment.

There are forces of development existing in each individual. The organism's natural growth and development implies a growing complexity, an expansion, a stronger selfienomy and socialization – thus, the self-fulfillment. From this perspective, the self-esteem sums up certain essential elements, such as knowledge of one's self, a feeling of safety, a feeling of competency and a feeling of belonging.

A healthy development of personality is based on a family and social climate in which the individual is offered filly the possibility to experiment, thus learning to accept himself or herself and being, at the

same time, accepted by others even if they disapprove sometimes certain particular aspects of his or her behavior. For example, the parents of children with a high self-esteem are caring and tolerant but firm and constant in applying the pre-established rules.

According to the social-cognitive theory[3], the self-esteem is born from the social origins of the behavior and from the cognitive processes' implications in all aspects of human functioning. The individual is seen as agent of action, while the origins of the behavior are considered to be generally social. The person is considered to be active, reacting differently to various circumstances. The cognitive processes are used in order to represent events, to anticipate the future, to choose among many alternatives and to communicate with others. According to this theory, the behavior can be explained in the light of an interaction between the person and the environment, process which is considered reciprocal determinism. According to the above-mentioned theory, a particular aspect of the perception of the self is given by the feeling of self efficiency, defined as the self perceived capacity of handling certain situations. The processes through which the individual adapts to the immediate realities are: observational learning – which refers to the capacity of learning behavioral answers – emotional reactions, and general rules resulting from observing others and from one's own direct experience.Through these two adjusting processes, self regulation becomes a natural consequence, though which the individual manifests his or her capacity of influencing his or her own behavior, more than reacting mechanically to external influences. This is done through self empowering and setting up a set of standards and values. An important factor in one's self regulation is the perceived self efficiency which influences one both at the cognitive and emotional level and all the most at the level of effective performance.

These two theoretical approaches are at the basis of the study of the self-esteem at the adolescent from the perspective of posting selfies on Facebook. The study aligns with the other studies on the effect the new media communication has on the homo cyber of 2.0 web area. The amazing rhythm in which the applications of any software are enriched and diversify from one hour to another determine the necessity of a longer period of time for observing the long-term effects on the individual who is wholeheartedly involved in the communicational act and who is many times completely immersed in this type of communication.

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[3] Apud Opre, A., (2006), Teoria social-cognitivă a personalității, În A. Opre, Introducere în teoriile personalității, Ed. ASCR, Cluj Napoca.

The present study aims to observe a certain type of communicational behavior and self-representation on Facebook, which imitates the models promoted by mass media (TV, radio, printed and online press) for the producer-consumer adolescent (both a producer and a consumer of media). The study also aims to identify the effects the new media generates on the producer-consumer adolescent's self-esteem.

One of the mimetic behaviors observed within the testing group Teens Cluj, created for this research, was the Selfie phenomenon. A selfie is considered to be a photographic self-representation which is snapped with a mobile phone and shared on the online social networks. This is a way of expressing one's individual and social experiences, personality, and level of self-esteem. Selfie was deemed "word of the year 2013" by the Oxford Dictionaries.

The Association of American Psychiatrists (AAP) published a conclusion according to which generating Selfies in excess can lead to psychological problems. The new malady is defined as "the obsessive-compulsive desire of taking pictures and using them on the social networks as a way of regaining one's self esteem and of making up for everything missing in one's private life".

The number of studies done on the Facebook phenomenon and its implications at the level of the human personality is ever-growing. Some results confirm the need for Facebook's existence in the life of the postmodern individual while others warn about its negative effects. For example, the Internet addiction is widely seen as having negative effects, especially on the formation of children and adolescents.

Our study was conducted on a pilot group and tries to establish a correlation between posting selfies on Facebook and the level of self-esteem in 16 year old adolescents from two liberal arts high-schools in Cluj.

Research design

The purpose of this study:
Determining the impact that selfie has on exhibiting self esteem and on the mimetic behavior of 16 year old teenagers.

Theoretical-methodological objectives:
- Evidencing the relationship between *selfie adepts* and certain types of attitudes and beliefs

- Determining the level of self esteem at *selfie prosumers*;
- Identifying the correlation between the dependence degree of teenage Facebook users and the mimetic behavior in the case of certain types of *selfies*.
- Observing the connection between social desirability and selfie posts

Practical objectives:
- Identifying the types of attitudes and beliefs of Facebook teenage adepts
- Measuring the level of self esteem in relation to the received feed-back: number of Likes, number of shares, number of positive/ negative Comments;
- Measuring the degree of dependence considering the number of selfie posts by teenagers on Facebook in accordance with models from mass media (radio, TV, newspapers or on-line): selfie type A ([4] duck face); selfie type B ([5] VIP), type C[6] selfie (couple type selfie), selfie type D[7] (group-selfie) and selfie type E (the person and the animal) in relation to the time spent on Facebook
- Establishing the types of mimetic selfies inspired by mass media (radio, TV, newspapers or online) in accordance with the principle of social conformity

The assumptions of the research

Hypothesis no. 1
It shall be presumed that selfie adepts who post with a high frequency (daily) have low self esteem as compared to teenagers who do not post frequently (1 time/ week or 2-3 times/month)

*Assumptions derived***:**
1.1. It shall be presumed that the feeling of self esteem is lower for those who post frequently (daily) selfie than for those who do not post very often (1 time/ week or 2-3 times/month).

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[4] Duck, smiling face, bust, provocative hand
[5] Couple type selfie
[6] Whole body or a large part of the body, front and side, the hand type VIP, Lady Fabian Attila, Justin Bieber, Rihanna, Bianca Dragusanu
[7] Group of several, type Ellen DeGeneres, president Barack Obama, Bill Clinton, Ellen DeGeneres, advertising in Tel Samsung

1.2. It shall be presumed that self-confidence is lower for those who post frequently (daily) selfie than for those who do not post very often (1 time/ week or 2-3 times/month).

1.3. It shall be presumed that the self esteem has negative aspects for those who post as compared to those who do not post

1.4. It shall be presumed that the level of expectations is lower for those who post frequently (daily) selfie than for those who do not post very often (1/ week or 2-3 times/month).

Hypothesis no. 2
It shall be presumed that there is a higher degree of dependence on Facebook for teenage users who post *selfie* repeatedly frequently (daily) selfie than for those who do not post very often (1/ week or 2-3 times/month).

Assumptions derived:
2.1. It shall be presumed that the time spent on Facebook influences the number and type of *selfies*

2.2. It shall be presumed that Facebook adversely affects school activity of those who post *selfie* repeatedly (daily)

3.3. It shall be presumed that Facebook becomes the solution to the personal problems of the teenagers who post *selfies* repeatedly (daily)

Hypothesis no. 3
It shall be presumed that the following attitudes and beliefs: reason, the need for confirmation of their value, the need to achieve, the need for approval, the need for comfort,

is associated to a greater extent with teenagers who post selfies than to those who do not post.

Assumptions derived:
3.1. It shall be presumed that **reason** is associated to a greater extent with those who post *selfies* than with teenagers who do not post

3.2. It shall be presumed that the need for **confirmation** is more specific to those who post *selfies* than to teenagers who do not post

3.3. It shall be presumed that the need for **approval** is associated to a greater extent to teenagers that post *selfies* than to those who do not post

3.4. It shall be presumed that the need for **comfort** is associated to a greater extent to teenagers that post *selfies* than to those who do not post

Hypothesis no. 4
It shall be presumed that there is a correlation between high level of social desirability and posting selfies.

Assumptions derived:
4.1. It shall be presumed that teenagers who post frequently *selfies* adopt a desirable behavior with the purpose of showing social conformity.
4.2. It shall be presumed that the frequent posting of *selfies* increases the degree of social approval, from the group that the adolescent is part of.

Research methodology

The systematic observation method
Analysed group in pilot study:
26 pupils from the tenth grade; members of the National Training - Cluj Napoca
14 pupils from the tenth grade; members of the Orthodox Theology High School - Cluj-Napoca .

Research Tools:
The scale of rational and irrational cognistions (GABS-SF, Dr. Raymond DiGiuseppe, adapted by Bianca Macavei).
The self esteem scale (Rosenberg).
The scale of dependence on Facebook Bergen.
Social scale desirability (Douglas P . Crowne & David Marlowe).
A page of Facebook *Teens Cluj* to which the students involved in the project have had access, has been monitored for several months. Analysis has been carried out for only a month - April - from the school year 2013-2014. The scales were posted on the Facebook page *Teens Cluj* in Google docs. Answers have been processed with SPSS.

The interpretation of the results

Hypothesis no. 1
In the case of the first hypothesis, which stated that the ones who use Selfies have a low self esteem compared to the teenagers who do not post them, we can report the following results:
There is a positive correlation of average intensity between type A Selfie and type D Selfie, respectively between type a Selfie and the number

of Likes D. The numbers of Likes A significantly correlates with the number of Comments A, with the numbers of Likes B and the type C Selfie. The number of Comments A significantly correlates with the number of Likes A, with the number of Likes B and with type C Selfie, with a number of Likes E and with the number of type E Comments. There is a under average positive correlation between the type B Selfie and the number of Likes E and between the type of Selfie B and the number of Comments type E. The numbers of Likes B is significantly correlated with the number of Likes A, with the number of Comments A- a positive average intensity correlation, with type C Selfie- a positive average intensity correlation, type C Likes- a positive average intensity correlation, with the number of type C Comments- a positive below average intensity correlation. The number of Comments B with Selfie C, with the number Likes, with the number of Comments E. Selfie C with the number of Likes A- in a positive correlation of below average intensity; with the number of Comments A- in a positive correlation o average intensity, with the number of Likes B- in a positive correlation of average intensity, the number of Comments B- in a positive correlation of average intensity. The number of Likes C with the number of Likes B- in a positive correlation of average intensity. Selfie D with Selfie A- in a positive correlation of average intensity. The number of Likes D with Selfie A- in a positive correlation of average intensity. The number of Likes E with the number of Comments A- in a positive correlation of average intensity; with the number of Comments B- in a positive correlation of average intensity. The number of Comments E with the number of Comments A- in a positive correlation of average intensity; with Selfie B- in a positive correlation of below average intensity; with the number of Comments B- in a positive correlation of below average intensity.

Partial Conclusion:

The teenagers who post Selfies have tried several types of Selfies: individual type A, of a couple type B, individual, VIP, type c, with a group type D, with animals type E.

The monitoring and analysis undergone throughout a month have shown that the favourite type of Selfie, which is posted most frequently, is not directly correlated with the level of *self esteem*. Individually speaking, out of the 40 students, just one has posted frequently and atypically. This person has been excluded from the study in order to establish a correlative value which is relevant for most of the sample. In the case of this student, trough this case study, analyzing the results separately, it was noticed that

his self esteem is lower and posting a Selfie was seen as a need for confirmation. It has been proven that the teenager who posts Selfies frequently (daily) has a lower self esteem than the ones who don't post, or post more rarely. His self image is put in a negative light compared to the other 39 teenagers in the study who don't post as frequently(daily). In their case there is no correlation between the level of self esteem and posting several types of Selfie. And the level of expectancy of the one who posts a Selfie is greater than the ones who don't post so often.

In conclusion, the hypothesis we initially stated has proven to be correct. The ones who post Selfies very frequently (daily) have a lower self esteem compared to the teenagers who don't post as frequently. Of the 40 students, the correlation between Selfies and the level of self esteem was noticed only in the case of the one who posted daily.

Hypothesis no.2
The addiction to Facebook was measured using the test of Facebook addiction and it has taken into consideration the time each student spent on Facebook every day, according to the monitoring of the Teens Cluj Facebook page which permitted to measure how often the study group accessed Facebook and how much time each student spent exclusively on Facebook.

In the matter of Facebook addiction of teen users who post Selfies, we have noticed the following: Selfie A with the number of Likes D- in a positive correlation of average intensity. The number of Likes A with Selfie C- in a positive correlation of below average intensity.

The number of Comments A with the number of Likes A- in a positive correlation of below average intensity; with the number of Likes B- in a positive correlation of average intensity; with type C Selfie- in a positive correlation of average intensity, with the number of Likes E- in a positive correlation of average intensity, with the number of Comments E- in a positive Correlation of average intensity. Selfie B with the number of Likes E- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number of Comments E- in a positive correlation of below average intensity. The number of Likes B with the number of Likes A- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number Of Comments A- in a positive correlation of average intensity, with Selfie C – in a positive correlation of average intensity, with the number of Likes- in a positive correlation of average intensity. The number of Comments B with Selfie C – in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number of Likes E- in a positive correlation of

below average intensity. Selfie C with the number of Likes A – in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number of Likes B- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number of Comments B- in a positive correlation of below average intensity,. The number of Likes C with the number of Likes B – in a positive correlation of below average intensity, Selfie D with Selfie A- in a positive correlation of below average intensity. Selfie E with UF_SCOR – in a positive correlation of average intensity. The number of Likes E with the number of Comments A- in a positive correlation of average intensity, with Selfie B- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number of Comments B- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number UF_SCOR – in a positive correlation of below average intensity. The number of Comments E with the number of Comments A- in a positive correlation of average intensity, with Selfie B- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number of UF_SCOR – in a positive correlation of below average intensity. UF_SCOR with the number of Likes E- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number of Comments E- in a positive correlation of below average intensity.

Conclusion:

39 teenager users, prosumers of Facebook, post rarely (once a week or 2-3 times a month) and are not addicted to Facebook, according to the answers from the tests and monitoring.

The daily usage of Facebook is not positively correlated with the posting of all types of Selfie. For Selfie Type E, the individual joined by an animal, there is a positive correlation in relation to the usage of Facebook. The phenomenon is accountable. Even though Facebook is accessed daily, Selfies are not posted daily. After analyzing the results from school there hasn't been achieved a positive correlation between the time spent on Facebook and the scholastic condition of the 39 moderate prosumer students. Poor learning results are achieved only in the case of the student who uses excessively Facebook and who posts daily Selfies and the starting hypothesis is confirmed.

Hypothesis no. 3
The attitudes and beliefs: reason, the need for confirmation of their value, the need to achieve, the need for approval, the need for comfort associates in a higher degree with the teenagers who post Selfies daily than with those who post rarely.

The number of likes A with the number of likes B- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with Selfie C- in a positive correlation of below average intensity. The number of comments A with the number of likes B- in a positive correlation of average intensity, with Selfie C- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number of likes E- in a positive correlation of average intensity, with the number of Comments E in a positive correlation of average intensity. Selfie B with the number of likes E- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number of Comments E – in a positive correlation of below average intensity. The number of likes B with the number of Comments A- in a positive correlation of average intensity, with Selfie C- in a positive correlation of average intensity, with the number of likes C- in a positive correlation of average intensity, with the number of Comments C- in a positive correlation of below average intensity. The number of Comments B with Selfie C- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number of likes E-in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number of Comments E- in a positive correlation of below average intensity. Selfie C with the number of likes A- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number of Comments A- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number of likes B- in a positive correlation of average intensity, with the number of Comments B- in a positive correlation of below average intensity. The number of likes C with the number of likes B- in a positive correlation of average intensity, with GABS-SF- in a positive significant correlation of below average intensity. The number of likes C with the number of likes B in a negative significant correlation of below average intensity, with GABS-SF(in a negative significant correlation of below average intensity). Selfie D with Selfie A- in a positive correlation of average intensity. The number of likes D Selfie A- in a positive correlation of average intensity. The number of likes E with the number of Comments A- in a positive correlation of average intensity, with Selfie B- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number of Comments B- in a positive correlation of average intensity. The number of Comments E with the number of Comments A – in a positive correlation of average intensity, with Selfie B – in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number of Comments B- in a positive correlation of below average intensity. GABS-SF with the number of C type likes - in a negative significant correlation of below average intensity with the number of D type Comments- in a negative significant correlation of below average intensity.

Partial conclusion:

The achieved correlations between the types of Selfie (A, B, C, D and E) and the attitudes and opinions of the 10th Grade high school students from social-humanistic specialization prove the fact that *reason* doesn't affiliate better with Selfie sympathizers than with the teenagers who don't post. The need for confirmation of their value, the need to achieve, the need for approval, the need for comfort are very common characteristics of teenagers.

In the case of our study, only the C type Selfie(whole body, provoking attitude) had a significant correlation with the attitudes and opinions measuring scale. It seems that the whole image, individuality as a whole- which bears within significances of emotional, cognitive and mostly sexual nature- needs confirmation for the 16 year-old teenagers which were involved in our study. In the case of the active prosumer student with high addiction to Facebook at the level of reason, of the need for comfort and of the irrationality degree has scored high results.

Hypothesis no. 4

It shall be presumed that there is a correlation between high level of social desirability and posting selfies.

The results achieved in SPSS are:

Selfie A with Selfie D- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number of likes D- in a positive correlation of average intensity.

The number of likes A with the number of Comments A- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number of likes B- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with Selfie C- in a positive correlation of below average intensity. The number of Comments A with the number of likes A- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, the number of likes B- in a positive correlation of average intensity, with Selfie C- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number of likes E- in a positive correlation of average intensity, with the number of Comments E- in a positive correlation of average intensity. Selfie B with the number of likes E- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number of Comments E- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with social desirability- in a positive correlation of below average intensity. The number of Comments B with Selfie C- of below average intensity, the number of likes E- of below average intensity, the number of Comments E- in a positive correlation of below average intensity. Selfie C with the number of likes A- in a positive

correlation of below average intensity with the number of Comments A- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, with the number of likes B- in a positive correlation of average intensity, with the number of Comments B- in a positive correlation of below average intensity. The number of likes C with the number of likes B- in a positive correlation of average intensity. Selfie D with Selfie A- in a positive correlation of below average intensity. The number of likes D Selfie A- in a positive correlation of average intensity. The number of likes E with the number of Comments A- in a positive correlation of average intensity, Selfie B- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, the number of Comments B- in a positive correlation of below average intensity. The number of Comments E with the number of Comments A- in a positive correlation of average intensity, the number of Comments E with the number of Comments A- in a positive correlation of average intensity, Selfie B- in a positive correlation of below average intensity, the number of Comments B- in a positive correlation of below average intensity. Social desirability score with Selfie B- in a positive correlation of below average intensity.

Partial conclusion

Regarding the correlations between a high degree of social desirability and the Selfie posts, the teenagers who post frequently and the ones who don't post frequently *selfie* take up a desirable behavior towards the social compliance (fashion). The types of selfie that they post on their Facebook pages are after the models of selfie posted by the pop, rock, dance music stars,…..TV stars, stars that the Media promote (TV, radio, on-line press).

The social desirability correlates positively and significantly with the type of selfie B, that is with the type of selfie in which the individual/ person appears with a friend/girlfriend. Involving the individual in a social context, after the models of selfie established by the Media increases proportionally with the value of the social desirability(established through the SPSS programme) and contributes at the social approval growth from the small, familiar group that the teenager is part of. This conclusion stands for all the 40 students from this study.

Final Conclusion:

The impact of using Facebook and posting selfies have upon expressing self esteem and imitating behavior of 16 year-old teenagers shows a variation connected to the time spent on Facebook, the degree of addiction to Facebook, specific individual elements of the subjects from the study sample.

Out of the 40 students that have been observed, 39 of them are students that use Facebook every day for up to 2 hours a day and post once a week or 2-3 time a month. In the case of these students, self esteem is not significantly influenced, the addiction to Facebook is low, their attitudes and beliefs (reason, the need for confirmation of their value, the need to achieve, the need for approval, and the need for comfort) do not associate in a significant measure. On the other hand, the social desirability is significantly correlated with the teenagers' activity on Facebook (especially posting the types of selfies).

In the case of the student who was addicted to Facebook, all the hypotheses of the research are confirmed. So, the moderate, reasonable use of Facebook cannot have negative influences. If one exaggerates, as in the case of all exaggerations, the consequences are negative.

The group of students that have been selected for the research is small. But it can represent a pilot sample which can generate a macro research sometime in the future.

Facebook is perseveringly trying, through various attractive services that are brought daily on the market of communication, to get the attention of the users, to achieve their constancy. The effects of these technical benefits upon the human physique, upon our lives are a result which is corroborated with the way these mass communication means are administrated, alongside social context, the individual identity, the level of culture and education, and the individual specificities.

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TRANSMEDIA STORYTELLING IN DIGITAL GAMES EXPANDING THE UNIVERSE OF *WARCRAFT*

CĂLIN CREȚU[1]

ABSTRACT. The paper *Transmedia storytelling in digital games*[2] is an analysis on how multiple media work in tandem to tell a story. The story analyzed is the vast universe of *Warcraft*, developed by *Blizzard Entertainment* over the last 20 years and is composed of digital games, novels, comics and manga and other products.

Looking at the evolution of the game and other media products, we can observe that *Blizzard Entertainment* has managed to turn what initially was a trilogy of Real Time Strategy games into a story that is consumed by millions of users that play the Massively Multiplayer online role-playing game *World of Warcraft*, read the *Warcraft* novels and the *Warcraft* manga and comic books and will in 2016 watch the *Warcraft* feature movie.

The present paper brings insight for game developers and media scholars on how the quality of a digital game's story is affected when it is transformed into a transmedia storytelling product due to multiple issues that might arise. Among the issues, there is attracting new audiences as the product ages and the narrative evolves, avoiding narrative conflicts between media and managing the ideal use of storytelling techniques specific to each medium.

Key terms: Transmedia storytelling, digital games, World of Warcraft, media convergence

Introduction

Digital games have entered in public attention's eye soon after the first games were released in the 70's, due to their fast growing popularity between young audiences. Studies involving digital games have been

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conducted in multiple domains such as education (Barnett, 2012), psychology (Gentile, 2014), communication (Jenkins, 2010) (Manovich, 2001) (Gambarato, 2013) or even epidemiology (Balicer, 2007). Digital games (also referred to as computer games, video games or electronic games, depending on a few minor variables) can be defined as games that are being played on electronic platforms such as personal computers, tablets, mobile phones, arcade games, consoles that are linked to TV sets, and other devices powered electrically and have a graphical display (Prundaru, 2013).

However, the present study will approach digital games from a new angle: the way digital games are being developed through the help of transmedia storytelling in order to offer audiences the possibility of engaging into an interactive storytelling process and how transmedia storytelling is affecting the story and the audience. The process offers the audience the possibility of further immersion in the narrative universe by consuming additional media. We can see that digital games become storytelling platforms in which the audience is an actor through the avatar they control. This narration in digital games is created in order to allow the audience to transcendence into a virtual world in which completing the tasks given will award satisfaction under multiple forms, including advances in the narrative universe (Prundaru, 2013).

The *Warcraft* universe developed by *Blizzard Entertainment* over the last 20 years was originally composed of three Real Time Strategy (RTS) digital games called *Warcraft* 1, 2 and 3. The story presented in the RTS games was then expanded to other media such as: novels, comics, manga and another game genre, the massively multiplayer online role-playing game (MMORPG) called *World of Warcraft.* The *Warcraft* universe became one of the most successful game franchises in the world selling over 24 million game copies of the MMORPG and the RTS games while the MMORPG peaked at 12 million subscribers that not only bought the game but also played a monthly subscription in order to be able to play it. (Statista, 2014) (Statistic Brain, 2013).

Due to the success of transmedia storytelling in digital games, we decided to conduct the research on this topic and discover how transmedia storytelling affects the narrative in the case of digital games. In order to do this, the present paper uses two research methods that serve to complement each other.

The first research method used is both qualitative and quantitative representing a content analysis of novels, comic books, manga and digital games from the *Warcraft* narrative universe. The second research method is a quantitative method, representing a survey that established the demographic of the audience and the impact transmedia storytelling has over the consumer's experience.

The present paper brings forward a new dimension to the topic by focusing on how narratives that originated in digital games have developed and expanded through the use of transmedia storytelling. Moreover, the research studies the impact that transmedia storytelling has on the narrative development and how the audience consumes and perceives the new media. The study is relevant due to the fact that transmedia storytelling is becoming more popular among digital game designers and producers.

Definition of concepts

During the last 50 years, digital games have evolved from simple rule centered software (hit the ball with the paddle, shoot the alien ships) that were installed on big expensive computers to complex interactive narratives that can run on pocket size devices. Despite facing a few setbacks in the early 1980's and 1990's, the industry saw one of the fastest growths of the 20th and 21st century with forecasts for sales increases until 2020.

Storytelling has also evolved to fit the new interactive medium; players are being able to influence the storytelling process in genres like *Adventure* and *RPG* through their in-game actions and decisions. As the storage and processing power of computers increased, producers took advantage and increased both the visual and storytelling complexity of digital games launched in the recent years, competing on a market that demands better looking games and better developed timelines.

Jenkins (2006) talks about transmedia storytelling as a response to media convergence and named it the art of world making. He used *The Matrix* franchise in order to argument how a product can be present on multiple media platforms, but relate to one element. Jenkins discusses how *Matrix* fans would need to watch the movies, play the video games, and download web content in order to give a full meaning to the product named *The Matrix*.

Media producers are converging media in order to create narratives that complement each other in the process of story and world building. Media franchises like *The Matrix* converged media such as comic books, literature, movies and digital games in order to create immersion, drillability, world building and other core concepts of transmedia.

Transmedia storytelling in digital games became popular in the industry in order to allow digital games to expand the narrative in ways that would not be possible to the original medium (using writing techniques, drawings or cinema). This allowed the use of different points of view for the audience to experience storytelling (non-interactive, interactive, first person, third person, etc.) based purely on the medium used.

Warcraft is the most developed of the three narrative universes (*Warcraft, Diablo, StarCraft)* created by *Blizzard Entertainment* and has become the subject to multiple cultural references of the 21th century (Wong, 2014) (Whitbrook, 2014). The *Warcraft* universe is a wide project involving multiple video games, books, comic books, short clips and other type of media. The core story of the game cannot be identified as the universe revolves around multiple events happening in the fictional worlds of *Azeroth* and *Draenor (Outland)* where the factions known as The Horde and The Alliance fight against themselves but also defend the world against common evils. (Blizzard Entertainment, 2015).

World of Warcraft is a continuation of the initial *Warcraft* RTS trilogy and it tells a story in the aftermath of the initial three games. Players start in the center of the action as soldiers of one of the two factions (*Horde/Alliance*) and progress through the main storyline of the game accompanied by other players (Blizzard Entertainment, 2015).

Literature Review

In 2007, Israeli epidemiologist, Ran D. Balicer published an article in the Journal of Epidemiology that described how SARS and influenza outbreaks spread similarly to a virtual plague. For the study, Balicer used a glitch from *World of Warcraft's* design (later referred to as *Corrupted Blood incident)* that appeared in 2005 and accidentally spread a virtual disease between player's avatars that were at the time in the game. The virtual plague made players leave major cities to avoid infections (Balicer, 2007) (Orland, 2008).

Charles Blair deputy director of the *Center for Terrorism and Intelligence Studies* compared spreading the virtual disease to the way of terrorist cells behaved (Thier, 2008). While the *Corrupted Blood* incident was researched by multiple scholars and experts, it was also looked upon with skepticism due to the fact that the consequences of such events are mild compared to those of a real life event, as in *World of Warcraft* death is not final as players can be *resurrected* with ease (Thier, 2008) (Orland, 2008).

In the visual communication field and game design, multiple studies have been conducted. Sean Target, Victoria Verlysdonk, Howard J. Hamilton and Daryl Hepting studied the effect of player and community modified user interfaces (*UI Modding*) on the community and on the game. The authors suggest that the basic interface of *World of Warcraft* (and other games that allow *UI Modding*) have been developed in concert with its player base via *UI* modifications. This relationship happened as the users would modify their interfaces to both personalize their game experience and better satisfy their needs. The research also presents a survey in which the results show that over 95% *of World of Warcraft* players customize their User Interface (Targett, Verlysdonk, Hamilton, & Hepting, 2012).

Using *World of Warcraft's* raiding environment, where people group up in order to combat challenges in the form of *boss fights* (fights with strong non playable enemies that require multiple players to defeat), Christopher A. Paul discusses the emergence of a practice called *theorycrafting*. In *theorycrafting*, players use game data for statistical analysis and mathematical modeling in order to seek out the best way to play *World of Warcraft*. *Theorycrafters* try to determine which are the most efficient equipment and best abilities to use for every class during boss fights depending on different factors (Paul, 2011).

Faltin Karlsen approaches the subject of *quests* in digital games, including *World of Warcraft*. In the paper, Karlsen states that quests are a structural entity, intimately connected to the games, being a substructure within the larger game area. The paper describes quests in *World of Warcraft* as a temporary and easily accessible occupation while advancing toward the maximum level (where raiding become the main activity), while in other games, such as the *Discworld*, quests are hidden from the environment and employ syntax or actions that are unique to each *quest* (Karlsen, 2008).

Kristine Jørgensen (2008) discusses how sounds in *World of Warcraft* are interpreted contextually by players as their role is not only ornamental and mood-enhancing, but they play a supporting role in the gameplay. Jørgensen states that visual information works together with auditory information to create understanding to every situation. In order to understand the meaning of specific sounds, players must first become familiar with the game through repeated experience.

Scholars have also performed studies that measured the effects digital games have on player' lives such as stress level, satisfaction, happiness or violent behavior. Jeffery Snodgrass's papers focused on the positive and negative effects of game immersion noted that while *losing yourself* in the game

has positive effects being deeply relaxing, stimulating and acting as a stress reliever, it can however backfire in a game addiction if the player does not control the time spent in the game (Snodgrass J. G., 2011).

Studies on the cognitive effects of video-games showed improvements after playing digital games. Most of the studies showed improvements in fields such as task solving skills (Anderson, Culp McMillan, Lewis, Brunner, Diamond, & Martin, 2009), improvements in patients suffering of neurological dysfunctions (Ilg, Schatton, Schicks, Giese , Schöls, & Synofzik, 2012) and improvements in laparoscopic surgical skills (Rosser, Lynch, Cuddihy , Gentile, Klonsky , & Merrel).

Research Questions

The main hypotheses for the present paper are:
1. *Warcraft's* process of transmedia storytelling is used to enhance the audience's understanding of the narrative universe.
2. The initial medium of the narrative universe does not remain canonical after multiple media appear.
3. Each medium uses specific storytelling techniques that are not present in other media.
4. The novels and comics are targeted at older audience while the games are having a younger audience.

Methodology

The transmedia project chosen to be analyzed is *Blizzard Entertainment's Warcraft* universe which is present on multiple media platforms such as: digital games, novels, comic books and manga. The present thesis uses two research methodologies, one applied to the product and another applied to the consumer.

The first research method used is qualitative and quantitative, a content analysis of novels, comic books, manga and digital games representing the same narrative universe. The second research method is a quantitative method, representing a survey that established the demographic of the audience and the impact of transmedia storytelling over the consumer's experience. The narrative universe selected for the research is the universe of *Warcraft* developed by *Blizzard Entertainment.*

Using the storyline of three major characters in the *Warcraft* universe, the paper will be comparing how the narrative is being developed through multiple media and how the authors have used specific storytelling techniques available to each of the medium. The reason that characters are being used for the comparison is that the narrative universe of *Warcraft* is too broad and complex for it to be analyzed as a whole. The following character timelines will be analyzed based on information taken from the RTS and MMORPG games and the novels, manga and comics that can be found in Annex IV and Annex V:

Arthas Menethil: the Prince and heir to the great kingdom of Lordaeron led by King Terenas Menethil II and was introduced in the RTS *Warcraft III* 2002 while his *Arthas's* first appearance in the storyline was in the novel *Arthas: Rise of the Lich King* by Christie Golden released in 2009. *Arthas Menethil* is important in the narrative universe as his betrayal and patricide led to the fall of the kingdom of *Lordaeron,* the creation of an evil force known as *The Scourge* and his transformation into the evil *The Lich King. Arthas Menethil* has been an important character in digital games, one novel and one manga.

Jaina Proudmore is the daughter of a *Grand Admiral* and was introduced in the RTS *Warcraft III* 2002. Chronologically, her first appearance in the storyline is in the novel *Arthas: Rise of the Lich King* by Christie Golden released in 2009. *Jaina Proudmore* is important in the narrative universe as she is one of the strongest wizards in the world and has led diplomatic missions between the two main opposing factions existing in the game while being an important figure in the faction known as The Alliance. *Jaina Proudmore* has been an important character in digital games, six novels and two series of manga and comics.

Thrall is an orc born under the name *Go'el* and is the son of clan leaders from the planet of *Draenor*. He was introduced in the RTS *Warcraft III* 2002. *Thrall's* first appearance in the storyline was in the novel *Lord of the Clans* by Christie Golden released in October 2001. *Thrall* is important in the narrative universe as he is one of the most powerful living shamans, has aided to defending the world against multiple threats, and is the founder of the faction known as *The Horde. Thrall* has been an important character in both digital games, nine novels and three series of manga and comics.

The second research method used is an online survey that ran between 21 and 23 April 2015 and had a target group composed of *Warcraft fans* with the purpose of establishing the audience's experience of the

Warcraft narrative universe and establishes what type of media the audience most often consumes in order to receive information about the game's story. A total of 1018 valid responses were gathered.
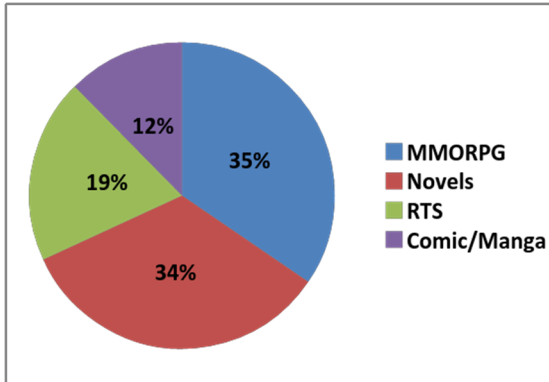
Data Analysis

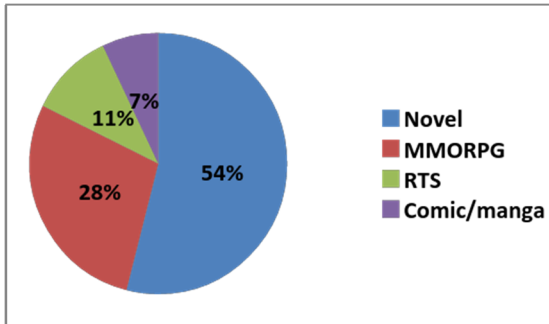Chart I – Distribution of narrative moments throughout all media in the Warcraft universe)

Chart II – Canonical medium distribution in the Warcraft universe

Of the 113 narrative moments analyzed (Annexes IV, V, VI), we can notice an almost equal distribution of around 30% between two characters (Jaina & Arthas), while Thrall has a higher representation rate of about 40%. In regards to the medium used to represent the analyzed narrative moments, almost equal distribution of around 35% can be observed between two categories (MMORPG and novels) followed by RTS (19%) and manga/comics (12%) (Chart I).

Out of 113 narrative moments analyzed (Annex IV, V, VI) a few over half (51.3%) were represented only in one medium, while 30.1% had dual medium representation, and 18.6% could be found in 3 media simultaneously. In total, if counting moments with multiple representations only once, 82 (72%) unique moments existed.

While most of the novels were released prior to the RTS and MMORPG, the analysis shows that in 54% of the moments analyzed the novels are considered canonical with the MMORPG being second at 28.3%, the RTS third with 10.6% and lastly the manga/comics with 7.1%. The figures reveal that the creators of the narrative universe are transferring the official storyline from the games to the novels (Chart II).

Heading towards the use of specific storytelling techniques by each medium we can easily spot out differences from one medium to another. Descriptions are being used in 51% of the narrative moments analyzed with a 97% usage in novels and 90% in manga/comics, but only 15% in MMORPG and 9% in the case of *RTS*. **The figures show that the two games do not rely on actively describing narrative moments** as the virtual world allows the audience to freely view events, environments and other elements that would otherwise require description.

Static images were used only in manga and comics. As cinematic footage are bound to the digital media, it is evident that there were none being used in manga/comics or novels. The digital games however used cinematic footage in 59% of the moments analyzed, being more prevalent in RTS than in MMORPG*'s*. In the MMORPG we found cinematic footage present in 51.3% the moments analyzed while the RTS had 72.2% usage. **The increased use of cinematic footage in RTS can be attributed to the single-player nature of the RTS**. Most cinematic footage can be skipped by users, but in MMORPG not skipping cinematics might lead to slowing down the pace of the action for other members of the group.

Looking forward at how the characters communicate within the media analyzed, we discovered that **text-based dialogue and interior monologue is the most predominant when looking at all the analyzed moments** (38.1%) with voice-overs coming second at 26.5%, and voice-overs combined with extra text-based dialogue at 17.7%. Subtitles for voiced dialogue were not counted as text-based dialogue.
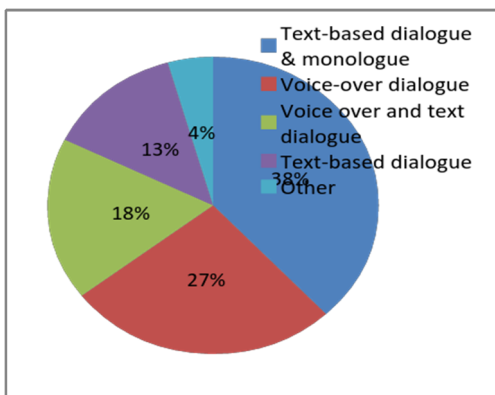
Chart III – Distribution of communication techniques in the Warcraft universe over all media

Overall, text only dialogue ranked fourth, being used in 13.3% of the time. The remaining 4.4% moments used interior monologue mixed with different type of other storytelling techniques (Chart III).

We could observe that voice-overs were used predominantly in RTS (90%) and, MMORPG (79% when also counting narrative moments that also contained text-based dialogue). The novels and manga/comics used mostly dialogue and

interior monologue (86% for novels and 64% for manga/comics), followed by text-based dialogue (7.8% for novels and 35.7% for manga/comics).
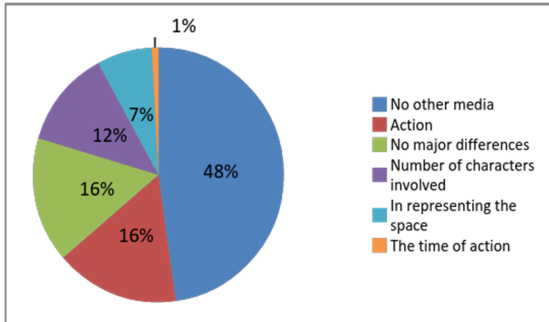
MMORPG had a higher percentage use of text-based dialogue then novels (17.9%) and overall used a wider range of communication techniques. Looking at interactivity between the medium and audience, by analyzing the novels and comics/manga used in this research, we concluded that the non-digital media does not have an interaction mechanism with the readers. The games however proved

Chart IV – Conflicting details in construction of the narration between all media analyzed in the Warcraft universe.

to have a high rate of interaction with the audience (87% in MMORPG and 81.8% in RTS).

While in 30.5% of the cases there were no major differences in the way narrative moments were represented from one medium to another, in 30.5% of the analyzed moments there were differences in how the action was constructed (ex: The weather was described harsher in the novels than it was represented in the game). In 23.7% of the moments there were discrepancies in the number of characters involved in the narrative moment (ex: In the *MMORPG* the army being represented smaller than it was described in the novels), while in 13.6% of the moments the space in which the narrative moment was placed presented differences from one medium to another (ex: while the novels described a fight taking place inside a castle, the game representation set the moment happening in front of the gates). In 1.7% of the cases we found differences with one narrative moment being placed in two or more different timeframes (usually happened when depicting alternative timelines) (Chart IV).

The figures gathered within the survey show the presence of a young audience, mainly consisting of teenagers and young adults (19-30 years old) with a small presence of 31-40 and above audience. The *Warcraft* community (as most digital games) is composed mostly of male users (90.3%). The education factor shows that the biggest part of the audience is enrolled in either an upper secondary education system or an undergraduate bachelor one.

A total of 99.7% of the respondents said that they have played *World of Warcraft* while 71% reported having played the *Warcraft* RTS games at least once, 54% reported reading at least one novel from the *Warcraft* series (Chart V).
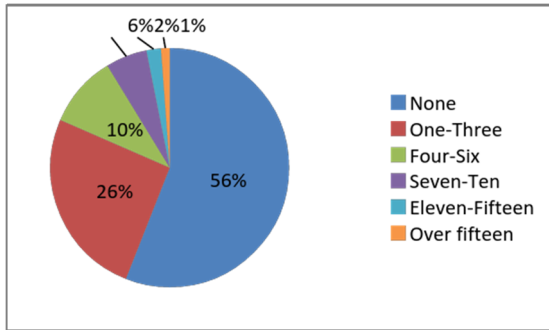

Chart V – Number of Warcraft novels read
by the audience

The audience reported consuming manga/comics at least once in a smaller percentage than novels (26%). A total of 83.4% of the respondents claimed to have consumed *Warcraft* through more than one medium.

The most popular medium actively consumed by the audience in order to improve their knowledge of the narrative universe is the MMORPG *World of Warcraft* (69.6%), followed by the RTS games (37.3%), the *Warcraft* novels (33%), and the *Warcraft* manga/comics (11.6%).

When looking at how the audience first came in contact with the *Warcraft* universe, we can see that the initial medium, the RTS games are predominant (49%), followed by the MMORPG *World of Warcraft* (40%) and *Youtube* videos (5%). The *Warcraft* novels were reported as being the first medium only by 2% of the respondents, while the manga and comics only by 0.2%.

Younger audience from the 13-18 age groups and the older audience from the 41 and older age groups are more avid readers of the *Warcraft* novels then audience aged between 19 and 40. A total of 59% of the older audience (41 years or older) have reported reading at least one of the W*arcraft* novels, followed by the young (13-18) audience with half of them reporting to having read at least one of the novels. The ranking continues with the group aged 31-40 (46%), 19-21 (43%) and lastly the group consuming the least amount of novels is the one aged 22-30, with 42% of them having read at least one novel.

Looking at the link between the level of education of the audience and the content consumed, we can see that the RTS game has been consumed at least once, mostly by those enrolled in higher education. Those enrolled in doctoral level studies have reported having played the RTS in 80% of the cases,

the same percentage as those having a master's degree level of education, followed by people with lower secondary education (78%), bachelor's degree (73%), and upper secondary education (68%).

The reason the audience is using multiple media was the following: 71.8% of the respondents said they want to receive extra information on the narrative universe in general, 62.4% want to receive in-depth information about certain characters present in the narrative, and 60% want to find out more about certain events that have happened or are happening in the narrative.

When looking at how the audience perceives the necessity of consuming multiple media in order to understand the narrative universe we can see the following: for 13.7% of those asked, the novels are considered mandatory in order to understand the narrative universe, while 36.1% think the novels are not required to be consumed; 50.2% of the respondents said that the novels are only partially mandatory for those that want to understand the narrative universe. The manga and comics are seen mandatory only for 2.9% of those that have answered, while 72% do not see them mandatory for understanding the narrative universe; 24.8% stated that the manga and comics are only partially mandatory.

In regards to the two digital media, the consumption of the MMORPG is considered mandatory by 37.2% of the respondents, while 29.5% consider it is not mandatory, and 33.3% said it is only partially mandatory. The necessity of the RTS games has similar percentages with that of the MMORPG: 35.1% saying it is mandatory, 28.5% saying it is not and 36.4% answering that the consumption is only partially required for those wanting to understand the narrative.

Looking at how transmedia storytelling affects the audience in terms of consumption, we asked about the existence of discrepancies in the storytelling caused by the process of transmedia storytelling. The 83,4% of those saying they use multiple media answered as such: 21.7% said they found discrepancies between media, 28.8% reported no such discrepancies while 49.5 said they found partial discrepancies existing between multiple media.

Conclusions

The objective of the present paper was analyzing the effect of transmedia storytelling in digital games and establishing what relations are created between different media. The analysis of 114 narrative moments

and a survey applied to 1018 users revealed how the media used for the storytelling process are complementing each other, while also maintaining certain autonomy in terms of consumption.

The present study shows how transmedia storytelling can be applied to digital games and how the media work together complementary in order tell a story. Moreover, the study analyses how the audience is affected by the process of transmedia and what type of media is consumed based on the audience's demographic markers. Through the use of two research methodologies, content analysis and an audience survey, the paper presents several conclusions.

We could see that the media producers have divided the storytelling in equal shares between digital and non-digital media. The content analysis showed that even though the digital media have a higher consumption rate than the non-digital novels, the novels remain canonical to the story most of the time when a narrative moment is present in multiple media. The audience, however, perceives the MMORPG and the RTS canonical in higher percentages than they perceive the novels. The difference can be explained by the higher popularity of the digital media in case of the MMORPG, and by an existing emotional attachment between the audience and the *RPG* which was reported being the first medium they first came in contact with in the *Warcraft* universe by half of the respondents.

Regarding storytelling we could see that *Blizzard Entertainment* used a mix of active storytelling techniques for the digital media and passive ones for the non-digital media. The active storytelling techniques were used mostly to place the audience inside the virtually rendered world as a character (ex: the avatar can be controlled to fight in a battle) while the passive techniques are used to offer in-depth details regarding events, character development and other descriptions for an audience that is now a spectator from outside the story (ex: the audience reads details about a battle in which other heroes fight) instead of an actor inside of it.

The first hypothesis showed that in the case of digital games, transmedia storytelling can be used successfully to enhance the audience's understanding of the narrative universe. Digital games, as any other media has its own limitations in using storytelling techniques, crippling itself in expanding the narrative. The process of transmedia storytelling offers the possibility of launching new products which can render and enlarge the narrative universe in ways digital games cannot.

The second and third hypothesis is relevant for games and stories that were not initially planned to become transmedia stories but aim for multiple media narrative. *Blizzard Entertainment's* work showed that it is possible in time for the canonical medium to be changed from the initial medium to another. This allows producers to give each medium niche attributions. For example, games can be designed to focus around game play and aesthetics while novels, comics and movies are used to develop the story.

The fourth and final hypothesis gives insight on how older generation games can make use of transmedia storytelling to target new, young, audiences who might not be attracted by the outdated graphical and mechanical design of the old games. The possibility of rehashing old content into new media comes with the risk of having narrative conflicts where one medium is described in a way while the game rendition might appear different (for example, a city might be described to host millions of people, while the game rendition is big enough to host a few thousands). Game designers need to calculate which inconsistencies they can afford to have in the story in order to maintain the quality of the product.

Other data gathered show that the majority of digital game audience uses more than one medium in order to enhance their knowledge of the story. Moreover, a high number of those interested in the story of a game use wiki websites and fan made video resources that synthesize information into what can be called *lore videos.* Fan made content such as fan fiction, while not considered canonical, is also part of the transmedia storytelling process and must also be taken into consideration by producers as it is part of the product's community.

Transmedia storytelling has proved to be a successful method of expanding media products from one medium to multiple media. As game designers started developing storytelling in their games, some limitations were met in developing the narrative due to not being able to use certain storytelling techniques at their full potential such as interior monologue or description.

Game designers and media producers interested in storytelling can use the findings of this research in order to create and develop a transmedia storytelling product by following the findings regarding audience targeting based on medium, creating canonical media and using storytelling techniques specific to each medium.

The present research has its limitations, although the proposed objectives have been successfully reached. The first limitation of the study regards the use of only one transmedia storytelling product, the narrative

universe of *Warcraft.* Other digital games have become successful transmedia storytelling products (*Assassin's Creed, Diablo, Resident Evil, Mortal Kombat etc.*) and would be valid subjects for a research. However, even when analyzing the vast narrative universe of *Warcraft* the use of only 3 main characters proved sufficient to gather quality data. The limitation is present due to the vast narrative universes existing in the case of most transmediated digital games, however, the present paper managed to accomplish its purpose by using a narrative universe that due to its popularity has become a popular cultural reference. Another limitation of the research might relate to the sample of survey respondents and their attachment to the narrative universe and the data provided. Due to the fact that the survey was applied online, it had to be promoted throughout existing *Warcraft* communities; this could lead to the sample being composed of players that dedicate more time to playing the games and the narrative universe. However, in order to try and capture a wider spectrum of *Warcraft* consumers, the survey was promoted continuously for 48 hours and in multiple forums, thus reaching a broader range of consumers.

We also propose that future researches analyze how user generated content, such as fan-fiction, affected the narrative universe and influenced content creators in using certain storytelling techniques to deliver the narrative. For instance, fan-made comic strips could lead content producers to expand the universe into producing official comic books that are part of the canonical universe. Another important user generated product that should be taken into consideration for further studies are wiki-pages and online libraries that document, synthesize and disseminate information existent in the narrative universe.

In conclusion, the present paper achieved its purpose in discovering the impact of transmedia storytelling on the narration and audience in the case of digital games.

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Annexes available upon request:

Annex I – Content analysis grid

Annex II – Audience survey

Annex III – Warcraft and World of Warcraft novels in publication order

Annex IV – Warcraft and World of Warcraft novels in which Jaina Proudmore, Thrall or Arthas Menethil are present as main characters in publication order

Annex V – Warcraft and World of Warcraft comics and manga in which Jaina Proudmore, Thrall or Arthas Menethil are present as main characters in publication order

Annex VI – Digital games developed by Blizzard Entertainment

MASS-MEDIA'S ROLE IN SELF-DEVELOPMENT. GENDER IDEOLOGIES AND DISCOURSE IN COSMOPOLITAN AND MEN'S HEALTH

MĂDĂLINA HODOROG[1]

ABSTRACT. The present paper explores the role of media in shaping ideas about the self with focus on gender ideologies and discourses as manifested in such widely-read magazines as *Cosmopolitan* and *Men's Health*. The study adds a new dimension and focuses on the online editions of *Cosmopolitan* and *Men's Health*, from both United States and United Kingdom and makes comparisons between them. The purpose of the study is to find out how the ideological self of women and men is portrayed in magazines. The significance of this research is meaningful for media scholars, discourse analysts, consumers and psychologists at some degree, as it provides substantial insight into how media represents individuality in their content.

Key words: identity, self-help, self-developmental products, subculture.

1. Introduction

One of the key elements of media is that it provides ways in understanding the self by shaping ideas about identity and practices of the self. In order to achieve this purpose, media constructs a new self that must be shaped by applying several "techniques of the self" outlined in different types of magazines that address both the genre. Magazines suggest ways of perceiving the self and promote different lifestyles that are often contradictory (Blackman 2004).

On one hand, women magazines such as *Cosmopolitan, New Woman, Glamour, Marie Claire, Company or Elle* portray a non-traditional woman who freely expresses her sexual desires (Gauntlett 2002). In order to cover

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the topic, the magazines for women include numerous features about sexual positions and techniques, and even present men as sex objects. When coming to relationships, women magazines create the idea that happiness is linked with having a romantic relationship with a man. Contrary to the traditional belief that men should pick up a girl, women magazines motivate their readers to be the first to take action in the romance hunt (Gauntlett, Media, Gender and Identity 2002). Magazines have also the power to construct an ideology about feminism. McRobbie (1997) made a close analysis on *Jackie*, a teenagers' magazine, and found that articles tried to prepared girls for their future roles as mothers and wives.

On the other hand, men lifestyles magazines such as *Men's Health, FHM* (For Him Magazine), *Loaded* or *Maxim* portray a totally different type of men. Blackman (2004) argued that men's magazine presented articles related with what she called "practices of self-mastery". These practices encouraged men to understand women's bodies and discover new sexual techniques. Self-practices and self-understanding take another form in men's magazine.

Contrary to women's magazines where relationships are seen in the form that women must attract a man with sexual attraction techniques, men's magazine focus on relationships with a different angle. Magazines for men include articles relating their leisure time activities that fall under categories such as Do It Yourself, Technology, Lifestyle, Sexlife or Career advice. The subliminal messages of the articles is that women are impressed by an intelligent, powerful and individualistic men. Men's sexuality is seen as natural, biological and basic. However, the general discourse that characterizes women include words such as "emotional", "sensitive", "innocent" or "naïve."

Thus, media generates codes that establish "the self" in a specific setting. Magazines culture goes further in establishing "a new self" by describing ways of achieving it. Loving your body, be confident and transform your ideas about sex are key messages in self-help articles that do not longer portray traditional genres.

In this paper, we posit that men's and women's magazines create different ideologies of the self. In doing so, we analyze four well-known magazines: *Cosmopolitan* and *Men's Health* on both their American and British editions. We decided to analyze two version of the same magazine in order to find out how agenda setting is constructed in relation with the audience. Thus, by analyzing the articles of the four magazines we can make a clear distinction between men's and women's magazines, but also between American and British magazines.

The current research provides substantial insight into how "the self" is portrayed in the four magazines. Rather than focusing only on the sexual discourse of the magazines, we decided to add another dimension of how we understand the ideologies of the "self" as constructed in United States and United Kingdom.

2. Purpose

The aim of this study is to find out how the ideological self of women and men is portrayed in the online editions of *Cosmopolitan* and *Men's Health*, from both United States and United Kingdom. More explicitly, the general purpose of the research is to identify how media portrays the "self" in European vs. American magazines.

3. Definition of concepts

3.1. Women's Magazines: Cosmopolitan US/UK

Women's magazines play a crucial role in self-help industry because they generate ideas about genre, lifestyle and way of behavior. *The Cosmopolitan* magazine, as it was previously named was launched in 1886 as a family magazine by Schlicht and Field Publishers in United States. Nowadays, the brand has 64 editions published in 34 languages and distributed in more than 100 countries (Corporation 2009). *Cosmo* is a women's magazine that encourages women to openly express their sexuality. Articles such as *10 Weird Sexual Fetishes That May or May Not Blow Your Mind, 14 Weird Reasons Why You're Having Painful Sex* or *How to Become a "Humpalicious" Sex Scene Writer* emphasize the idea.

Critics argue that by becoming a *Cosmo Girl*, readers adhere to magazine's sexual codes as women believe that being sexual self-fulfilled brings happiness (Tait 1996). According to a 2012 report of the Alliance for Audited Media, *Cosmopolitan* had a circulation of over 3.000.000 (Media 2012). The online version www.cosmopolitan.com contains articles about sex/love, diet/fitness, beauty/fashion, celebrity/news, food/cocktails and career/money.

In 1972, Hearst Corporation's British venture launched *Cosmopolitan UK*, having a huge success during the first years of publication (Gough-Yates 2003). Similar with the American edition, *Cosmo UK* covered articles

that outlined the sexual nature of women. According to a 2010 Audit Bureau of Circulations figures for the first half of the year, *Cosmopolitan UK* reported a circulation of 401.750, down 9% year of year. It was considered the biggest fall in women's lifestyle and fashion sector (Sweney 2012).

The online version www.cosmopolitan.co.uk contains articles under the categories: love & sex, fashion, hair & beauty, celebrities, body, horoscope, travel or competitions.

3.2. Men's Magazines: Men's Health US/UK

The *New Man* identity gave rise to magazines that covered aspects of health, fashion and fitness (Beynon 2002). *Men's Health* appeared in US in 1987 and is owned by Rodale Corporation. It is the world largest and best-selling magazine for men, with 40 editions in 47 countries. Its readership accounts more than 24 million men around the globe and consists of successful, professional men who want to improve their self and lives. In US, the magazine circulation numbers exceeds 1.8 million.

Men's Health managed to become a worldwide brand that consists of the *Men's Health* magazine, www.menshealth.com website, *Men's Health* Digital Editions, *Men's Health* International, *Men's Health* books and *Men's Health* Events (Rodale n.d.). The lifestyle magazine portrays an ideal man that is fit, good in bed, knowledgeable and considerate (Gauntlett, Media, Gender and Identity 2002). They include articles related to fitness, sex & women, health, nutrition, weight loss and style.

In UK, *Men's Health* magazines has a great success, being one of the first top 10 health and fitness magazines. During recent years, *Men's Health UK* became the top-selling title with an average circulation of 250.247 (Plunkett 2009). In 2008, the lifestyle magazine has achieved a record of 14 consecutive growths in sales (Rodale n.d.). Moreover, *Men's Health* also reported the biggest digital circulation in 2012 who sold a monthly average of 12.676 digital copies (Halliday 2013). Their online edition (www.menshealth.co.uk) contains articles under categories such as: health, fitness, muscle, sex, nutrition, style & grooming, weight loss or living.

3.3. Practices of the Self

Self-help articles are included in magazines in order to convey readers the idea of an appropriate "self". Advice articles on how to cook,

cope with a man, find a man, DIY articles or sex, relationships, beauty, fashion advice are included in the self-development category. Horoscope is another form of self-help as it encompasses all the aspects from the self-help industry.

Tait (1996) argued that self-help magazines could be seen as practical manuals used in changing personalities with the help of governmental imperatives. In order to approach the subject, women's magazines presented girls the idea that they have to change their "self", thus, creating an image of sexually responsible women. Shaping the self did not occur only with the use of an article, but also by self-interrogation practices (quizzes, questionnaires, surveys) or body transformation practices that were described in both men's and women's magazines (Tait 1996).

3.4. Gender Discourse

The differences between men and women can be considered the main focus of the self-help industry as it covers topics from how to be a woman or how to be a perfect man. The levels of approaching these topics differ depending under what category the article is being placed. However, the idea of "masculinity" and "feminity" is clearly shaped in mass media. Masculinity refers to being a real, powerful, emotional and knowledgeable men, while feminity refers to individualistic and career-oriented women.

4. Literature Review

The literature points out towards several researchers that investigated the effect of magazines in society. Both *Cosmopolitan* and *Men's Health* had been the subjects of a variety of analysis in order to identify their effects on society.

Machin and Thornborrow (2003) examined how *Cosmopolitan* saw women's sexuality and work practices. By applying discourse analysis on the articles, they found out that women were oriented towards socialization than towards focusing on their intellectual skills. Women were characterized as being alone and must take advantage of other people through manipulation and sexual techniques. They argued the *Cosmo* identified these skills as being part of a game to play. The authors also argued that despite the fact that the magazine has been translated in 44 languages, they all copied the style of the US magazine.

Cosmopolitan's focus to sex articles was also analyzed by Winship (Winship 1987) who found that Cosmo articles could be rather contradictory as articles both encouraged women to love their body and to get slim, both to accept men as they are or manipulate them, while romance, marriage or relationships can be good or bad.

The power of masculinity is described by Stibbe (2004) as being the most used tool in *Men's Health* magazine. By analyzing the discourse portrayed in the magazine, he argued that the articles promote a hegemonic masculinity that can be dangerous for men. In doing so, the editors of *Men's Health* "tell readers what they want to hear at a time when hegemonic masculinity is being challenged by messages that red meat is harmful, excess alcohol is dangerous, convenience food is unhealthy, sexism is unacceptable, and animals have rights. And the reassuring advice, ostensibly backed up by the authority of science, comes from the mouth of a trusted buddy" (p. 49).

However, there are no specific studies that focus on comparing the major themes between *Cosmopolitan* and *Men's Health* and the discourse of "the self" is not clearly defined. Moreover, studies do not compare the American versions of the magazines with the British ones.

5. Research Questions

The following research questions have been put forward:

1. How do media construct "the self" in American and European magazines?
2. What are the major self-help themes in *Cosmopolitan* (women's magazine) and *Men's Health* (men's magazine) editions?
3. How is the ideological self constructed for women and men?

Hypothesis 1: *Cosmopolitan US* magazine contains more sexual articles than *Cosmopolitan UK* magazine.
Hypothesis 2: *Men's Health US* magazine contains more body-related articles than *Men's Health UK* magazine.
Hypothesis 3: *Cosmopolitan US* and *Men's Health US* focus more on the physical image of an individual than *Cosmopolitan UK* and *Men's Health UK.*
Hypothesis 4: *Cosmopolitan US* and *Men's Health US* use more self-help words related to body aspects of an individual than *Cosmopolitan UK* and *Men's Health UK.*

6. Methodology

In order to reach the aim of the paper, we analyzed between April 21st, 2013 and May 4th 2013 four well-known magazines from United States and United Kingdom: *Cosmopolitan* and *Men's Health.* In order to create a better analysis of the case, we decided to use a qualitative research method by using a grid analysis consisting of 27 categories. We chose to analyze a selected corpus of texts from two main sections from each of the four online magazines: *Top* and *Lates* articles. The analysis was conducted by using a Natural Language Processing and Semantic Classification software called Tropes. The program can identify the major themes from the articles by making a qualitative and linguistic analysis.

7. Findings

There were 354 articles analyzed out of which 122 were *Cosmopolitan US* magazine articles, 84 were *Men's Health US* magazine articles, 85 were *Cosmopolitan UK* magazine articles and 63 were *Men's Health UK* magazine articles. The current study has shown that *Cosmopolitan US* magazine portrays a woman that is sexually available and is not afraid in recognizing her sexual beliefs. By using news articles (77.8%) and commercials (9.8%), the magazine addresses themes such as sex, celebrities and relationships. In order to do this, the self-help words that were mostly used were related to body, sex and food.

On the other side, *Men's Health US* magazine portrays an idea that men should pay more attention to their physical bodies as the magazine includes more articles that focus on health, food and fitness. In order to transmit the message, journalists use self-help words that are related to body, food and health, three categories that emphasize the previously mentioned idea.

We believe that both *Cosmopolitan US* and *Men's Health US* magazines create a similar image about women and men: that they should all accept their individuality, be independent and sexy. However, the methods through which men and women achieve the specified goals differ. In this sense, *Cosmopolitan US* focuses on accepting sexuality as the primary norm and portray an image of a woman that cannot be individualistic if she is not accepting her body. In the body-accepting process *Cosmopolitan US* does not encourage women to do sports in order to keep fit, but pay attention to their diet. Moreover, the magazine shapes the idea that as long as a woman knows many aspects about her intimate life, she will succeed in feeling independent and accept her body.

The traditional ideologies about women being emotional and sensitive are not emphasized in the magazine, but feelings are not completely excluded from Cosmo girls ideal. Feelings are mentioned in the magazine in the sense that women should not neglect their emotional side, but accept it. Moreover, self-help words related to family are closely connected to feelings, showing that a woman must understand herself both intrinsically and externally, with a major focus on the second part.
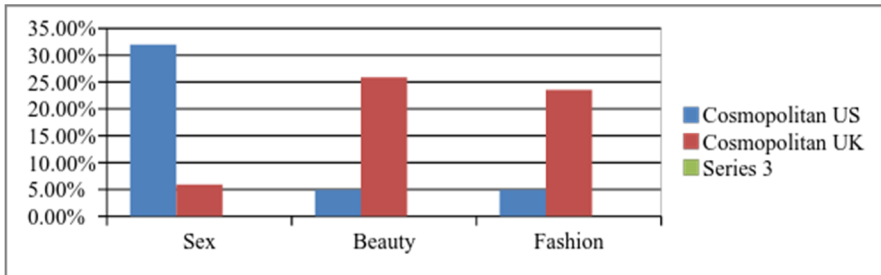

Figure 1: Cosmopolitan US/UK Major Themes

Men's Health US portrays the same objective but with more focus on health, fitness and food. The magazine shows that a man who pays attention to his body (keep fit, healthy and looks great) has more chances in having a girlfriend. Contrary to *Cosmopolitan US*, the men's magazine advice men to do sports in order to keep fit.

Another difference than can be depicted between *Men's Health US* and *Cosmopolitan US* magazines is that *Men's Health* focuses more on personality aspects such as happiness, relationships or emotional states of mind. It can be concluded that despite the fact that magazines addressed to male audience do not focus on feelings, it focuses on personality-changing aspects, which is a major theme in self-help movement.
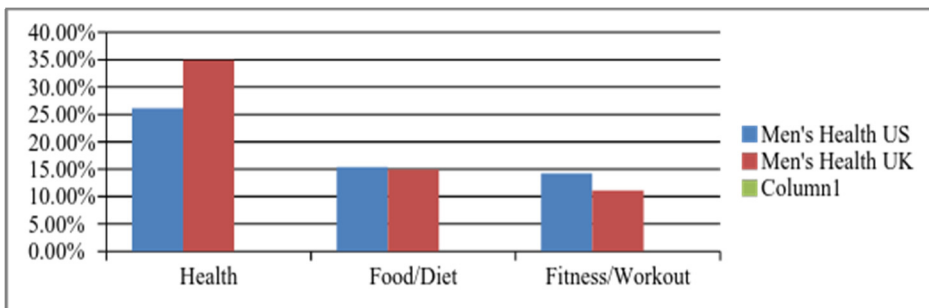

Figure 2: Men's Health US/UK Major Themes

Cosmopolitan US takes however, another approach and do not directly advice women on how to change their personalities, but include messages of change in its sex articles and focus solely on this type of changing.

Magazines from United Kingdom portray a different approach to self ideology. *Cosmopolitan UK* does not focus on sexuality as its sister from America, but on beauty (25.8%) and fashion (23.2%) articles. Not only this, but the self-help words that are mostly used refer to body (22%) and clothing (16.3%). It is important to mention here that the study found few articles that are related to sex, and therefore, it can be concluded that sexuality is not linked with body aspects as in *Cosmo US*.

Cosmopolitan UK remained to the traditional ideas that women should only pay attention to their external aspects of the self and includes more articles about body, fashion and beauty. Commercials are abundant in the magazine and they all contain articles about the mentioned topics. *Cosmopolitan UK* creates an ideology similar with *Men's Health UK* magazine that focuses on fitness/workout (34.9%), food/diet (14.2%) and health (11.1%), which is also similar with the US online edition.
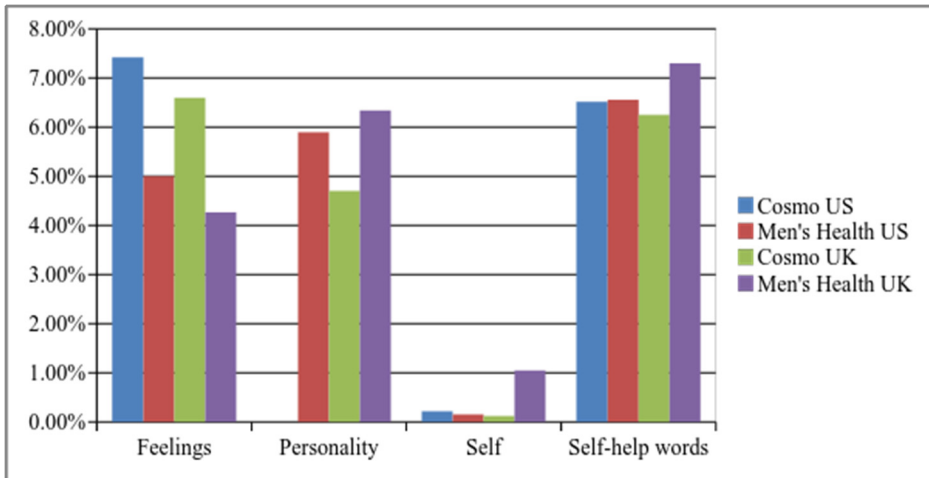

Figure 3: Individuality portrayed in all four magazines

The current study found not only how each magazine constructs gender discourses, but it also revealed connotations between the four magazines. From a general perspective, it can be seen that in United States, magazines focus on creating new attitudes towards self identity. Contrary

to traditional magazines that present advice on how to understand women/men, the US magazines contain few articles about the opposite sex and instead, focus on personal development. The self-development idea is a profound one because it implies deep changes in one's personality. Changing aspects of people's personality has not been an easy task not even for psychologist and counselors. However, both magazines achieved their purpose in transmitting their messages to their audiences as it can be seen from audience studies that show that *Cosmopolitan* magazine has a readership of 16 million women aged between 18 and 49 (Media Mark Research 1999), while *Men's Health* audience are 85% men and 71% are between the ages of 18 and 44 (Alexander 2003).

European magazines do not yet portray such major changes and one implied reason could be its historical background. As self-help movement has its roots in the American society, Americans are more opened to personality changes than in Europe where people can be considered to be more skeptic towards the movement. In the first part of the thesis, it was mentioned that in Europe there are small numbers of self-help books that are sold each year. Moreover, TV shows that address self-fulfilling topics are also few in numbers and topics (health and weight) showing that Europeans take a second thought when coming to personality changes. *Men's Health UK* magazine, however, is taking a step forward and tries to address more self-help topics, although the numbers are still small in comparison with US magazines.

When referring to self-help words, the study found that that *Men's Health US/UK* magazines use many self-help words in comparison with the women's magazines. Therefore, *Cosmopolitan* magazines refer often to feelings, but lack in addressing topics regarding personalities, while *Men's Health* address topics related to personality and even use more self-help words than women's magazines.

Moreover, contrary to the common belief that men want only sex, the *Men's Health* magazine did not present the traditional idea as there are few (3.2%) self-help words related to sex and self-help words that are related to women occupy the latest positions (2.25%). *Cosmopolitan* magazine, on the other side, contains far more self-help words regarding sex (13.9%) than *Men's Health*.

We propose that magazines hold a powerful position in shaping the search for "the inner self" depending on gender discourses. However, when coming to address topics about the opposite gender, journalists do not portray the ideals of men and women that are encountered in the

magazines. More explicitly, *Cosmopolitan* does not present the idea that women must love a powerful, handsome and muscular men, while *Men's Health* does not characterize women as being independent and sexy.

It is visible that the ideals presented in magazines do not match. Frederick, Fessler and Haselton (2005) conducted a survey on how body ideals are shaped by media. They found that men's magazines overestimate the degree of masculinity that is attractive to women, while women's magazines overestimate the degree of thinness that is attractive to men. Stibbe (2004) analysis is of great interest here as he found that men's magazine focus on traditional masculinity that encouraged men to gain power over women. In men's magazines, women are still portrayed as being emotional and problematic. Thus, media representations are influencial to people who agree to be the audience that journalists shape: either powerless and emotional or self-sufficient and independent (Booth 1961).

It is essential to mention that there were only two magazines that were analyzed in the study: *Cosmopolitan* and *Men's Health*, two companies that address to two different gender categories. In this sense, the study also revealed how companies create their content depending on the audience they address. The statement becomes clear when analyzing the themes that are mentioned in each country. Adorno's and Fiske's debate about who shapes media content is controversial here as the two companies can either shape new ideologies by using their own content (Adorno) or present content that audience want to read about (Fiske). From our point of view, *Cosmopolitan US* and *Men's Health US* follow Adorno's theory as both US magazines promote new identities about self-formation. This is not the case in United Kingdom, where traditional aspects of gender still remain. Therefore, we strongly believe that UK male-audience and female-audience magazines follow Fiske's theory.

8. Conclusions

The objective of this study was to identify how media portrayed the idea regarding the "self" by analyzing the online editions of *Cosmopolitan* and *Men's Health* from both United States and United Kingdom. During two weeks (April 21-May 4 2013), there were 354 articles analyzed with the use of codes that would present how ideologies about women and men could be shaped by the media. By using codes, we could clearly show a major difference between United States and United Kingdom magazines, especially in relation with the major themes presented.

The current research provides substantial insight into how media represents individuality in their content. The current research is important for media scholars, discourse analysts and consumers because it creates a general perspective about how two gender-targered magazines shapes individuality differently, depending on the country. We believe that the research may improve the academic body of knowledge and may lead to changes in media practices and methods. Journalists are the main targeted audience to the present research as it is essential to understand the differences of how the self is constructed in magazines.

Understanding major discrepancies in how media shapes individuality is also essential to consumers that do not have to take for granted gender ideologies presented in their favourite media. It is essential that consumers know the truth and take action counsciously.

To a small extext, we believe that psychologist and researchers working in a domain may also find useful information about how society form self discrepancies and better understand the role that media plays in the process. Self-help movement often focus on providing advice on how to change aspects of personality, but lacks in understanding the causes of it. In this sense, the present investigation may shed a light.

As every study has its limitations, the current study is of no exception, although the research has reached its proposed aim. The first major limitation found in the study was the Natural Language Processing and Semantic Classification software called Tropes that provided only a specific number of codes and themes. Another limitation of the study was that data collection was conducted on a short period of time (two weeks) and for a better understanding of the concept of self, a longer period should be taken into consideration.

We suggest that future studies should also include analytical discourses on several articles in order to underline aspects such as intonation, use of words, lexical and grammatical items. When reading the articles from *Cosmopolitan US* magazine, for instance, we could identify several ironical intonations that had the purpose of making fun on aspects of self or society. We believe that further investigation should be taken in this sense.

In conclusion, the current thesis achieved its purpose in showing how different media shapes ideas about "the self" and has also a powerful influence in constructing it. Self-help movement would not exist without media's essential role in the process and media organizations should pay more attention in how they handle the situation.

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LOBBYING IN THE EU POLICY-MAKING ARENA

CAMELIA NISTOR[1]

ABSTRACT. Lobbying is part of a democratic political life. Today, EU lobbying, which is extremely active in democratic systems, is considerably more structured, institutionalized and regulated than at the beginning of the European construction. It represents an essential component of the relation between decision-makers and interest groups based on the citizens' fundamental right to bring their contribution to the policy-making process. Governmental actors need expertise for creating and implementing public policies, while interest groups need access to key decision-makers aiming to influence political decisions.

In this article, the author proposes an analysis of lobbying and EU policy-making as the relations between decision-makers and different interest groups are essential for developing a more transparent and efficient decision-making process.

Keywords: EU lobbying, EU policy-making, influence, interest groups, decision-makers

EU lobbying is perceived as legitimate and necessary because all businesses in the corporate area are influenced by the political acts and by the measures, the decisions taken by governments. Tomorrow's law is, therefore, today's base for global business strategies. Politicians cannot govern without taking into account industry and other societal actors.[2] In these conditions, those having a decisive role in the EU legislative process direct their attention considerably towards representatives of industries, associations, NGOs, law firms, lobbying consultancies etc. The aim is to obtain comprehensive information about technical, economic and legal

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[2] Andreas Geiger, *EU Lobbying handbook, A guide to modern participation in Brussels*, Berlin, Helios Media GmbH, 2006, p. 15.

matters, before decisions being taken, while this enables stakeholders to provide the legislators with constructive and substantive contributions during the decision making. European lobbying is a mutual political consultation process, where legal and societal actors exchange information about the discussed policies.[3] "An issue ignored is a crisis invented" said Henry Kissinger[4]. An as good as possible management of the issues of interest is essential for lobbying. In this respect, the function of a good management is "to identify and solve potential crisis issues as early as possible".[5]

The first phase in such a situation involves scanning as many issues and opinions as possible, and obtaining a broad perspective on the issue under review. It is interesting to note the so-called 'discipline of preventive lobbying', meaning the possibility to contribute to potentially problematic issues right from the start. These types of lobbying can prevent certain trends, opinions from appearing on the political agenda.[6] Public policy making requires "an on-going activity, with interest groups intervening at those points and moments that seem to be more possible for influencing".[7] Obviously, for becoming part of the public policy mechanism, political interest groups need access to governmental institutions where decisions are prepared. "Even though the term often has negative connotations, in the democratic world the lobbyist work is essential for the policy-making".[8] By noticing the relationship established between the access itself to public policy-making and the success obtained, David Truman says that "the result of effective access is a governmental decision"[9].

The life cycle of a public policy usually starts with raising a social problem (phase 1), which can attract public attention (phase 2), thus becoming a political issue (phase 3); this problem can be placed on the official agenda (phase 4) and become the subject of a political decision (phase 5). Later, once passed, the law can be implemented (phase 6), monitored for establishing its efficacy (phase 7) and, where appropriate, discussed, legally supported (step

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[3] *Ibidem.*

[4] Joos Klemens, *op. cit,* p. 46.

[5] *Ibidem.*

[6] *Ibidem.*

[7] Carol Greenwald, *Group Power, Lobbying and Public Policy,* New York, Praeger Publishers, 1978, p. 266.

[8] Raj Chari, John Hogan *et al, Regulating lobbying : a global comparison,* Manchester University Press, 2011, p.1.

[9] *Ibidem,* p. 327.

8).[10] Chari and Kritzinger mention a first stage, the 'initiative phase', when the institutional framework itself is being shaped, a framework responsible for thinking of new required rules, regulations, directives. The 'negotiation phase' then follows – meaning the dialogue that takes place between the two categories of actors involved in the process: public servants and actors in the private sector. In the first category there are the actors from the European institutions (like Council of Ministers, composed of ministers of national governments, the European Commission, whose commissioners represent, in theory, the Union's interests as a whole; the European Parliament, composed of members elected from each member state for a term of five years, the European Court of Justice - the highest judicial system of the European Union).[11] Actors in the second category - and private sector lobbyists - include stakeholders having economic, professional, public interests, aiming to influence institutional actors, especially during the negotiation of policies.[12]

The two phases of the policy formulation process - the initiative and negotiation - can take different forms, depending on the general context in which they are prepared: if the main role goes to the Commission, this shows the importance of the supranational governance; if the Council has a key role, then intergovernmentalism has an increasing importance; if several interest groups are allowed to intervene in the negotiations, this suggests pluralism; in case especially business groups are involved in developing policies, together with the EU executive, this means corporatism; if only economic, capitalist actors act to the detriment of other social interest groups, this is linked to the perspective of the dominant economic class.[13]

For being successful, lobbying must start before the societal actors' interests are endangered as a result of the political decisions taken. Therefore, through his actions, it is natural and welcome for a lobbyist to get a positive role in the legislative process by providing constructive contributions to the European Commission with reference to the legislative proposals which it initiates.[14] A proactive lobbying is, therefore, preferred – in this case, the lobbyist becomes a permanent actor of the arena, increasing the chances that policy makers take into account his views or suggestions.[15] The lobbyist can

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[10] Andreas Geiger, *op.cit.,* p. 89.
[11] Raj Chari, Sylvia Kritzinger, *Understanding EU Policy Making,* Pluto Press, London, 2006, p. 6.
[12] *Ibidem.*
[13] *Ibidem,* p. 8.
[14] Andreas Geiger, *op.cit.,* p. 90.
[15] *Ibidem,* p. 91.

gain a comparative advantage in case he gets relevant positions in the EU decision-making process as, for example, becoming member of an advisory committee or group of experts of the Commission.

Expert groups are numerous (there are about 2,000 such groups), being composed of experts coming from public or private interest groups, and providing a type of semi-formal advice without formal decision-making power. [16]

Getting a position in an association with a profile corresponding to his field will provide the lobbyist a greater visibility, and it may increase the chances for his lobbying actions to be successful. Obradovic and Alonsa Vizcaino note, even though civil interest groups were involved in the decision making process of the Union since its creation, that incorporating them in a structured manner, in shaping European public policy is relatively recent (...). By formalizing the involvement of civil groups in designing and implementing European policies, it is intended to improve the effectiveness and legitimacy of the system.[17] Interest groups can contribute to the political agenda setting and policy formulation in that it provides information to both citizens and government officials. Interest groups shape opinions and act as an interface between citizens and the representative government. They also can act as agents implementing decisions or monitoring the correctness of the implementations performed.[18]

By analyzing the phenomenon of interest representation, one can obtain relevant information for understanding how public policy-making changes over time and depending on the policy area in question: "(...) it can help show whether and how various rules and institutional structures constrain and shape actors' ability to influence the results of the decided policies".[19] All these can be found in relation with what Schmitter calls a 'new kind of political system'. The decision-making within the EU is 'unique and fluid', creating an unpredictable and multi-level environment' for this.[20] There is the so-called phenomenon of 'institutionalization' of the activity led by the

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[16] *Ibidem*, p. 97.

[17] Daniela Obradovic, Alonso Vizcaino *et al, Governance requirements concerning the participation of interest groups in EU consultations,* in *Common Law Reviez,* Kluwer Law International, 2006, p. 1049-1050.

[18] Karolina Karr, *op. cit.,* p. 74.

[19] Alex Warleigh, Jenny Fairbrass, (eds.) *Influence and Interests in the European Union : the New Politics of Persuasion and Advocay,* Europa Publications, Taylor&Francis Group, 2002, Chapter I *The New Politics of Persuasion, Advocacy and Influence in the European Union,* p. 4.

[20] Sonia Mazey, Jeremy Richardson, *op. cit.,* p. 6-7.

lobbying groups in the European arenas where public policies are developed. A EU lobbying system, that was rather chaotic and open, was progressively replaced by a more formal one, regulated and, in some cases, less open, being based on an organizational culture, particularly at the Commission's level, which makes of a consultation a primordial norm.[21] For Gorges, the configuration of the institutional framework in which public policies are developed can have a significant impact on the way private interests are organized.[22] For this reason, private actors choose a certain type of strategy that is consistent with the existing institutional context.

In this respect, as Tenbucken believes, one of the most important variables is the distribution of decisional power between the European institutions (...); different power distributions require different strategies – based on these, interest groups organize their lobbying process in an effective way.[23] Institutions "do not determine behavior, but they can encourage or constrain it substantially"[24], while "a different logic of influence opens different access channels towards European institutions".[25] Since the process of policy formulation in the EU takes place at several levels (regional, national and supranational), "interest groups have adapted to the situation and are present at all three levels at the same time".[26]

Traxler and Schmitter talk about a 'logical pluralism'[27], encouraged by the multi-layered aspect of European policies, determining the diversification of lobbying strategies and their adaptation to the complexity of the policies developed. "There is no general prescription for the representation of interests, and companies cannot rely on a single strategy to achieve the desired result; they must act at all three levels in a variety of forms."[28] In the decision-making process, a strongly and formally institutionalized system has been consolidated, but, at the same time, continuous negotiations between the

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[21] Ibidem, p. 123.

[22] Michael Gorges, *Eurocorporatism ? Interest Intermediation in the European Community*, Lanham, University Press of America, 1996, p. 66.

[23] Marc Tenbucken, *op. cit.,* p. 68.

[24] Fritz Scharpf, *Political Institutions, Decision Styles and Policy Choices*, în Roland Czada, Adrienne Windhoff-Héritier, *Political Choice. Institutions, Rules and the Limits of Rationality*, Frankfurt, Campus Verlag, p. 56.

[25] Marc Tenbucken, *op. cit.,* p. 70.

[26] *Ibidem.*

[27] Franz Traxler, Philippe Schmitter, *The Emerging Euro-polity and Organized Interests*, in *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1995, p. 208.

[28] *Ibidem,* p. 74.

involved actors are required.[29] Hence, an existing 'tension', in the sense that the policy-making must follow formal decision rules (respecting certain institutional limits) and also exceed institutional divisions to negotiate outcomes.[30] Interest representation is perceived as "collective activity conducted by organizations such as interest groups / pressure groups, rather than actions of individuals (who normally express their preferences by voting in local, regional, national or European elections).[31]

"Interest representation has become crucial for all those seeking to influence the EU decision-making process, including actors within national and sub-national institutions and governments (...); persuasion is the way that ensures influence, and interest representation itself is an evolving practice that, at the same, is shaping and is being shaped by the development of the European Union".[32] The studying of the phenomenon of interest representation can reveal much about the power relations existing in the EU: even if the European Union is a very complex and variegated system (...), it is still possible to understand how decisions are made, and by whom.

Thus, it can be analyzed how, through the representation of interests, decisions are being shaped, or how actors, in various stages of the decision-making mechanism, generate a certain impact on decision makers and the strategies used by each. So, it can be seen how actors in national, regional or local governments interact with each other in the EU.[33] Graham Wilson defines lobbying groups as "organizations separate from government, although often in close contact with it, that seek to influence public policies. As such, interest groups provide the institutionalized liaison between the government or state, and major sectors of society".[34]

The interaction between the government and the many societal interests takes place through interest groups. Therefore, analysing them is of major importance for understanding the relationship between state and society. Interest groups not only provide an alternative to voting as political participation, or to being member of a political party, but, in some

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[29] Thomas Christiansen, Simona Piattoni, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[30] *Ibidem.*

[31] Alex Warleigh, Jenny Fairbrass (eds.), *Influence and Interests in the European Union : the New Politics of Persuasion and Advocay,* Europa Publications, Taylor&Francis Group, 2002, Chapter I *The New Politics of Persuasion, Advocacy and Influence in the European Union,* p. 2.

[32] *Ibidem,* p. 3.

[33] *Ibidem,* p. 4

[34] Graham Wilson, *Interest Groups,* Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1990, p. 1.

ways, they can provide a higher form of participation. Interest groups are helpful because they raise issues which are too detailed or specialized to be the concern of political parties or election campaigns.[35] The institutionalization of interest groups relies on collective action, meaning the set of behaviors based on involvement, outreach, advocacy and negotiation, through which social interests are formed, and political influence is being exercised. It is, therefore, about a complex range of differentiated behaviors, of individual or collective actors, while, most often, they associate cooperation with conflict (…)[36]. With the evolution of the European construction and especially with the Single European Act, public action is profoundly transformed by diverse normative sources that define its shapes.

The legal area in which it takes place is not a national one any longer, but European, where community law comes first over the laws and constitutions of the member states.[37] European interest groups mostly act in "phases in which the European competences have a significant expansion, and when the interface between government decisions and interest groups' activities is more sensitive".[38] Lobbying is perceived and analyzed in direct connection with the democratic system of one society. Attention is being focused on the way in which interest groups can be integrated into the representative democratic systems "without destroying the democratic foundation of the decision-making mechanism".[39] In this context, "it is important to note the possible role and impact of the interest groups' involvement in a democratic system, both theoretically and in terms of actual experience, through lobbying in the European Union".[40]

It is necessary that there is a balanced integration of lobbying interests within the processes and structures of the representative democratic governance. This integration should, on the one hand, ensure that the various interests found in society can be organized and represented, in a substantial way, towards decision-making institutions and their officials, and help resolve a growing number of complex issues. On the other hand, democratic principles should be protected from the dominance of special interests, which, otherwise, would mock freedoms offered by democracy, and could lead to

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[35] *Ibidem*, p. 2-3.

[36] Richard Balme, Didier Chabanet, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[37] *Ibidem*, p. 44.

[38] *Ibidem*, p. 49.

[39] Karolina Karr, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[40] *Ibidem*.

political decisions that would not put all interests in balance, nor would take into account, in one way or another, the common interest.[41]

Ideally, lobbying should be 'integrated, in a sustainable manner, in a representative democracy', while the concept of 'legitimate lobbying interests' in a democratic society should be developed; lobbying should be perceived as a 'pertinent part of the modern political system'.[42]

The existence itself and the substantial participation of interest groups in the decision-making processes are seen as signs of a functional democracy (...). The issue is not whether lobbying is needed – in fact, the relevant point is analyzing the way lobbying should be exercised in a democratic society.[43] As a matter of fact, Klemens considers that modern societies and democratic governmental systems are unthinkable without the aggregation, representation and the planning of interests (in an organized manner), while lobbying is not only necessary, but democratically legitimate.[44]

The new EU governance "makes European politics more legitimate by strengthening its democratic structures and processes."[45] In this context, the concept of 'civil society' has gained unprecedented popularity in the European Union politics[46]. The factors behind this are the 1999 crisis, when there was a 'departure' of the Commission, an extremely low participation at the European elections, an increase of euroscepticism in that time. On the basis of these efforts to strengthen democracy, it is expected that citizens, civil society and non-governmental organizations play a prominent role, since their active involvement is considered to be necessary to remedy varied defects or deficiencies (presumed or real).[47] The reason why the notion of 'civil society' 'is not clearly defined'[48] is "the groping of the European institutions in their attempt to decide who should be included in the policy-making and how".[49]

Civil society organizations are valuable in relation with politics based on their ability to nurture civic prospects in the policy-making process[50], while "representativeness is one of the central issues in the

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[41] *Ibidem,* p. 11.
[42] *Ibidem,* p. 15.
[43] *Ibidem,* p. 73.
[44] Joos Klemens, *Lobbying in the new Europe,* Wiley-Vch Verlag Gmbh&Co.KgaA, 2011, p. 43.
[45] Rebekka Goehring, *op. cit.,* p. 118.
[46] *Ibidem.*
[47] *Ibidem.*
[48] *Ibidem,* p. 121.
[49] *Ibidem,* p. 122.
[50] Rebekka Goehring, *op. cit.,*p. 122.

current debate about the legitimacy of the EU (...); it is clear that different types of representativeness and participation must be combined and strengthened to build a strong, extended, legitimate and political Union".[51] Lobbying is partly criticized for causing possible harm to the democratic functioning of the EU. Van Schendelen emphasizes three such major criticisms associated to lobbying:

- there is the opinion that certain powerful lobbying groups create an imbalance, an inequality in the decision-making, to the disadvantage of weaker groups';
- some experts believe that, to a large extent, lobbying takes place behind closed doors, which creates a lack of transparency that frustrates competitors, media and EU officials;
- many lobbying activities were perceived as abuses or unethical practices, such as extortion, bribery or theft of documents[52].

But the very concept of democracy implies that the decision-making system must offer openness to all categories of individuals and groups who wish to obtain a certain result. Some researchers say that the openness is not discriminatory or selective – instead, it provides an equal and fair opportunity in the case of every single desire for taking a decision.[53] Democratic representativeness is a fundamental feature of 'the multilevel European civil society', as part of a governance system based on central-peripheral multiplied structures. European civil society - this "new constellation of peripheries that are intertwined, which react and interact in the poly-centre of the European governance - is the mediation space of the EU actors' interests representing their electoral constituency (the voters), in a direct exchange and negotiation process with the European decision-making structures".[54] Including in the decision-making process all stakeholders that may be affected by a political decision is a fundamental principle of a democratic political debate. The inclusion of each interest is, therefore, a key-issue for the democratic quality of the decision-making. Deliberative democracy

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[51] *Ibidem,* p. 134.

[52] Rinus van Schendelen, *More Machiavelli in Brussels, The Art of Lobbying the EU,* Amsterdam, University Press, 2010, p. 318

[53] *Ibidem,* p. 322.

[54] Hans-Jorg Trenz , *Regulating lobbying : a global comparison,* Manchester University Press, 2011, p. 93.

requires that all arguments are equally included and considered for the development of public policies[55]. However, it is "problematic to take into account arguments in the case of interest groups being disadvantaged in terms of resources and their level of organization.[56]

Is lobbying really efficient in influencing the EU decision-making process? Here are the answers offered by some experts interviewed by the author of the present article as part of the PhD case study on "Lobbying and the EU Decision-Making Process" (during the interval April 2012 – September 2012). At the given time, the functions and titles of these experts were as mentioned:

Elena Višnar-Malinovská (Member of Cabinet, European Commission, Brussels): "Yes. (…) It is important that a lobbyist shows not only interest into a particular case, but also understands and knows to sell a wider political context – what are the wider implications/ramifications of such a decision".

Koen Roovers (Advocacy Lead, Financial Transparency Coalition, ex-Outreach & Coalition Coordinator, ALTER-EU, Brussels - The Alliance for Lobbying Transparency and Ethics Regulation)**:** "It's highly effective".

Tamara Ramach (Director European Affairs, EACA, the European Association of Communication Agencies): "Lobbying in the EU ensures the possibility for interest groups to be represented and to have a say in the EU decision-making process. The European institutions can also benefit from the knowledge of the lobbying groups such as position and research papers. The consultation process in the European Commission allows lobbying organisations to contribute with information and data in a rapid and efficient manner. In this sense, lobbying can be regarded as a strong and efficient tool".

Stefan Moser (Deputy Head of Unit, Secretariat General of the European Commission, Brussels): "Lobbying can be very effective and efficient to the extent that it provides substantive arguments underpinning the respective points of view. The higher the technical quality of the input it, the more it will be taken into account (i.e. "we don't like it because we don't like it" is not convincing)".

In addition, as underlined by the author in the PhD Thesis on "Lobbying and the EU Decision-Making Process", proactive lobbying can

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[55] Dawid Friedrich, Patricia Nanz, "Europe's civil society from a normative democratic point of view : the case of the European Union's migration policy", în Ruzza, C., Della Sala (eds.), *Governance and civil society in the European Union, volume 1, Normative perspectives*, Manchester University Press, Palgrave, 2007, p. 118.

[56] *Ibidem.*

make the decision-making more efficient and transparent due to an early access of lobbyists at the political agenda at an incipient stage or due to the ability of interest groups to contribute at formulating the political agenda. The chronological factor is crucial in lobbying. A successful lobbying strategy is based on a very early intervention of the interest groups in their dialogue with the decision makers. It is important - it can be even decisive - that lobbying takes place before the legislative proposal is launched by the European Commission. Lobbying can be extremely influential in the preparation phase of the legislative proposal when the Commission needs expertise from lobbyists. A strong proactive lobbying can establish priorities for the political agenda. So transparency of a proactive lobbying functions in two directions and refers to the fact that during the decision-making process interest groups have early access to the political intentions of governmental actors, while decision makers have access to the lobbyists' visions, expectations and arguments. This transparency corresponds to a global governance based on a democratic system. One of the lobbying functions refers to the political risk management. By developing a proactive lobbying a number of issues and trends in the political arena can be identified ; in addition, not only current legislation can be analyzed, but also legislation which is in an early stage of preparation. At the same time, various ideas can be transmitted through lobbying actions to encourage taking into account possible future legislative proposals, which have been not already shaped. To avoid major political crisis, the ideal scenario is that the legislative proposal does not advance before stakeholders being consulted, their views filtered and, where appropriate, integrated into the given legislative text.

Conclusions

EU policy-making is, therefore, a comprehensive and nuanced process, while it implies a permanent interaction between decision-makers and the interest groups directly affected by the political decisions. The route of the decision-making process is long. It involves – for both governmental actors and (mostly) non-governmental actors numerous debates and negotiations, intense lobbying, and - for achieving some excellent results - impeccable working strategies.

It is clear that lobbying should be an integral part of the democratic EU decision-making system (like it should be the case for any other democratic space, as a matter of fact). And this is because public policies

being developed must be deeply rooted in the civil society space. Otherwise, they would only move away from the healthy and natural contact with the reality that they need to reflect in an as precise form as possible and to the largest possible extent.

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