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Gender Policies in Romania: from Infrastructure to Action¹

Abstract

In the first decade post-1989 no gender policies with clear objectives and specific instruments existed in Romania. The gender mainstreaming was first stated in the two National Action Plans for Equal Opportunities between Women and Men (1996 and 2000). Still, the attention of the various Romanian Governments, concerning women's issues, was focused especially on labour relationships and on related domains, such as social security and health insurance. Other fields, such as education, political participation, family and civil rights, were underdeveloped, as regards the consideration of women's needs and interests. The legislation and institutions that implement and monitor the observance of equality take no special interest in women's discrimination, as women are treated together with other discriminated categories (the disabled, Roma, homosexuals).

1. Objectives and Methods of Research

The present study proposes to examine the existing Romanian situation regarding the constitution of the necessary infrastructure for the implementation of gender mainstreaming principles.

To achieve this objective we have used published research reports, statistical data analysis and the analysis of official documents. We also relied on in-depth interviews with women in positions that are relevant to our study. The composition of our sample can be found in Appendix.

The in-depth interview is a semi-structured research instrument, based on an interview guideline. The guideline is used as a checklist of topics to be covered, although the order in which they are discussed is not pre-ordained. The questions asked vary depending on the particular expertise of the respondent. The answers are not quantified. There needs to be a willingness to redefine the objectives and the scope of the project in terms of the material obtained from the interviews. However, within the interview, a delicate balance has to be maintained between, on the one hand, covering the ground the researcher thinks is important and, on the other hand, allowing the respondent to open

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up new areas without going off on irrelevant tangents². Probing played an important role in interviewing. The team research used three types of probe: continuation probes, clarification probes and completion probes.

Each interview discussion has lasted about 60 minutes. The field work duration was October - November 2004. Telephone, e-mail, and letters, were used in order to recruit the participants in the project. The interviews were tape-recorded and then transcribed. The notes taken by the research team during the interviews were also used.

2. The Concept of Gender Mainstreaming

The concept of *gender mainstreaming* is relatively new in the specialized literature on gender and gender policies. In Romania it is even less known. Hence we deem it necessary to begin the present report with a presentation of this innovative concept.

Several complementary definitions exist; however, the first feature of the concept of *gender mainstreaming* is its quasi non-translatibility. In Romanian, an exact translation would only fit in a whole line of text: "the integration of a gendered perspective in all policies, programmes and institutions".

The need for this concept follows from the premise that our society is dominated by men, that it functions without equally taking into account the needs, interests and viewpoints of both sexes. Therefore, *gender mainstreaming* does not aim to constitute a matricentric or matriarchal society, but merely to take into account of both genders in the functioning of society.

As compared with other approaches based on the idea of *gender equality*, that is, on the idea that all genders should be treated equally, the concept of *gender mainstreaming* insists precisely on the specificity of the gendered needs. The difference between gender equality policy and gender mainstreaming policy is very well synthesised in the following excerpt: "Equal treatment is rooted in the idea that women and men should be treated the same as each other. However, in effect, this often meant women were treated the same as men. In other words, men are taken as the norm. Treating women and men the same is not the same as treating women and men equally"³.

The concept of *gender mainstreaming* presupposes affirmative action, assuming not only the similarities but also the differences between women and men. This is why positive discrimination measures are often implied. Nevertheless, *gender mainstreaming* is more than affirmative action per se, because it focuses not only on women's rights but also on the mechanisms and structures that produce and reproduce inequality and discrimination. *Gender mainstreaming* moves for dismantling of such mechanisms and structures, and for replacing them with others that are based on gender-neutral principles and mentalities.

The concept of *gender mainstreaming* is inspired by the new "post-modern" views on social policies, grouped under the label of "anti-oppressive policies" (AOP). These policies are concentrated on excluded and marginalised groups, including, along with movements for the rights of ethnic and racial minorities, feminist movements, movements of the sexual minorities, as well as third-world currents and movements in development thinking (the so-called "courants tiers-mondistes").

On the "official" level of policies and institutions, the concept appears clearly at the UN Conference on Women, Beijing 1995.

The Platform for Action, commonly identified as the international agreement launching gender mainstreaming, was produced at the Fourth World Conference on

Women, in Beijing, in 1995. It has since been adopted by the European Commission, and by all member states of the European Union⁴.

The European Union has taken up the concept since 1996, later integrating it in the Amsterdam Treaty, together with other six dimensions of equality: sex, race and ethnic origin, disability, age, sexual orientation, political and religious beliefs.

The Council of Europe, OECD and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) are other international organisms who have since adhered to the concept of mainstreaming⁵.

Still, several studies and documents clearly show the insufficient participation of women in the EU countries⁶. Ever since it was “merely” the Common Market, in the '70s, this European organisation considered the issue of inequality between women and men. Its perspective was strongly influenced by the leftist ideologies and by the trade unionism of the ILO. The first directives that constituted the equality *acquis* date from this period. In all, there are ten directives on this topic:

- Equal pay for equal workloads (75/117/EEC)
- Equal treatment at the workplace (76/207/EEC)
- Equal treatment with regard to statutory social security schemes (79/7/EEC)
- Equal treatment regarding the occupational social security schemes (86/378/EEC)
- Equal treatment for self-employed workers and their spouses (86/613/EEC)
- Maternity leaves (92/85/EEC)
- Organising one's working hours (93/104/EC)
- Parental leave (96/34/EC)
- Reversing the burden of proof in sexual discrimination cases
- The framework accord regarding part-time work (97/81/EC)

Although continuity remains conspicuous, the EU has recently been trying to radically reformulate its gender policies, giving priority to the Beijing Conference and to the *gender mainstreaming* type of approaches, which go beyond the classical equal opportunity policies.

In 1997 the Amsterdam Treaty - in its social chapter - clearly incorporated the gender mainstreaming principles. Nevertheless, since these were first mentioned in the fundamental official documents of the EU and up to the effective implementation of these principles, the road has not been yet entirely travelled.

The situation is considerably more tenuous in the candidate countries, as the Romanian case testifies. Here the European directives on the equality between women and men have been transposed in the national legislation, but there are many problems regarding awareness and implementation of these provisions⁷.

In general, the candidate countries were more determined to adopt non-discriminatory laws and policies, and less interested in the gender mainstreaming principles, which had not been included in the mandatory documents. The accent was placed on policies connected with the labour market and equality, which are more easily monitored, but this led to “affording a secondary importance to gender equality in the enlargement process”⁸.

Lately, however, the European Commission has been trying to focus more on integrating the gender perspective in the enlargement process. For instance, the European Commission Strategy Paper, published on November 13, 2001, states that, outside the political and economic criteria, the candidate countries must make more efforts to ensure gender equality and to combat human trafficking and other forms of discrimination⁹.

The word *mainstreaming* has no simple Romanian translation, but it can be explained as the “process of filtering and conceiving each public policy through the prism of the equal opportunity principle”¹⁰. The Romanian NGOs became familiar with this concept while participating in the “Gender in Development” UNDP programme (1994-1998 Women in Development and Partners for Change) and in the seminars organised in 1997 by Project Parity, UK, aiming at encouraging gender mainstreaming and gender balance in politics.

The concept was first officially mentioned in the *National Action Plan* presented by the Romanian Government in the frame of the Sub-regional Conference of High Governmental Experts on the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (Bucharest, 1996), which also moved for the implementation of gender mainstreaming at all social, cultural educational levels.

The concept is also used in the Governmental Decision no. 967/1999 regarding the creation and functioning of the Inter-ministerial Consultative Commission in the field of Equality between Women and Men, in art.2, which defines the attributions of this organism, respectively, those of “dissemination the concept of integrated approach in the central public administration, in the sense of incorporating the principle of social equality between women and men and eliminating gender disparities and sex-based discrimination cases in the elaborating and implementing of sectoral policies”¹¹.

The achievement of mainstreaming represents a major objective of national policies, according to the national report on “The Status of Women in Romania during 1995-2000”, prepared by the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection in view of participation in the extraordinary session of the Beijing+5 UN General Assembly, New York, 2000.

Governmental Ordinance no. 84/2004 specifies the fact that the National Agency for Equal Opportunities between Women and Men (ANES) “ensures the integration of a gender perspective in all the policies and national plans”¹².

In the future, raising awareness and fostering the implementation of the mainstreaming concept not only call for concerted efforts on the part of public institutions, Parliament and NGOs, but also for a higher degree of civic involvement on the part of Romanian women for the fulfilment of their own interests, as changes in the parental roles, in the existing structural stereotypes, in the basic family structure, and in institutional practices are more than imperative.

Gender Mainstreaming Infrastructure in Romania

The objective of this part of the paper is to provide a review of the mainstreaming infrastructure within Romania. The focus is on government infrastructure. This means looking at all government departments, seeing if they have a gender mainstreaming unit/section, and assessing its activities in each case.

We are trying to look deeper into what commitments governments have made to bring women’s views into all aspects of policy making, and what infrastructure they have provided for this commitment to become a reality. Gender focal points within ministries may also be important, but the key thing to remember is whether they are given the role of contributing to policy (or monitoring policymaking in other departments) – e.g. economic policy, social policy – in a way that reflects women’s understandings of the world. So, rather than mapping every single gender equality organisation, we will try to focus very directly on government commitment to gender mainstreaming, and on the government implementation of that commitment.

3.1. Legislation

In the first decade post-1989, Romania had no gender policies that might be qualified by their clear objectives or the use of specific instruments. Vladimir Pasti¹³ identifies three causes for this situation: the underdevelopment of the feminist movement, the lack of support from the part of the population for whom this problematic appears more exotic than domestically relevant, and the “Socialist heritage”, which had managed to expunge the social differences between women and men nevertheless without modifying the balance of power. Consequently, gender politics were excluded from the governments’ political agenda.

Some reparatory measures were taken – including the decriminalising of abortion and the liberalization of contraceptive measures, simplifying divorce, introducing parental leave – but these were isolated provisions, outside any strategic approach. Some measures – such as women’s health programmes, allowances for families with many children, social-cultural expenditures in general – even decreased, due to the withdrawing of subventions and to the state of budgetary austerity. The transition was a process dominated by male influence on initiatives and excluding women from the greatest changes: democratisation, privatisation, and European integration. Women had to make room for themselves – in the economic, social, cultural and especially in the political arena – by the efforts of several powerful women professionals, and not as the result of adequate policies. In fact, statistical data shows the collapse of the rates of women’s participation and representation after 1989¹⁴.

Gender policies became an issue in Romania following the Beijing Conference, and especially due to the accession process to the EU. Hence, the domestic legislation and institutional infrastructure have known essential changes after 2000, as we shall show in the following section.

Romania has signed the Beijing documents adopted at the Fourth World Conference of Women (1995). Consequently, the first *National Action Plan* was presented in the context of the Sub-regional Conference of High Governmental Experts on the Implementation of the Platform for Action, Bucharest, 1996. The major objectives, as defined by the *National Action Plan*, are:

- to create and develop institutional mechanisms to co-ordinate the promotion of women’s rights and equal opportunities for women and men;
- to improve the fair access of women to public decision-making positions;
- to improve the economic situation of women, to provide equal access to the labour market, to the control and to the use of economic resources;
- to improve women’s health conditions;
- to prevent and reduce domestic violence, particularly against women and children;
- to stimulate women’s participation in environmental protection and in the alleviation of environmental pollution;
- to implement gender mainstreaming at all social, cultural, educational levels, and, in this respect, to enhance the role of the media;
- to collaborate with national non-governmental organisations and international bodies in the process of implementing the National Action Plan for Equal Opportunities.

In view of participating in the Beijing+5 extraordinary session of the UN General Assembly (New York, 2000), on the topic “Women Beyond 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the 21st Century, the Ministry for Labour and Social

Protection prepared the “Women’s Status in Romania – 1995-2000” national report reiterating and underpinning the objectives and directions for action presented in 1996: “A major objective of national policies is the integration of the gender equality principle in all components of social life, and the achievement of mainstreaming”¹⁵.

In 1999, by its Decision no. 967/1999¹⁶, the Romanian Government decided to establish the Inter-ministerial Consultative Commission for Equal Opportunities between Women and Men, to ensure a permanent exchange of information, to issue recommendations to the central administration on the formulation and implementation of sectoral policies to promote equal opportunities and equal treatment. The Commission is made up of the representatives of 22 central institutions (14 ministries, 5 Departments, 1 State Secretariat, one national agency and the National Statistics Commission), its Secretariat being secured by the Ministry for Labour and Social Protection.

The second *National Action Plan for Equal Opportunities between Women and Men* was set up by Governmental Decision no. 1273/2000, published in *Monitorul Oficial* no. 659/15.12.2000. The Plan establishes the general and operational objectives of policies in the field, which are to become actual by the elaboration and formulation of normative acts, specific national programmes within an inter-ministerial framework, methodologies and standards. The main flaw of this framework document was the generality of the obligations to enact the stipulated operational objectives without having listed the control mechanisms, the operational structure, the financial and institutional resources, the specific responsibilities and distribution of tasks. One does not specify any concrete mechanisms of implementation, such as a national agency with profuse local representation. The mention of resources is also vague: for instance, the budgetary resources will be allotted according to the attributions of each department and depending on the extra-budgetary resources.

In 2004, Governmental Decision no. 285 regarding the implementation of the National Action Plan for the Equality between Women and Men¹⁷, reiterates the idea that the provisions for the implementation of the National Plan constitute an obligation for all the state institutions and authorities; it then designates the Inter-Ministerial Consultative Commission for Equal Opportunities between Women and Men to monitor the progress made on this general issue, as well as in the founding of specific structures by the authorities of the central public administration who are represented in the Commission and in the de-centralized public services. 25 central authorities participate in the Commission: 14 Ministries, 3 National Authorities, 4 National Agencies, Labour Inspection, the National House for Pensions and other Social Insurance Benefits, The National Council for Adult Professional, the National Institute for Statistics), while the Secretariat is provided by the Ministry of Labour. The budgets and positions of this institution cannot be supplemented, as its activities should draw exclusively on existing budgets and posts.

Recently, by Governmental Ordinance no. 84 of August 19, 2004¹⁸, for the modification and completion of Law no. 202/2002¹⁹, the National Agency for equal opportunities between women and men (ANES) was set up as an independent administrative structure, in view of promoting, analyzing and monitoring practices of equal treatment and also with the goal of encouraging the involvement of social actors and civil society in the fulfillment of these objectives.

In the following, we shall try to determine whether these documents are merely formal statements or they are efficiently implemented:

1. The “Status of Women in Romania during 1995-2000” national Report was produced in view of participating in the Beijing+5 extraordinary session of the UN General Assembly; indeed, Mrs. Paula Ivănescu, vice-president of the Chamber of Representatives in the Romanian Parliament, considers that “the Romanian report on the progress made since 1999, post-Beijing, was a make-over of the shady reality”²⁰.

2. Certain actions in the realm of equality between women and men were considered only in the Governing Programme of the Social Democratic Party (2001-2004)²¹, and subsequently bizarrely transferred to the Ministry of Health and Family, an institution responsible for the sole domain of family health.

3. The Romanian Government returns after four years (in 2004) on its decision to approve the implementation measures for the National Action Plan for equal opportunities between women and men, despite the fact that the ratification of the plan itself dates since 2000. The supplementary provisions added to the normative act of 2004 are not more conducive to its implementation, due to an operation structure that is far too general and diffuse, in the absence of any control mechanism and due to the faulty identification of the necessary financial and human resources.

4. The National Agency or Equal Opportunities between Women and Men (ANES) has been hardly set up in March 2005.

Consequently, one is entitled to claim that to this date, the governmental documents referring to equal opportunities between women and men were not effectively put in practice due to the very general character of the provisions, to the lack of identification of the necessary resources, to the lack of respect to the implementation calendar and to the inconsideration of solutions suggested by other social partners.

Still, the Romanian legislation does not contain gender discrimination measures. By analysing the stage of harmonising the national legislation with the *acquis communautaire* on equality between women and men, the Romanian legislation covers all the major statements in the European legislation, as the corresponding regulations are largely transposed into the national legislation by normative acts allowing respect to human rights. The Romanian Governments proposed and sustained national legal provisions according to the gender equality legislation: the Romanian Constitution, the Labour Code – Law no. 54/2003, Law no. 202/2002 on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men, the Government Ordinance no. 137/2000 on Preventing and Punishing all Forms of Discrimination, Law no. 19/2000 on the Public System of Pensions and Other Security Rights, Law no. 210/1999 on Parental Leave, the Criminal Code, modified by Law no. 61/2002, containing new articles for the punishing of sexual harassment, Law no. 217/2003 on Preventing and Combating Domestic Violence. Romania has signed the UN Convention for the combating of human trafficking and exploitation (on February 15, 1955), yet only recently transposed it into national legislation.

In conclusion, Romania has, generally, incorporated all the equality directives of the European legislation (except for the burden of proof principle, which was only adopted in the context of work relations).

3.2. Government departments conducting gender mainstreaming

Following the adoption of specific legislation, the government has begun to build the corresponding institutional framework. This exercise is far from over at present, a confirmation that gender mainstreaming is not a governmental priority.

The history of the main institutions responsible for gender equality correlates not only with the agenda of international events, but also with the harmonisation of Romanian institutional and legislative structures with the European Union norms. Sufficient evidence stems from the fact that Romania had absolutely no institution with responsibilities in this field prior to the Beijing Conference (1995).

Law no. 202/2002 on equal opportunities between women and men has provisions regarding the attributions of the central public administration and the tasks falling to those that are under their subordination, in order to ensure the implementation of this law; yet it mentions a complex but confused institutional structure.

Almost all the ministries and tripartite institutions have attributions in the domain of gender mainstreaming, but the manner whereby these attributions are concretely implemented is not clear. The National Agency for Equal Opportunities should preside over this entire institutional construction.

All these institutional elements were created following the Beijing Conference. They have scarcely the capacity to tackle and manage equal opportunities policies, given the low number of their personnel, the lack of a dedicated budget, the lack of structures in the territory, their reduced capacity for communication and networking. Hence, The *National Action Plan* remains on paper only, because the special departments that should exist at the ministerial level and at the local level as well have not yet been fully created. In fact, the only organism dealing with gender-related issues in the proper sense is the Ministry of Labour, Social Solidarity and Family. Quite naturally however, its area of interest is limited to problems connected with the labour market and the implementation of the EU *acquis* in the workplace, and the other domains that should be redefined considering women's needs remain underdeveloped.

In the following, we shall attempt to draw a most systematic inventory of the different departments conducting gender mainstreaming; subsequently, we shall evaluate the degree and manner whereby the projection and implementation of the different policies within these departments use the concept of gender mainstreaming.

The National Agency for Equal Opportunities between Women and Men

The Ministry of Labour, Social Solidarity and Family, through the Direction for Equal Opportunities, advanced the main normative acts, and, since December 2003, launched the Phare RO02/IBSO-01 twinning project between Romania and Spain. This initiative included the establishment of a National Agency for Equal Opportunities between Women and Men, aiming to raise the capacity of the administration in order to integrate the principle of equal opportunities into the national policies, to train civil servants, and to disseminate information. This body will ensure the monitoring of the law implementation in the field, while harmonising the national legislation with the community *acquis* and elaborating national reports according to international requests addressed to Romania, as well as documents for implementing good practices in equality field. The following results are expected:

- a functioning national mechanism for promoting gender equality will be co-ordinated by the National Agency;
- 220 persons will be trained in EU regulations and in equal opportunities issues for Romania;

- a database network and a EQUALITY website will be set up, as well as a periodical newsletter and publications with information on gender equality.

Ordinance no. 84 of August 19, 2004 is the normative act that stipulates that a National Agency for Equal Opportunities between Women and Men (ANES) should be a specialised organ of the central public administration, having legal personality, and functioning in the subordination of the Ministry of Labour, Social Solidarity and the Family, with financing from the budget of the same Ministry. The Agency is meant to fulfil the following functions:

- a strategic function, whereby it ensures the fundamentals, the elaboration and the implementation of the governmental strategy and policies in the field of equal opportunities and equal treatment between women and men;
- a function of harmonisation of the national legislative framework with the EU regulations for its field of interest;
- a function of representation on the domestic and external level;
- a function of state authority, whereby one ensures the active and visible integration of the gender perspectives in all the national policies and programmes, the control of the implementation and observance of the regulations in its main field of activity and the functioning of the organisms under its subordination and co-ordination.

The agency would be led by a president who is to be appointed by the Minister for Labour, Social Solidarity and the Family and has 30 posts of public servants and contracted personnel ensured by the redistribution of posts in the subordination of the Ministry for Labour, Social Solidarity and the Family. In the territory, the Agency coordinates the specific structures for equal opportunities within the decentralised structures of the Ministry.

It remains to be seen whether in the coming period ANES would succeed to ensure an efficient framework for the protection and advancement of equal opportunities. One must mention the fact the several NGOs recommended since 2002 an independent framework for organisation and functioning, with a budget that should be approved annually by the Parliament, with sufficient human and material resources to ensure the efficient course of activities according to its mandate, and with a clear profile of the specialised personnel²². The functioning of the Agency as subordinated to the Ministry for Labour, Social Solidarity and the Family via the redistribution of positions from among the existing hired manpower (sic) of the Ministry does not hence satisfy the demands of these NGOs.

The Ministry of Labour, Social Solidarity and Family has responsibilities related to the observance and control of the implementation of the law provisions in its field of activity.

- the elaboration of policies, programmes and national plans in the field of equal opportunities on the labour market, by its collaboration with Ministries and other central organs with attributions and tasks regarding the labour market, and control of their implementation by the Employment Agency (ANOFM) and the National Council of Adult Professional Training;
- the elaboration and rendering of opinion on draft laws in the field of equal opportunities on the labour market;
- the advancement of programmes, the initiation of proposals for accords, the implementation of international co-operation projects in the field of equal opportunities on the labour market and the attraction of sources for the financing of these initiatives.

The *National Commission in the field of Equal Opportunities between Women and Men* (CONES) was founded based on Ordinance no. 84/19.08.2004 for the modification and completion of Law no. 202/2002 regarding equal opportunities between women; it takes over the attributions of the former Inter-ministerial Consultative Commission (CODES) and ensures the coordination of district level commissions (COJES). In fact what changes is the name of the institution alone, to reflect the political will to transform it into a national institutional network. It is co-ordinated by the Ministry of Labour, Social Solidarity and Family. The meetings and activities of the Commission benefit from the attendance and participation of directors and counsellors from 25 central institutions, members of trade union confederations and NGO representatives. CONES has the following responsibilities:

- to disseminate the concept of gender mainstreaming within the structures of the central public administration; in theory, this would ultimately lead to the introduction of social equality perspectives in the development and implementation of sectoral policies, and to the elimination of gender disparities from this process;
- to assess the application and observance of the relevant legislation;
- to stimulate the development of action programmes aimed to train and raise awareness on equal opportunities for women and men;
- to elaborate recommendations and criteria able to support and offer guidance to governmental and non-governmental structures and local authority institutions in implementing gender mainstreaming policies;
- to promote the exchange of information and expertise;
- to elaborate regular reports on the status of women in Romania and on the implementation of equal opportunities policies in all sectors of activity.

Since 2004, according to Governmental Decision no. 285/2004, the Commission have grown in importance, as it had the role of tracking and monitoring all progress regarding the achievement of the objectives comprised within the National Action Plan for Equal Opportunities between Women and Men, of organising territorial structures in the decentralised public services while observing the constraints of positions and budgets granted to these institutions. No services or units with precise responsibilities in the field of equal opportunities are mentioned in the organisation chart of the 25 central institutions that take part in the activities of the Commission.

The *Ministry of Justice*, through its County (District) Courts, judges and settles the complaints regarding gender discrimination issues. Special sections for labour conflicts and for social assistance were established by Governmental Ordinance no. 179/1999 for the modification and completion of Law nr. 92/1992 regarding the organisation of the judiciary. The cases of labour conflict are judged in the first instance, rapidly, by courts composed of a judge and 2 judiciary assistants; the latter represent the employers' associations and the trade unions, respectively.

The cases of discrimination fall to the competence of the Sections for labour conflicts of the Tribunals. These cases are solved according to the labour legislation that stipulates compensations for the employee's affliction. The bearing of complaints and initiation of legal trial on cause of gender discrimination is exempt from fiscal stamp taxes.

The *Ministry of Health* controls the application of the measures adopted in order to ensure the provision of equal opportunities between women and men regarding the access to health care and health at work place.

The *Ministry of Public Administration and Internal Affairs* is responsible for applying discrimination penalties in the local public administration. The Police Inspectorates are

responsible for managing cases of domestic violence. The General Direction for Combating Organised Crime and Illegal Drugs – present both at the central level central and in territorial branches – is also responsible for implementing the legislation against human trafficking.

The *Ministry of Education and Research* controls the inclusion of measures adopted in order to ensure the provision of equal opportunities between women and men in the curricula and in the current activity of the education units.

3.3. Within the Romanian Parliament

Men dominate the Parliament and, because they constitute the parliamentary majority, women's issues are left at their goodwill. From all evidence, women MPs did not succeed to influence and mobilise their male colleagues, in order to support women's interests in a more significant measure.

The Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities was created in 1996, within the Joint Committee on European Integration of the Romanian Parliament, following the example of the European Parliament. The body was active until the Mrs. Mariana Stoica, MP became the president of the Joint Committee on European Integration. On November 7th, 2001, the activity of the sub-committee restarted after a short intermission.

Since November 2003, *Commissions for equal opportunities between women and men* were founded both in the Senate and in the Chamber of Deputies. The activities of these two permanent commissions fall under the following domains: "the elimination of all forms of gender-based discrimination and the improvement of women's condition in the society; the integration of the principle for equal opportunities between women and men in all legislative initiatives, in the policies and programmes that interest both women and men; the monitoring of the implementation of all provisions regarding equal opportunities and equal treatment between women and men from the international documents ratified by the Romanian state"²³. In conclusion, the two parliamentary commissions control the content of draft laws, in order to be gender mainstreamed, propose new laws according to the international regulations on equal opportunities and monitor the implementation of legal provisions.

3.4. The National Council for Combating Discrimination

The National Council for Combating Discrimination was instituted by Law no. 48/2002 for the Approval of the Government Ordinance no. 137/2000 on Preventing and Punishing all Forms of Discrimination and Government Decision no. 1194/2001 on the Organisation and Functioning of the National Council for Combating Discrimination.

The deliberative body in the field of identifying and sanctioning deeds of discrimination is the Steering Board, which was appointed on July 31st, 2002. The Steering Board is formed by 7 persons, four of which are women.

The main task of the Steering Board is to identify and sanction discrimination deeds, and to assist the Council's President in this field. The Council's purpose is the implementation of the principle of equality among citizens, as stipulated in the Constitution of Romania, in the internal regulations, and in the international documents to which Romania is a party. In the exercise of its function, the Council carries out its activity independently, without any restriction or influence from other public institutions or authorities. Its liabilities are cover the following actions:

- preventing discrimination;
- sanctioning the discrimination deeds;

- international co-operation.

In the exercise of its functions, the Council carries out its activity independently, without any restriction or influence from other public institutions or authorities.

3.5. Other institutions which have responsibilities regarding gender issues are:

- *The Office of the Ombudsperson.* Its Department for Children, Women and Social Protection was created at the office of the Ombudsman. It started operating in 1998 and aims to defend the rights of its beneficiaries.

- The Labour Inspection and its territorial branches with liabilities in this field, such as:controlling and implementing the legislative framework referring to working relations and conditions; it thus monitors all measures intended to guarantee the provision of equal opportunities between women and men regarding work relations and work conditions; controlling employers with respect to their observance of the employees' equal rights; sanctioning the employers who do not observe the equal rights of their employees. The Law regarding equal opportunities between women and men stipulates sanctions for all acts of gender-based discrimination via a system of control for the implementation of labour legislation by the Labour Inspection and other organs of control of the public authorities, and via a detailed conflict mediation procedure in the tripartite system. It also stipulates competence in this field for the labour conflict Sections of the Courts.

- *The Economic and Social Council (CES)* is constituted as an autonomous, tripartite body of public interest for the purpose of achieving a social dialogue between the Government, trade unions and employers, a climate of social peace (Law no. 109/1997 on the organisation and functioning of the Social and Economic Council)

- *The National House of Pensions and Other Social Insurance Rights and Benefits,* and the Territorial Houses for Pensions;

- *The National Agency for Employment and Vocational Training,* which ensures the application of the measures intended to guarantee the provision of equal opportunities for women and men in the field of providing services regarding the employment and vocational training of the labour force and also in the field of social protection for unemployed persons.

4. Effectiveness of Government's commitment to gender mainstreaming

4.1. Progress

The Romanian legislation has progressively become more favourable to women, containing more precise provisions, more detailed statements, especially with respect to the obligations of the employers and with respect to women's chance to defend their rights, with the support of trade unions.

The prevention and combating of all forms of discrimination on ground of sex, in particular harassment and sexual harassment at the workplace represents an absolute novelty for the legislation and practice of work relationships in Romania. To prevent and punish any trespassing of existing equal treatment legislation, two institutions were founded: National Council for the Preventing of Discrimination and Labour Inspection Authority.

Article 12 of the Law 202/2002 provides that it is forbidden to dismiss an employee in reaction to a complaint against discrimination. Section VI contains the provisions regarding the solving of complaints, claims, and petitions regarding discrimination on ground of sex.

Employees are able to pursue their claims by judicial process, to sections specialised in work conflicts, after possible recourse to trade union organisation or representatives of employees. Although few, there are cases when women, most frequently with the support of trade unions and various NGOs, actually go to the courts when their rights are infringed.

On the issue of pensions and other benefits, the national provisions do not contain any regulations that discriminate women, regardless their marital status, concerning the scope and the conditions of access to social security schemes, payment of contributions, other obligations or the calculation of benefits, excepting:

- the standard age of retirement (60 years old for women and 65 years of age for men). These figures will be reached progressively over a 13-year period, beginning at 57 years of age for women and at 62 years of age for men;
- the length of the full period of contributing to the social security fund, which consequently lasts only 30 years for women and 35 years for men. The minimum period of contributions is 15 years both for women and men.

Concerning the reconciling of professional and family life by developing programmes to support the individual families, several measures were put into place in order to facilitate the reconciliation of parental and professional responsibilities for working mothers, specifically:

- encouraging the equal sharing of responsibilities within the family by increasing men's access to parental leave and by stimulation the participation of men to the resolution of family issues;
- developing flexible part-time programmes;
- the expansion of childcare services, services that care for the elderly, and the multiplication of public and private services of household assistance.

According to the new Labour Code adopted in 2003, several provisions were introduced that refer to "temporary labour contracts / missions", individual part-time labour contracts (minimum 2 hours per day), employees that work at home, regulations on how to establish personalised work programmes.

With regard to maternity benefits, the benefits for a new-born child are more numerous, more varied and more substantial than before. According to the domestic legislation, the mothers as women employees have the right to a leave of absence of 126 days, divided into a maternity and a postnatal leave, and throughout the said period they receive the indemnity of maternity.

The insured employees, i.e., the parents (mother or father) are also entitled to a leave of absence and a corresponding indemnity for raising their child until the latter's second birthday, and, in the case of a handicapped child, until its third birthday. According to successive changes to the Law no. 19/2000, brought about in the spring of 2004, the monthly quantum of the indemnity for raising one's child reached 85% of the gross average wage, and it is no longer computed according to the contributing wage. Although NGOs engaged in several protests, the Government did not return to the initial provisions.

Starting in February 2004, pregnant employees or mothers who had recently given birth are entitled to a leave of absence and an indemnity for maternal risks, or working hours reduced by 1 of the time, in the conditions stipulated by law.

The existing legislation forbid the dismissal of employees on the grounds of sex, for the duration of the maternity leave, of the leave of absence for raising one's child, or of the leave of absence for caring for one's sick child.

Mothers can opt for the replacement of breast-feeding breaks by reduced working hours (a reduction of two hours every day).

Concerning the combating of violence and human trafficking, the specific legislation for the protection of women victims has been adopted and the attributions of the pertinent institutions have been determined.

A positive aspect is the fact that the local state structures have spontaneously begun to create partnerships, both among themselves, and with the civil society. These partnerships are based on unitary intervention protocols and common work methodology.

Critical points

Although from a narrow legislative point of view, Romania has achieved harmonisation with the EU standards, "this legislative undertaking is not harmonised with the reality to which it is addressed; there is a serious risk that the legislation is manifest merely at a declarative level... [For instance] a significant percentage of the population – 45% – are not aware that there exist legal and juridical instruments against domestic violence; and an alarming percentage among the victims – over 80% – never beseech the state institutions to manage a situation of domestic violence"²⁴.

The legislation and institutions that implement and monitor the observance of equality take no special interest in women's discrimination, as women are treated together with other discriminated categories (the disabled, the Roma, the homosexuals).

The Romanian Governments' attention concerning women was focused especially on labour relationships and on related domains such as social security and health insurance. Other fields – such as education, political participation, family and civil rights – were underdeveloped as regards the consideration of women's needs and interests.

Even in the labour sphere, there are many aspects insufficiently favourable to women, for instance:

- Indirect discrimination is prohibited but there are no specific provisions for action. An example of indirect discrimination regards women's pensions, which are *de facto* smaller, due to the algorithm that is used to calculate the quantum of pensions, based on the period of contributions as well as the instalments themselves, as these are correlated with the level of individual income throughout the period of contributions, and hence women's revenue starts from a lower threshold.

- In fact, even after the transposition and implementation of the European directive referring to equal pay, differences between the wages of women and men persist, due to the sectors of activity where women form the majority, and where, as a rule, the earnings are up to a third under the average wage per economy (education, health care, social assistance, commerce, hotels, textile industry).

- Indeed, if we should list the more prominent differences²⁵, in the industry, where women employees weigh a little over two fifths, their gross average wage represents only 87% of the gross average wage per industrial branch, i.e., women employees receive a net average wage that is ca. 20% smaller than men's. The wage proportion between women and men suggests a greater concentration of women in the tier of lower and small wages.

- The possibility to work half time in the case of women with children that are younger than 6 years old was annulled in the new Code of Labour.

Concerning the implementation of the Directive on maternity leave, a study entitled "Women's Access to the Labour Market"²⁶, using a sample of 78 women aged between 25 and 35 years, with a medium level of education, employed and unemployed, married and single, mothers or childless, from 8 cities throughout Romania, yields the following conclusions:

- the fact that throughout her maternity leave the employee does not enjoy wage increases or other monetary benefits, and the constant fear related to the insecurity of her workplace until she returns from her leave - constitute solid reasons why she should return early to her workplace;

- there are frequent cases of direct discrimination due to pregnancy and motherhood;

- the insecurity of one's return to the workplace is higher for the workers that are employed by the private sector, as shown by the practices of the employers;

- often the employers tend to dismiss women first, or to restructure their position during the parental leave, although they know that it is against the law and they risk penalties.

The reversal of burden of proof in sex discrimination cases has only been accepted with regard to the work relationships. The persons who deem their rights infringed have the chance to contest the assessment of their rights or the measures taken against them, before they actually go to court, both in the case of pensions and other social insurance rights, and in the case of health, unemployment, and social assistance rights but the burden of proof remains to the plaintiff.

A major critical point regards rural women: 27% of women in rural areas are registered as unemployed, and this status makes them financially dependent on the breadwinner of the family. Women who are unpaid workers or agricultural workers on their own land are very vulnerable and at a great social risk, because they are not covered by any insurance scheme and have no access to benefits, except for child benefits and family benefits, in general²⁷.

Reconciling family and work is a difficult task in nowadays Romania. The most frequent cause for the difficulties created in the process of reconciling one's professional duties with the family obligations is the underdevelopment of the social services. The network of child-care and kindergarten facilities was drastically reduced. There are several private services, but they are practically inaccessible due to the high prices they charge. The household help services are also organised with private administration. Household services (cleaning, washing, babysitting) are mainly developed in the urban environment and their cost is high, hence access to this services is reduced. There are no canteens in public schools for children. There are no services for after-school supervision of students. Although the legislation makes provisions for elderly persons, these measures were never implemented by the local councils, which are in charge with implementing the social services. The main reason invoked is the lack of financial resources. In 1999, in Romania, there were merely 19 asylums for the elderly, with a capacity of 2056 pensioners, compared to over 5.9 million retired people. The residential public services for handicapped persons are also undersized and of a poor quality, and the day care centres and other alternative solutions were founded only by the efforts of NGOs.

Consequently, women remain the "provider of services" par excellence in Romanian households, even if they work full-time outside the home. The Romanian leg-

isolation does not encourage the employers to adopt supportive measures for the employees with family obligations or persons in their care. Usually, these arrangements are informal. In Romania, women bear the main responsibility regarding housework and child care, the working week of women who are employed full time reaches 65 hours (where 40 hours are the paid job and 25 are the household chores and tending to one's children), while men's week is a mere 57 hours long²⁸.

The statute of household labour is not regulated. There is the increasingly shared idea (as documented by our interviews with trade union leaders and NGOs) of the need for a Draft Law for remunerating housework and for including housewives in the national social security system so that they enjoy certain social benefits (especially retirement benefits).

4.3. Evaluation

To evaluate with utmost objectivity the Romanian Governments' efforts regarding the implementation of gender mainstreaming, we make use of several widely accepted criteria, such as those listed in the gender mainstreaming manual, cited above²⁹.

1). A first criterion would be the presence of positive discrimination measures or affirmative action in favour of women: "For example, women-only training courses provided for women seeking entry to male-dominated occupations or professions, especially senior management. Other positive action measures seek to address 'blockages' by giving women, in effect, prescribed preferential treatment. This may be in the form of targets or indeed quotas designed to enhance women's chances of success where they are severely under-represented"³⁰.

No general quotas exist in Romania for the stimulation of women's representation in the political sphere and in governance as such. As we have previously shown, the decision-making process in Romania is very gender-unbalanced.

There are no human resources policies (in terms of recruitment, selection, promotion, formation/training etc.) that make provisions for positive action. One assumes that, if the legislation allows women to access to all forms and levels of education and in all professions and activities³¹, accession and empowerment will actually occur.

The Governments themselves are not sensitive enough to the issues raised by the Romanian women's movement, who are forced to seek support and financing elsewhere. External support is one of the most important sources for 50% of women's NGOs. Concerning the government support, Law no. 34/1998 provides the framework for subsidising NGOs from public funds, but only those NGOs providing social services.

2). Another criterion of evaluation would be the presence of adequate measures against abuse, violence, harassment, human trafficking and other degrading practices that women face especially. In these respects, although the legislative and institutional frameworks exist, few situations are reported where the laws functioned and the authorised institutions acted effectively. The Government maintains these situations in a cone of shadow, and when they do become visible, this is due to the mass-media, who usually do not reflect them in a perspective that is favourable to women, but rather as sensational subjects or tabloid material.

3). Another indicator is the existence of gender-disaggregated statistics. Very few public institutions in Romania – in particular several Ministries, such as the Ministry for Labour, Social Solidarity and the Family, the National Agency for Employment, The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health – actually keep and use such statistics.

More often, the studies and research reports that have been undertaken and completed to this date constitute initiatives that are financed by international organisms, such as the World Bank, UNDP, or UNICEF. These statistics are essential for monitoring the implementation of gender mainstreaming. Statistics regarding “engendering budgets [are essential]: it is legitimate to ask what proportion of public budgets are spent on men and women and indeed girls and boys respectively”³².

4). Additional clues come from the manner of accommodating physical differences between women and men. In Romania, equality is often seen as the masculinization of women, who, as a consequence, should perform heavy physical work, by the side of men. For instance, in many branches, such as the industrial chemistry, women carry heavy containers, lift weights, and work in noxious environments (situations described in an interview by F10, trade union leader). Equality means more demands upon women, because women do not know how to ask for their own rights. For instance, women carrying containers at their workplace might ask for a hoist to make their work easier.

We should note, also, the different profile of morbidity in Romania, as it is often difficult to assess a disease as being an occupational hazard. Women’s health might improve if one had compulsory specialised medical cabinets in the enterprises where most of the employees were women, granting them easier access to periodic checks. Indeed, many of the genital affections are caused by the poor working conditions (cold, humidity, weight-lifting), and almost become occupational diseases.

5). When attempting to identify gendered language used in institutions, another accepted criterion, one finds that no regulations exist in Romania regarding the introducing - in official documents and language, in the public institutions as well as the mass-media - of special terminology to the effect of diminishing male domination: women are “profesori” and not “profesoare”, “doctori” and not “doctorițe”, “deputat”, “senator” etc. (there are used masculine nouns instead of feminine ones). It is particularly the higher socially-valued occupations that do not have a feminine correspondent in the “official” Romanian language, as should be natural.

To conclude, the concepts of equality and non-discrimination in Romania are becoming more widely known and implemented. The concept of gender mainstreaming is used only in certain settings - in feminist and “femocratic” environments - having not yet been truly transposed in the daily reality. The newly founded organisms only have a consultative role, even a symbolic one, because they do not influence the political decision, the formulation of laws, policies, etc. By these organisms, the government does not enact affirmative, active and positive measures to promote and fulfill women’s needs, interests and perspectives in all its policies and programmes. On the contrary, the Government’s position with respect to women is rather neutral and defensive, meaning that the laws and policies that are promulgated should not be discriminating, and such cautions are usually issued by CODES, the Direction for Equal Opportunities in the Ministry of Labour and the Parliamentary Sub-commission for Equal Opportunities. The Government thus focuses more on disparities, as effects of power relationships that had already been engrained in the favour of men. The true causes that produce and reproduce these power relations are not considered.

5. Women's perceptions on Government's commitment to gender mainstreaming

Many of our interviewees believe there is an increasing interest on women's issues, but this does not come as a request from the Romanian society, but rather following the constraints for adaptation and compliance with some European standards. This became quite evident in the promulgation of the law concerning parental leave. In the West there were extensive talks, real battles, before women earned this right, and it was duly deemed their victory. Instead, in Romania it passed quite easily, it made a few waves then, but with very few real implications [F7]. So the government initiates and the parliament legislates feminist claims, which were simply imported, which had no social impact and do not constitute a true collaboration with the feminist movement in Romania, nor a contribution of this movement in any way.

A noteworthy fact is that the institutions of the central administration have begun to request the point of view of women's NGOs regarding the contents of future laws, international reports, etc. Nevertheless, NGO activists consider that their point of view is asked in an artificial manner, only when the decisions are already taken, when they have no chance to influence or change the draft proposals. A significant exception was made in the case of the Law on Preventing and Combating Domestic Violence, which is one of the few solid results of the lobbying activities staged by the women's organisations, in collaboration with a few women parliamentarians.

Most of our respondents believe that the government is not sufficiently open to the women's issues, that it does not offer the necessary funding and that even the legislative framework is not favourable at all. By abrogating Ceaușescu's law that used to ban abortion (in the first "package" of measures taken by the new regime, in 1990), the new parties in government considered that they had done their duty towards women: "They thought that this was the crux for the condition of women and that they had settled it. [F1]" The governmental institutions have an appetite for secrecy and (with rare exceptions), despite the existing transparency laws, they hesitate or avoid conducting a dialogue with the women's movement: "Generally there is a bad relationship with the civil society and its representatives. If they do agree to consultations, these are formal ones. There have been numerous cases where the NGOs were asked after the decision had been already taken, these situations are pure propaganda. [F4]"

"The governments that succeed themselves, the relevant institutions- are all apathetic and opaque. With one hand they give and with two they take back, like in the case of the compensations for the parental leave that should have been 85% of the mother's wage and then was kept under the minimum wage. Women that earn well are thus effectively dissuaded from having children. [F8]"

Other possible explanations for this situation include:

- An insufficient quantity and quality of the human resources. Very few persons in the Romanian government are trained in the field of equal opportunities. Some ministries have one or two persons who are appointed as experts in this domain, but they remain disoriented as to the actions that need to be taken. They are part of a general inter-ministerial council, but it is not a strong institution as long as it does not benefit enough from gender-training: "What is worst is the lack of culture in this field. People do not know the meaning of equality, equality of treatment, equality between women and men, discrimination, direct and indirect discrimination... The whole queue of con-

cepts that form the science of equal opportunities is a complete mystery for most politicians, as well as for the employees from the local and central administration. [F5]"

- Inconsistency. Sometimes there are too many institutions that function separately, so they end up wanting for coherence. Both F4 and F7 believe that there was some progress during the last administration, but it was nevertheless marked by a certain lack of consistency: "On the other hand it is very clear that there has been some legislative progress under the current government, but I do not believe that it is the fruit of a coherent vision from this point of view. [F4]"

"Everywhere, including about domestic violence, I think there was recently a televised debate that shows very clearly the responsibility between the ministry and the committee, from the committee to God knows who else, and at the same time there are women who die because of the abuse. It is inadmissible. [F7]"

- The policy of forms without content. Forms without content signify that there are laws but these are not implemented, there are institutions but they do not function, and there are rights but they are not known. Our interviewees mentioned the example of the ombudsman, the anti-discrimination institutions and laws, etc. The Romanian government has yet to pass many exams and equal opportunity policy remains one of them. Nevertheless, the officials think that it is an easy task as compared with others, and recount proudly that "we" have a body in the Ministry of Labour, an inter-ministerial council, some fine equal opportunity laws, and believe that Romania can pass any review. "The policies for women are not consistent, as I mentioned before. There is a kind of detached attitude, reflected in the hasty measures they adopt but which are never transferred to women at large, so as to complete the task. The local administration and the local NGOs should be seriously implementing them. [F2]"

- Bureaucratisation and inefficiency. F2 is against a National Agency, a Ministry for Women, against centralised and bureaucratic bodies, even if they exist in other Western countries. Such institutions are not able to solve the existing problems of women. In her opinion, if a law for equal opportunities, or for combating domestic violence already exists, at the local level the existing institutions (hospital, Inspection of Work, Police office, court of law, NGOs) have to implement it. Moreover, "we" do not have to wait for an Agency to solve all the existing problems, to consume our already scarce resources on salaries, buildings, and utilities. The suitable governmental strategy would consist in financing projects at the local level, involving local actors, targeting to solve punctual issues.

Our interviews with trade union leaders also yielded the fact that relations with the governmental institutions are often tense. For instance, the Labour Code was negotiated line for line by the trade unions; there were heightened debates with the social partners (ministries, but above all with the employers).

Trade unions do not perceive the ministries and the state representatives and neutral arbiters; more often they consider them adversaries, and their relations are not those of collaboration, but of combat, because those institutions *hold the money and the resources, and they do not want to share them* [F10]. The authorities are not open enough for collaboration. They do call on the trade unions and on the NGOs, but they do so formally, out of a sense of duty. It is hard to work with a bureaucracy, especially on specific issues. At the level of principles, press declarations and common seminars, the governmental institutions are willing to show a united front, but their intentions do not go much deeper.

The opinion of the majority of respondents (regarding the nature of the relationship between women's movement and Government) is contradicted by F5. She believes that governmental policies towards women exist in Romania presently, and they are relatively consistent. They exist due to the regulations of the European Union and due to the international conventions signed by Romania before and after 1989, conventions that, once they were assumed, had to be respected and transposed in the national legislation. According to F5, the only major obstacle has nothing to do with the government's attitude, but rather with the lack of funding. The legislation is in place, but we lack the necessary financing to render these policies efficient. Also, we lack the mechanisms to put these into practice.

These differences in opinion between the interviewees with a track record within NGOs and the ones who come from the governmental sphere give credibility to the gap between the goals of the women's movement and the government's openness to these aspirations. In conclusion, the relation between the two camps appears rather tense.

6. Recommendations

Quotas

Quotas could constitute a first step in reaching gender balance in political parties and elected institutions. The introduction of quotas requires a careful assessment of the existing situation. Both the experience of the communist regime as the current experience of the European states demonstrate that the quota mechanism is completely inefficient if applied only formally, for the sake of achieving magic numbers that would demonstrate the accomplishment of one's objectives. Ideally, the introduction of quotas for representation must be decided from the grass-roots and never top-down, by the respective organisations and not by some superior agency. The substantial participation of women in government, is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for the advancement of women and society in general. Women can continue to be marginal and forced in various ways to obey or to approve the decisions of men, even where they enjoy a more sizeable female turnout.

In our contact meetings, four women involved in decision-making, including two NGO members, a parliamentary expert and a member of the Greater Romania Party, supported the introduction of quotas, considering that a percentage of 30% is barely adequate to have any influence in the Parliament. Their argument was that, while we await the change of mentalities, we might delay solid progress on women's issues.

Cultural change

The information campaigns are formal and inefficient. A better collaboration is needed in this respect between the public authorities and the NGOs, as well as a rigorous evaluation of its impact upon the target groups, and upon the public opinion in general.

What counts is the change of cultural models and public perceptions concerning the abilities and the role of women in politics. The examples of good practice, the success stories of women must receive more publicity. Well-conceived media campaigns can play an important role. In this sense, identifying cultural barriers that impede the participation of women is crucial, as negative attitudes, damaging perceptions, and cultural stereotypes are profuse in society, and even among women:

Women should gain a winner's mentality. Now, they work quietly in NGOs, unions, parliamentary committees, the Economic and Social Council – but they do nothing spectacular. [F10]

We propose fostering a national debate, with the ultimate purpose of contributing to the change of mentalities:

- media campaigns and debates contributing to developing an awareness about gender issues, including gender discrimination and equal opportunities;
- the creation of a forum for dialogue about national policies and for sharing experiences. The end result should be a report on gender mainstreaming. The forum should be composed of relevant bodies (both governmental and non-governmental) and it should be intensively mediated;
- empowering women to take discrimination cases to court, with the possibility of obtaining significant compensation from the guilty party;
- resource centres for women at the local, regional and central levels;
- local and county offices for the equality of opportunities: bureaux of assistance and hot-line services – free-of charge, confidential counselling on all topics related to gender equality and breaches of the principle;
- the results of monitoring women's status and progress in gender mainstreaming should be more publicised and debated;
- public financing for research in the field of discrimination against women and equal opportunities.

Caring for the basic needs of women

The creation of social services for the families, which would release women from the some of the burdens of housework and caring for their families, thus increasing their time budgets and leaving them the choice to divert some of the spare time to participation in decision-making and public involvement. The main cause of the low rates of participation in the public life are due to the traditional roles, which have not been surpassed by important segments of the population (mostly the rural areas, recently urbanised segments, some ethnic groups).

Restructuring and reinforcing the relevant institutions

The introduction of gender mainstreaming, which involves the integration of gender equality considerations in all activities and policies at all levels

Governmental support for the development of the women's NGO sector, which is still marginal and less known

The development and refinement of gender statistics in the Romanian system of surveys so as to be able to collect sex-segregated data.

Strengthening cooperation and information exchange on the fundamental rights of women between the specific governmental institutions, the NGOs and the international organisations

Instruments of control and evaluation for the implementation of relevant equal opportunities legislation at the national, county and local levels:

The European directives are not fully implemented because the enforcing mechanisms are ineffective. Women don't know their rights, they are nor aware, neither involved in the process [F10].

The public authorities must be coerced to promote gender mainstreaming, including this concept in an action plan, in the annual budget and in the annual report. This obligation can be extended to all the public institutions, to the social partners, to state-owned enterprises. The monitoring of gender-mainstreaming must be publicised by the media or on a website. Other enterprises and organisations may participate on a voluntary basis.

Political parties

Political organisations function on masculine norms, values and practices. “This will have the effect of creating a democratic deficit and excluding women and women’s needs, interests and perspectives from governance”³³. Gendered institutions produce and reproduce a gendered social order³⁴. “Moreover, since those who occupy power positions come to share a common world view, the ideas they produce tend to reflect the values of the ruling elite”³⁵.

The most significant political organisations for the production and the reproduction of the gendered political order are – in our view – the political parties. They ascribe political statuses and roles, including women’s statuses and roles in politics. Thus, in the very rare circumstances when women occupy political positions in Romania, these positions are – most of the time – within certain “feminine” ministries and parliamentary committees, such as: health, education, family, social protection, human rights. There is a gendered division of labour in the Romanian politics. These positions consolidate the “caretaker” image about women.

The organisational culture of most political parties plays a key role. It structures and maintains the male-oriented distribution of power not only in these specific organisations, but also in politics as a whole. Therefore, transition itself becomes gendered, being marked by gender inequality of representation and participation in decision-making. In order to be successful in male-dominated organisations, women adopt the masculine culture, abandoning women’s interests and concerns: “... they declare themselves anti-feminist and share the gender-blind strategy”³⁶.

The gendered character of the Romanian political parties is reflected in their leadership, where women are very few. This character is also reflected in the candidate lists, where women are present in a small number and they are, usually, at the bottom of the lists, in non-eligible positions. The outcome is women’s under-representation in Romanian politics.

Political parties should finance the empowerment of women in politics (training, meeting, monitoring); they should promote women in leadership positions; their communication strategy should take gender balance into account and they should organise political campaigns for changing culture about women in politics. The candidate lists would be more gender-balanced if parties would open their leadership structures to women. They should co-operate with the specialised NGOs concerning the gender training.

Future academic research

Visibility can grow also by restructuring education in schools, beginning with the disciplines that are offered and continuing with the manner in which they are taught. The interviewees (especially F1 and F3) believe that the weight of the social sciences in the Romanian curricula is very inadequate. Also, there should be more gender studies modules in the universities.

Studies concerning women's status, the monitoring of this situation and the popularisation of the monitoring reports would also count as a solution for increasing the visibility of the women's movement. The most relevant topics may be:

- information on gender inequalities: statistics and qualitative data
- developing a set of meaningful indicators for measuring changes regarding gender equality and mainstreaming
- political elite's attitudes regarding gender equality and mainstreaming
- impact assessment of the EU equality acquis in Romania
- gendered institutions in Romania
- effectiveness of the government departments responsible for equality and enlargement
- women's political action

Certain authors³⁷ think that gender studies in Romania are concerned mostly with punctual topics – organisational studies, semiotic, media monitoring - but the general perspective is missing. In their opinion, the most important research topic should be “the causes of inequality: the political domination and the distribution of the power that are produced and reproduced in the Romanian society.”³⁸ Therefore, the policies meant to reduce inequality and discrimination are dealing with the effects, only; these policies are important but they ignore the real causes of such a situation. The academic research should approach these causes and focus on the appropriate solutions.

Notes:

1. This publication draws from a research project entitled “*Enlargement, Gender and Governance: the civic and political participation and representation of women in EU candidate countries*” (EGG). The three year (12/03-11/05), 12 country study, was funded by the EU 5th Framework Programme (HPSE-CT-2002-00115).

2. Wynn GRANT, “*Elite Interviewing: A Practical Guide*”, IGS Discussion Papers, Series no.11 / 2000, p. 10.

3. Teresa REES, “*Gender Mainstreaming: Misappropriated and Misunderstood?*”, Paper presented to the Department of Sociology in a panel on European Union's Gender Policies, University of Sweden, February 21, 2002, p. 2.

4. Gemma CARNEY, “*From Women's Rights to Gender Mainstreaming: an Examination of International Gender Norms in the Republic of Ireland*”, PSAI draft paper, Trinity College Dublin, October 2003, p. 2.

5. REESE, *art. cit.*, p. 5.

6. See for instance: *L'égalité des chances entre les femmes et les hommes dans l'Union européenne*, Office des publications officielles des Communautés Européennes, Luxembourg, 2002; and *Egalité et non-discrimination*, Office des publications officielles des Communautés Européennes, Luxembourg, 2004.

7. More on this topic in: Georgeta GHEBREA, Marina TATARAM, Ioana CRETOIU, *Implementing the EU Equality Acquis in Romania*, Nemira, Bucharest, 2005.

8. Yvonne GALLIGAN (coordinator), “*Enlargement, Gender and Governance: State of the Art Literature Review, Analysis of the Transition to Democracy, & Conceptual Framework for the EGG study*”, Discussion Paper, Queen's University Belfast, 2003, p. 30.

9. *Ibidem*.

10. Liliana POPESCU, “*Instituții europene de promovare a egalității de șanse între femei și bărbați. O perspectivă comparată*”, [European Institutions Promoting Equal

Opportunities for Women and Men. A Comparative Perspective], in Laura GRÜNBERG (editor), *Gen și Integrare Europeană [Gender and European Enlargement]*, Societatea de Analize Feministe AnA, Bucharest, 2002, p. 42.

11. *Monitorul Oficial al României*, [Romanian Official Bulletin], no. 583 / 30.11.1999, p. 14.

12. *Monitorul Oficial al României [Romanian Official Bulletin]*, no. 799 / 30.08.2004.

13. Vladimir PASTI, *Ultima inegalitate [The Last Inequality]*, Polirom, Iasi, 2003, p. 70.

14. Georgeta GHEBREA, Marina TATARAM, Ioana CRETOIU, *Enlargement, Gender and Governance: Analyzing Female Visibility in Romania*, Meridiane, Bucharest, 2004.

15. *The Status of Women in Romania During 1995-2000 – National Report serving for the preparation of the Extraordinary Session of the UN General Assembly on Women Beyond 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the XXI-st Century*, Section 1.3: “Placing the gender equality principle within the major objectives of national policies”, The Ministry for Labour and Social Protection – The Direction for Equal Opportunities, Bucharest, 2000.

16. Published in *Monitorul Oficial al României* no. 583/30.11.1999.

17. Published in *Monitorul Oficial al României* no. 236, 17.03.2004.

18. Published in *Monitorul Oficial al României* no. 799, 30.08.2004.

19. Specifically, Law no. 202/2002 for equal opportunities between women and men, published in *Monitorul Oficial al României* no. 301, 5.08.2002.

20. Interview published in *Revista de studii feministe AnALize [The Journal of Feminist Studies AnALysis]*, no. 9, 2000, p. 28.

21. Published in *Monitorul Oficial al României* no. 700/28.12.2000.

22. Romanița Elena IORDACHE, “Egalitatea de șanse între femei și bărbați în România între aquis-ul comunitar și mecanismele de implementare” [“Equal Opportunities between Women and Men in Romania between the aquis communautaire and the mechanisms for implementation”] in Laura GRÜNBERG (editor), *Gen și integrare europeană, [Gender and European Accession]*, Societatea de Analize Feministe AnA, Bucharest, 2002, p. 136.

23. <http://www.cdep.ro/pls/parlam/structura>, accessed 22/01/2005.

24. *Cercetarea națională privind violența în familie și la locul de muncă [National Research regarding Domestic Violence and Violence at the Workplace]*, Centrul Parteneriat pentru Egalitate [Partnership for Equality Centre], Bucharest, 2003, p. 3.

25. Comisia națională de statistică – România, and PNUD – România [National Commission for Statistics and UNDP – Romania], *Femeile și bărbații în România [Women and Men in Romania]*, Bucharest: AriPress, 2000, p. 28.

26. Valentina MARINESCU and Valentina PRICOPIE, *Accesul femeilor pe piața muncii [Women’s Access on the Labour Market]*, Centrul Parteneriat pentru Egalitate [Partnership for Equality Centre], Bucharest, 2004, pp. 9-10.

27. UNIFEM and UNDP Romania, *Status of Women in Rural Areas*, UNPD, Bucharest, 2002, p. 30.

28. Monica S. FONG, *România: problemele femeilor în perioada de tranziție [Romania: Women’s Issues in the Transition Period]*, Departamentul de Politică Socială și Sărăcie al Băncii Mondiale [World Bank, Department on Social Policy and Poverty], Bucharest, 1996, p. 25.

29. Teresa REES, “Gender Mainstreaming: Misappropriated and Misunderstood?”, Panel on the Gender Policies of the European Union, Paper presented to the Department of Sociology, University of Sweden, February 21, 2002, pp. 2-3; and 6-10.

30. *Ibidem*, p. 3.

31. Except for the profession of priest.

32. Teresa REES, *art. cit.*, p. 10.

33. Yvonne GALLIGAN (coordinator), *Enlargement, Gender and Governance: State of the Art Literature Review, Analysis of the Transition to Democracy, and Conceptual Framework for the EGG study*, Queen's University, Belfast, Discussion Paper, p. 47.

34. This theory is influenced by the organisational sciences and by a neo-Marxist perspective, reflected in Pierre BOURDIEU, Jean-Claude PASSERON, *La reproduction*, Les Editions de Minuit, Paris, 1970.

35. Margaret L. ANDERSEN, *Thinking about Women. Sociological Perspectives on Sex and Gender*, Macmillan Publishing Company, New York, 1988, p. 35.

36. Mihaela MIROIU, "Feminismul ca politică a modernizării" [*Feminism as a modernization policy*], in: Alina MUNGIU-PIPPIDI (editor), *Doctrine politice - concepte universale și realități românești*, Polirom, Iași, 1998, p. 262.

37. Vladimir PASTI: *Ultima inegalitate. Relațiile de gen în România* [*The last inequality. Gender relationships in Romania*], Polirom, Iași, 2003, p.73.

38. *Ibidem*.

APPENDIX

Composition of the sample

No	Respondent	Gender	Age	Marital status	Position
1	F1	Female	37	married	Leader of a very important women's organisation; senior lecturer at the University of Cluj; feminist writer; sociologist
2	F2	Female	35	married	Leader of a very important women's organisation, in Bucharest; English teacher
3	F3	Female	70	widow	Famous opponent to the communist regime; leader of the women's organisation of an opposition party professor
	F4	Female	60	widow	Founder of a major civic movement; manager of the electoral campaign and presidential counsellor (1996-2000); today, leader of a non-parliamentary party Professor
5	F5	Female	52	married	Head of the office for Equal Opportunities in Romanian's Ministry of Labour; ex leader of the women's organisation of a social-democrat party Construction engineer
6	F6	Female	59	married	Mayor and leader of the Women's Association; agronomist
7	F7	Female	30	married	Lecturer at the University of Bucharest (gender studies); graduate in French literature
8	F8	Female	43	married	Member of the party of an ethnic minority (and ex leader of the Youth organisation in the same party); feminist writer; linguist
9	F9	Female	50	married	Member of a left wing party, former member of the Romanian Parliament
10	F10	Female	30	married	Union leader, vice-president of the women's organisation in an important union confederation

LAVINIA BETEA

The woman in the communist regime. Meta - analysis about a gender study

Abstract

From the perspective of meta-analysis done in a qualitative structure, the study puts forward an inventory of the communist regime studies in the following ways:

1. The re-evaluation of the social ideology-propaganda-practice relationship of the equality between sexes in the communist regime

2. The contextualization and the evolution of the social representations of a woman's role.

3. The effects of some political decisions, which can count as aggressiveness of a state towards its citizens (770/1966 Decree).

Motto:

Here, the woman kisses the man's hand until a moment ago, Marin Patru used to say

In addition, she always respects him. She makes him three-four kids, but never dares to be rude to him.

The most proud ones would not say anything to him.

A woman has her things (...) what does a woman know?

She is there to clean the glass on a lamp, fix the blinds

Align everything up, like a soldier's duty line

Get a hold of yourself; massage you when your back hurts

But what does she know?

Marin Sorescu - "Randuieli"

Lavinia

Betea

Professor,

Ph.D.,

Faculty of

Political

Science,

University of

București,

specialitaty

Political

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Author of the books:

The End of Freedom (1993); Maurer and yesterday's world; testimonies on the stalinization of Romania (1995, 2002); Alexandru Barladeanu on Dej, Ceausescu and Iliescu (1997); Corneliu Manescu in dialog with Lavinia Betea; unfinished conversations (2001); Lucretiu Patrascanu - Death of a communist leader (2001, 2006); Individual, leader, crowd in the communist regime (2002); Communist conceptions and remanences (2005); I went to Jilava in summer shoes. Conversations with Ioana Berindei (2006).

Key words:

Women, communist regime, ideology, propaganda, equality between sexes, social representation

The title, "The woman in the communist regime" started in Romania about half a century ago, organizations, institutions, publications, propaganda programs, social or cultural, which warranted the application of one of the programmatic points of the communist ideology: the abolition of women's free labour and her equality to man.

Taking in consideration all the studies which have been done, using scientific methods, we can denounce:

1. The re-evaluation of the social ideology-propaganda-practice relationship of the equality between sexes in the communist regime
2. The contextualisation and the evolution of the social representation about a woman's role
3. The effects of some political decisions, which can count as aggressiveness of a state towards its citizens (770/1966 Decree).

We will try in the next lines, a cutout from this perspective, mentioning the intention of a typical qualitative meta-analysis inventory.

The woman in the state of "a new man"

Well recognized, the Bolshevik Revolution (1917) should have brought fundamental changes in the woman's state, considered in the divided societies in antagonistic states, in a condition of "domestic slave" (Engels, 1897). Women were on the way to becoming "working people" and members with all the rights of society, freed from kitchen work and the raising of children through the creation of canteens, day cares and kindergartens.

A primary effect of the contemplated changes would have been the replacement of the bourgeois family, founded on social and economic interests, through "*unrestrained cohabiting*" or marriages arranged exclusively on love. Between those two types, the ethical differences were not marked. For the making of the working class, "*it does not matter if love changes into an overlong, legalized alliance or manifests itself in the form of a passing liaison*", Bolshevik theory by A. Kollontai, in that period, the relationship between sexes. Therefore, a divorce law was introduced which permitted both spouses to end the marriage based on the motive of incapability (December 1917) and abortion was legalized (1920).

Looking at the children, regardless of their parents' wish, their communist education should have started from the first stage of their life. From a socialist point of view, E. Preobrajenski (1918) states - it is not rational that a society member should consider its' own body private property, inalienable, given that the person represents just a link in the evolution of the species. Just as irrational it would be if the parents would consider that the offsprings are "*theirs*". Consequently, obstinate programs have been drawn up, through which the children were taken from under the parents' wing and motioned towards the tasks of the ruling party and of the state.

The plans failed due to the lack of money. Not even the forbidden sexual liberty could benefit from the multitude's cohesion. Therefore, the great powers soon gave up in promoting these projects, because the monetary estimation was too great to allow a change. The pay of the activities (housewife, stay-at-home mom, raising and educating the children) practiced in the family, usually inexistent, especially for women, would mean the failure of the precarious, soviet economy. (Pipes, 1998).

In the communist regime just implemented, the fundamental, moral criterion was "the good of the cause" because, in accordance with the ideological changes, for the proletariat the ethics derived from itself, changes "*naturally, step by step*" (Buharin, Preobreajenski, 1975, p. 85).

Moreover, the duplicity of the social equality promoted by the Bolshevik regime shows itself before the duplicity of the sexual equality. The new tenants of Kremlin - the ex "professional revolutionaries" turned into Bolshevik leaders and their families - lived according to the bourgeois, stay-at-home customs, disapproved yet in the public address. The special food rations, the access to stores, hospitals, special dispensaries and a personal domestic help made up from nurses, cooks, cleaning ladies, drivers, bodyguards were introduced in the Kremlin's tenants' life from 1918. (Bajanov, 1991).

In 1923-1924, the Soviet ideologists organized a couple important debates regarding the Bolsheviks' ethics, rising up the *"issue of women"*. *The government party has the right to cast a glance in anyone's family out of us and promote itself in it.*" declared with such an opportunity the public instructions police officer, A. Lunacearski, voicing his hope that among other things *"the vices defeated by the party"* will also be that of *"the chaos from the family life of the communists"*. From the investigation of an ethical norm, resulted the decision Politburo attributed to the family, as principal function, that of "support cell" for its' member or the members of the party from its constitution. The sexual equality slogan was formally applied through the changes intervened in the woman's state. To this was attributed, in the new political conditions, a triple role: the woman as a producer, the woman as a mother, and the woman as a wife.

In the Stalinist apogee, the same as in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, the emphasis was displaced on the family's function of raising vigorous children, in the spirit of moral tradition. Abortion was forbidden (1936), the divorce was discouraged and the *"telling on"* was stimulated between family members. Through the *"party organizations, of the crowd"* intervention, the husband-wife, parents-children relationships were subordinated to the ideology.

Without suffragettes

The totalitarian regimes have made from the control over information a priority, so that the Bolshevik *"experiments"* from 1917-1920 were eliminated from history. The set-up of communist regimes in the southeast and the centre of Europe, invaded by the Red Army, after the transition phase designated with the phrase *"the regime of the popular democracies"* (1945-1948), signified the imposing of practices and structures of the Stalinist Russia. Among these are also those concerning the woman's status. The women's life, them being turned into *"makers of material and spiritual goods"*, was not easier.

On the newspaper level, due to the electoral laws in 1946, a great change occurred, without exaggerating, epoch-making: all the women in Romania received the right to vote. Most of them have not even dreamt of "equality between the sexes"! Without previous effort and without suffragist movements, the Romanian women found themselves endowed, overnight, with all the civic rights.

From the world's history point of view, the fact that in front of the law women and men had equal rights represents a recent change. France - a standard for European democracy - can serve as a guide in evaluating the women's condition in Romania. "The women's acquiring equality would be the best proof of our civilization and would double the mankind intellectual forces," pleaded the novelist Stendhal in their favor in a "Lettre ouverte aux hommes" about 200 years ago. Only at the beginning of the 20th century however, the married French women obtain the right to spend their salary on their

own. After another three decades, the married women's judicial incapacity was suppressed, the husband still maintaining his right to choose the family's home and his authority over the children. In the long history until April 21, 1944, when women in France obtained the right to vote and be voted, many militants signed up for the sexual equality. With pressure, meetings and demonstrations, from 1966 married women are free to practice a profession without the husband's approval. In the eight decade of the preceding century, the paternal authority over the children, changes into "parental authority" and the principle of equality in regards to the pay for the same job was accepted. In 1983, a law is approved that states the professional equality between the two sexes and in 1987 the night restriction regarding work are eliminated for women. (Vernet and Butera, 2004).

This sequence of data shows well the slow progression and the recent consent of women's rights in a country where democracy has a well-known history. So much about the Romanian women ...! The people from Bucharest ridiculed in the 20th century the "feminism" of a Mițe (regional word Maria), which mounted with great courage a bicycle. In a country where the church preached till recently fear and submission of women towards men, to the humour of many of the wedding guests at the religious weddings done in orthodox style. In the middle of the last century, the status of women wasn't very different from that of the children. Not taken from the old customs of the Romanian south villages, she had to walk at the same pace as her husband, hindered by both the great length of the dress and the "shortness of the mind", in some places, she wasn't even called by her name. The girl, called " âcă" (regional word for *girl*) would then soon be called "muica" (regional word for mother) through the command of "do it" of her father or her husband.

Through the democratic legislation adopted in the context of a precarious economy, exists nevertheless a formal equality due to which women go to schools, get a job everywhere, they speak up, take over responsibilities outside of the family, spend their salary however they wish, divorce when they want and raise their children on their own. There were new and significant social rights - the right to work and the assurance of the workplace- the right of education and free health benefits. Through these practices, the new regime exploded the traditional, Romanian society structures.

For the recording of progress, statistics meters are meaningful for comparison matters. The most spectacular change in the status of women happened from the access and free of charge education on all levels. Corresponding with the census from 1930, 44% of the population from Vechiul Regat was illiterate, the same with 62% of the population from Basarabia, 34% from Bucovina and 33% from Transilvania (Doggan, 1999, p. 117). At the same time, the number between boys and girls that finished high school or university also changed significantly. If in 1938-1939, in Romania, 41.2% of highschool graduates were girls and in 1971 it grew to 51.5%. Looking at university graduates, the percent of women graduates grew from 25.9% in 1938-1939 to 48.3% in 1989-1990 (Kligman, 2000, p. 36).

The Duplicity of the equality between sexes

Did the women from Romania acquire equal rights after 1946? In accordance with the Bible story of the banishing of the first couple on Earth, Eve had to endure the hardships of life. Her plight of having a painful birthing experience and her struggle of rais-

ing the children; to this was also added the burden to toil and sweat through life, this initially set aside for Adam.

You do not need to study extensively the former regime to conclude that alike for men and women, democracy is only symbolical. Just like in 1946, and all the elections from the communist years, the citizens put in the urns the ballots, they answered - if they were asked- with the phrases committed to propaganda (ex:" I voted for the good of our people") and the "results" were always those decided by the top leaders a long time before the election day.

Equal with men when it came to general and vocational education, in 1989 40.8% of factories' employees were women. Although the ideology of the time requested insistently the promoting of women in jobs of management both political and economic, it was applied in the same way the equality between husband and wife. Like minorities, women secured a certain political share of the influential jobs. Their presence was usually symbolic, reflecting an operative, percentage system. In the political and state institutions, just like in the bodies of leadership in enterprises, women were as P. Bourdieu (1992) puts it "*the dominated fraction of the dominating class*".

If the equality between the sexes was achieved through the constitutional right and obligation of women to work, alike with men, in working families or first generation intellectuals have been kept, with predilection, the traditional relationships from the peasant families. In the spirit of the rural tradition, the responsibility of taking care and educating the children remained the undertaking of the woman, and her share of the housework was kept disproportioned in comparison with that of the man. The economic evolvement meaning the metallurgical and construction industry, the production of consumption goods was always adverse, therefore, to those traditional responsibilities, women also added the weight of supplying the family. In their private life, women continued to remain inferior to men, disadvantaged by the politics' recommendation. The woman "citizen and working person" had simultaneously obligations to be "the marvelous wife and mother". Like for Eve, the blame falls on her for the drunkenness, laziness, waste, dissipation or "political errors" of the man. Although "the problem with happiness", cinema's top theme from the last stage of the regime, is resolved in the classic way for the family's peaceful life. A cliché image is dinner - with the family's chief seated at the head of the table with at least four kids, being served from the steamy bowl (unknown when prepared) by his wife, both just returned, from a glorious working day. Manager of the industrial factory, zootechnic or Member of Romanian Parliament, among her obligations, the woman in the communist regime is by all means "more equal" than the man.

"The woman - the well of the socialist nation"

The family code, adopted in communist states after the second WW, was a copy made after the Stalinist one. In Romania, the legislation about divorce registered fluctuations varying with the present ideological commands.

In 1948, they were eliminated from the Romanian Civil Code, article 254-276 referring to the reasons for divorce established through consensus (in operation from 1864). Through the 18/1948 law, the divorce became dependent on justice's ideological commands, which reviews on repeated lines, the conditions for the unbinding of the marriage, thus in 1966 the divorce was possible only in "*exceptional cases*". Since the individual's rights weren't part of the communist politics, the divorce was discouraged.

Abortion was, as well, forbidden in Romania from the beginning of the establishing of the communist regime until the its' abolition in USSR. Article 482 of the Penal Code was reviewed in 1848, therefore the interruption of a completely healthy pregnancy was turned into a crime. Just like before 1944, not many women resorted to curettage (in 1938 for 2036 inhabitants, there was one general doctor), the traditional methods to plan a family and stop a pregnancy didn't change too much. Also, the activities that violated the mentioned article weren't followed, especially in the 50s. Given this discrepancy, the law lost its' significance.

The consequences of the social life's modernisation, the birth rate continued to drop and was reduced to infantile death rate. Between the two World Wars, Romania had the highest death rates from Europe (especially the infant death rate), but also one of the highest birth rates.

In 1955, abortion was legalized in the Soviet Union and most of the satellite countries copied this measure respectively. Without journalistic campaigns and without a preamble which specifies reasons, in September 1957, abortion was legalized in Romania due to demand (after it was forbidden in 1948). The precise measure that only the stopping of pregnancies carried out will be sanctioned, outside a medical institution or by a person who is no qualified.

What exactly determined N. Ceausescu, so that after only one year of being in power to prohibit abortions, after the Soviets and his predecessor Gherghiu-Dej allowed it? The fact that it represents the highest level of an initiative proves its form for public promotion: not a law implied by the country's legislative body, but a decree which initializes a long line of dictatorial applications.

How and why was the anti-abortion decree adopted? Being hard to restore the mental process of a political decision, the psychology was and remains "*a difficult zone of history's research*" (Lynch, 1994, p. 85). In accordance with the testimony of one of Ceausescu's men, the anti-abortion decree was adopted because the Romanian leader wanted to be the commander of a great nation - population wise. (Popescu, 1994) The rise in birth rates - with a yearly rate of 18-20% - involved mechanisms similar of the planning in the economics domain.

In the newspaper "Scanteia", the new measures and interdictions which aimed at the realization of the "plan" of minimum four kids for each family, was being let known. The decree - promulgated in the name of the State Council on October 2nd, 1966 - mentions in the preamble that the ending of a pregnancy represents "*a case with grave consequences on the woman's health and brings about big harm to the birth rates and natural efficiency of the population.*" The decree states exceptions, as well as sanctions for its' violation (the manufacture, obtainment or commercializing of birth-control being an offence).

Therefore, the state police and the prosecutor's office were implicated in the human reproduction problems, the same with the starting of "*the class fight*", they were implicated in the annihilating of the category declared "*the proletariat's enemies*". The most intimate component of a human life - the sexuality - was subjected to the political party's command and control, and the interventionist state reaches, in Romania, the top in this characteristic.

The psycho-sociological consequences

The first consequence accounts for, of course, the increase in the *birth rate*. As a result of the demographic, legislated politics, in 1967, the total birth rates doubled compared to the previous year, resulting in 3.7 kids born to a woman, for the period after 1944 in Romania (Trebici, 1991). In 1973, the birth rates returned to 2.4 kids per woman, in the years that followed, it remained at the low numbers that could be seen before the adoption of the decree.

Looking at the statistics, the ban on abortion did not mean it disappeared. To stop the pain at the end of an unwanted pregnancy, women would resort to different means. Some of these means would draw on the practices described by P. Istrati at the beginning of the preceding century. "*Cruelty without name, true barbarians*" (1983, p. 65), the writer named the way women would stab their uterus with knitting needles, carried weights, they would burn their feet with boiling water and they would break their feet jumping from high altitudes. A look at the means for abortions proves that the deed tantamount to the suffering both physical and psychological is hard to estimate.

Romania was not the only country where the political control over the citizen's sexuality was instituted. Deng Xiaoping's limiting of the number of children in China lead to the institutionalizing of the same practice with grave repercussions at the individual's mental level and the collective one. Among the psychosocial consequences of the "*Chinese phenomenon*" (studied in more detail than the Romania's anti-abortion legislation) we keep in mind the decrease in self-esteem of the people. "*The superiors and the subordinates alike contributed to the regime's perpetuation*" - observed J. Gross (1988) - because the totalitarian society "*needed as much participation as vulnerability from everyone*" (apud Kligman, 2000, p. 256).

Combining "*the techniques of a hierarchy, which over watches with those of the sanctions which normalises*" (Foucault, 1997, p. 166), the periodical gynecologist exam for "the tracking down of the pregnant women" signified a method of suggestion from the omnipotent political power. The obligation for this control was "*one of the weapons with the help of which the state penetrated the physical body of its' citizens*", owing to the fact that women began to view their own bodies as an "*inner enemy*" (Kligman, 2000, p. 113).

These were staggering consequences, the decrease and death rate of thousands of women due to complications that occurred from the illegal abortions. The number of women that died from complications during abortions is terrifying: just for the year 1989 there are 1193 deceased, for the years 1966-1989 there are 9452 deceased (Kligman, 2000, p. 230-234). However, the statistics that the interviewed gynecologists reveal are far from the truth. Among the "advice" obtained from these specialists was also that in case of death, the reason should be written as final complications (most often "renal blockage" or "septicemia"), therefore the number of women that died from abortions surpasses 10 000.

In understanding the connection of this decision with the social memory, to be remembered is the political appeal which accompanied the popularization of the Decree 770/1966. The leading article in "Scanteii", the issue which published the decree, was titled "*Our kids - our country's kids*". The limitation on the individual liberty was motivated, through it, as a "*patriotic duty*" in "*the spirit of Romanian tradition*".

At the end of the article, in known, propagandistic language "*the calling*" was released. "*The Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party addresses at the same time an appeal to the population, workers, from*

towns and villages, to understand well that the assurance of a normal, demographic growth is a high honor and obligation for every family and for the our whole nation, which always took pride in having lasting families and many children, which were raised with love, ensuring this way the vitality, youth and vigour of the whole nation. Today, more than ever, we have the high obligation of guaranteeing our nation, new generations which can contribute to the blossoming of our socialist nation, at the triumph of socialism and communism in Romania."

After the publication of the anti-abortion decree, from among the women's states promoted by the communist ideology (mother, wife, maker), that of mother becomes most important. In the public address, the woman is often designated through the phrase "*the source of life*", the child becomes "*the completion of the woman's destiny*" and the birth - "*nature's miracle*". In the models for all the newspapers from Romania and in the TV and radio program schedules, permanent shows and headings were introduced with the theme of achieving political demography. The embraced prohibitions and the sanction of their non-observance were motivated with "*scientific reasoning*" in the medical, ethical and moral categories. With propagandistic functions and effects aside from the "*manufacturing of approval*" context (Herman and Chomski, 1988), the "*adhesion of working people*" could be studied at the accepted degrees.

Moreover, the publication of the decree was propagandistically prepared, using the same manipulation scheme for easing the crowd's reaction. However, the Writer's Union president, Z. Stancu published an article about the "*competitions*" of peasant families about having the most children. The fantasy is sustained bombastically with the reason of the similarity between fertility-wealth. (When asked the question, how many children do you have, a peasant answers, depending on the case, "only seven" or "only nine", the prose writer accrediting the idea, otherwise false, because in the Romanian, traditional outlook, the number of children and grandchildren represented material wealth and the family's prestige.)

The past's reminiscences

In this field also falls the comparison between the "*Dej epoch*" and "*Ceausescu epoch*" in terms of social oppression and repression. The exposed conclusions are in favour of the last phase, when less were victims. "*The class struggle*" stopped when Ceausescu ruled, and the number of political convicts can't even be compared with the phase from 1946 - 1962 - is the historian's conclusion. In reality, just when in "*the socialist camp*", other connections than those instituted by Stalin were established; Ceausescu and his decision centre, which managed him, introduced repressive measures resembling the effect's noxiousness with those theorized for the assurance of the proletariat's victory in the bloody "*class struggle*".

For the anti-abortion decree, the consequences previously recalled, other oppressive measures were juxtaposed. For example, the regulation of presenting oneself at a mandatory job offer for the university graduates from art or medicine; indifferently from the home situation and their aspirations in the period of 1981-1989. This event is tantamount to the establishment of "*compulsory residence*" just like for "*titoisti*" and "*kulaks*" in 1949-1964. (The enrolment case of 1982, from the philosophy-history at the University in Cluj: from 25 graduates, 17 were married with 11 children; through repartition all the families were separated and after 10 years only one couple remained married.)

However paradoxical it seems, Romanian historians and researchers in the social-humane sciences were exclusively monopolised by the victims of "*the class struggle*". Although the number of victims from the anti-abortion decree surpasses them. Like a deep, social memory, the traumatizing memories of the women who went through the illegal abortions are also important.

In the long run, "*the legacy*" of the antiabortion legislation could contain "*the learned helplessness syndrome*" (Seligman, 1975), which explains partially the carelessness of the family planning. Another significant consequence owing to the conditioned, remanent representations of the communist ideology (to be remembered the propagandistic phrase: "*our children - our nation's children*"), could be the lack of responsibility of the parents towards the raising and educating of their children. These children are entrusted too easily to the placement centres or abandoned. Thus in Romania, in 1993, there were 158 078 institutionalized children and circa 5000 "*homeless children*" (Kligman, 2000, p. 256).

It seems that in discussions from outside the country, that talk about banning abortion, the Romanian case is better presented. For example, the newspaper "*Cristian Science Monitor*" from January 27, 1990 writes the "*the Romanian law which forbid abortion before the Revolution should be advertising for US.*" (apud Kligman, 2000, p. 257).

Without intention of joining "memory militants" of the past communism, we think that the effects of the anti-abortion decree in the mind's make-up are important through its' length (23 years) and its' scope, marking the family institution, more significantly in the area of the family's responsibilities in regards to raising and educating the children. In our opinion, the mental consequences of this way can be evaluated and in explanations seeing the absence of an opposition structured in the personnel of "*Ceausescu's regime*". Complexed by the control over sexuality and fearful of a child's birth which are sometimes hard or impossible to raise, are states that express, in a way, the tension and inhibitions of Romanians at the end of the 20th century.

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The Gender Stereotype Threat And The Academic Performance Of Women's University Teaching Staff

Abstract

Women working in academic environments that are male dominated are subjected to high levels of occupational stress due to the so called stereotype threat (ST) (Steele, 1997). Stereotype threat is a social-psychological threat that arises when one is in the situation of doing something for which a negative stereotype about his/her group applies. For women's university teaching staff stereotype threat is a source of anxiety that affects their performance, career commitment and overall job satisfaction. Additionally ST accounts, partly, for the horizontal and vertical gender segregation that is found in many fields. In order to overcome these problems we have proposed a preventive intervention program based on Rational Emotive Behaviour Therapy principles.

Gender stereotype threat in Academia

A diachronic analysis of the long term effects that discriminations of every kind (ethnic, racial, gender) have had upon the social and economic evolution in different cultures draws our attention on the importance that must be placed on this matter (Miroiu, 2003). In the present paper we have focused exclusively on the gender issue.

In this era of acerb competitiveness the negative consequences of gender stereotypes are difficult to ignore, as they severely affect the professional sphere. Studies conducted in different countries indicate a problematic situation for female working in male dominated environments, especially fields traditionally perceived as suited for man (e.g. Inzlicht, Ben-Zeev, 2003; Steele, 1997; Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, Tamkins, 2004; Brown, Josephs, 1999; Schmitt, Opre, et al 2003). A close look at the academic setting reveals that most chairs/departments are dominated - both numerically as well as in which leading positions are concerned- by men. Women are underrepresented numerically, and their presence in leading positions is insignificant (Opre, 2004). This asymmetry leads to a pressure upon female teaching personnel, expressed in what Steele (1997) labeled as the "stereotype threat" (ST). A stereotype threat is a socio-psychological threat that arises when one is in the situation of doing something for which a negative stereotype about

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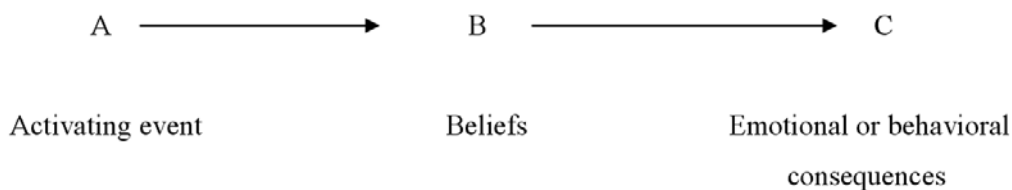
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his/her group applies. This greatly increases the levels of occupational stress and anxiety, which in turn account greatly for decreases in performance (Steele, 1997). The repercussions of this fact are detrimental to women in these departments. Being subjected to increased stress, they have to work harder to achieve the same level of performance as men. This adds up to other pressures they have to deal with, such as family responsibilities or the pressure to conform to an acknowledged "feminine" stereotype in order to be liked (Kierstead & al, 1988). The consequences extend further on, to the young women that are aspirants to an academic career in a domain and that can easily be discouraged, through the lack of successful career role-models (Nauta & al, 1998).

The stereotype threat should be considered with great attention, as the theories imply that it affects precisely the valuable women in a field. These women, who are competent and skilled, are field identified, and thus more determined to be successful and to overcome the stereotype. But this determination to overcome the stereotype often leads to the mere activation of the stereotype. According to Albert Ellis paradigm, the stereotype can be considered a cluster of irrational beliefs that initiate and maintain the high levels of anxiety. Or, it is well known that if a high level of anxiety is present, performance decreases.

So far, solutions to overcome this stereotype threat refer to either changing the environment (Steele, 1997) or conforming to the general stereotypes associated with women (Kierstead, D'Agostino, Dill, 1988) - women in male dominated fields should act as „feminine" as possible (consistent with stereotypes) to avoid social disapproval. We suggest an alternative way. Because it would be both inefficient, and less feasible trying to change the male dominant academic environments, by a direct adjustment of the men / women rapport, we preferred a more realistic strategy. To be more precise, we will try to diminish the effect of stereotype threat by improving cognitive strategies of the women involved in such environments, in order for them to successfully deal with a threatening environment in terms of professional performance. In this sense, we propose an intervention that is preventive in its nature and that aims at the individual level. Emerging from Rational Emotive Behavioral Therapy (REBT) specific strategies were applied in educational environments for changing unacceptable student behavior or reducing teacher stress - Rational Effectiveness Training (RET). Based on the work of Albert Eliss, the director of the Institute for Rational emotive and Behavior Therapy, REBT represents a counseling intervention based on the assumption that the emotional problems come from a dysfunctional thinking style about certain events and not the events them selves. This idea is shown in the ABC model of emotional problems, where A stands for the activating event, B for the beliefs about the event and C, for the emotional or behavioral consequences.



The general impression is that the activating events determine the consequences. Still, the REBT theory states that the beliefs about the activating event have a critical role in determining the consequences. If the beliefs are rational, they lead to moderate emotions that allow people to act constructively and achieve their purposes. Opposed to them, the irrational beliefs lead to dysfunctional emotions such as anger, anxiety or depression, that stops people from achieving their goals. As far as REBT is concerned, in order to be considered rational, one should: a) be pragmatic, b) be logic and c) be in accord with the objective reality. That's to say *rationality* is defined as what helps the individuals achieve their basic goals, is logically not absolute and does not defy the objective reality. On the other hand, *irrationality* refers to what interferes with the achievement of the individuals' goals, is illogical (especially dogmatic and inflexible) and is inconsistent with the objective reality.

The most disturbing irrational beliefs are the ones that include the "must" (with necessity) demand, such as: "I must prove that I am very competent". A great deal of empirical proof support the idea that anxiety is an unhealthy emotion, caused by the persistence of the irrational thoughts (Ellis, 1962, 1976, 1994, 2001; DiGiuseppe, 1996, Dadiu, 2003; Dryden, 2005). Replacing these irrational thoughts with their rational alternatives leads to an anxiety diminish and, implicitly, a development of more adaptive functional behaviors. This theory has been validated by empirical studies and the efficiency of a great number of preventive (REBE - Rational Emotive and Behavioral Education)(see. Opre & David, 2006), therapeutical (REBT - Rational Emotive Behavior Therapy) or optimization interventions (RET - Rational Effectiveness Training). The great advantage of this type of intervention is that it does not require any change in the environment because its focus is on cognitive restructuring. This is precisely what our intervention aims, as it would be a very difficult and ineffective goal to try to significantly change the composition of the academic environment in the near future.

Our proposed support action is designed to be implemented in the academic environment of the Babes Bolyai University (BBU), Cluj-Napoca. This is a statistically proven male-dominated environment (75% men), with most departments consisting of and being conducted by men. Although when entering the college the number of female students is usually higher than that of male students, when it comes to pursuing an academic career in the chosen field, the number of female students is significantly lower than those of men. A preliminary study carried out in the BBU's four departments revealed a higher level of occupational stress (as measured with O.S.I.) in the case of women working in the male-dominated department than for those working in the gender-balanced department.

It is clear that such a gender unbalanced environment is detrimental to its members. First, it is discouraging to a female undergraduate who might be thinking about pursuing a career in the field. Thus, the environment may be preserving itself in some cases, by indirectly discouraging women's participation.

Second, women who already work in the field are under a lot of pressure. The inherent stress of the current job and of, possibly, extra family responsibilities, is doubled by increased self evaluative anxiety. Women in these fields are constantly under the pressure of proving themselves, even long after their career achievements shouldn't be questioned anymore. Even more, empirical studies have shown that, when women in these fields have been acknowledged as successful, they are often perceived as breaking some kind of societal norms and thus, they are "punished". This punishment translates into social difficulties in the working environment, as they are perceived as hostile, cold,

unwilling to socialize with others; in a word they are disliked. This leads to even more difficulties, as the same study shows that liking or disliking a person is a strong bias in the evaluation of those person's performances. Thus, vertical segregation of the male dominated fields is preserved, as it is more and more difficult for women to advance in their career, regardless of their abilities and performances (Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, Tamkins, 2004).

Women and the powerful scientific community

Socio-economical development depends, essentially, on a powerful scientific community. In order to ensure the development of such a community, it is necessary, first of all, to get young people attracted towards a scientific career and to encourage them, by all possible means, to consider choosing such a career. Secondly, it is imperative to ensure some requirements for those already engaged in a scientific career. The scientific environment should, therefore, provide them with the necessary conditions to preserve their enthusiasm and motivation, as well as with the opportunities of personal development and the possibility of reaching the highest level in their field. Thirdly one must accept the fact that a powerful scientific community should be open to all citizens. However, in most countries, including Romania, the scientific community, particularly academic, has remained dominated by men. Despite the fact that the number of women that graduate from an university is significantly higher, and in the last years the tendency is obviously ascendant, in most scientific domains, especially those that envisage research and scientific development, the disparity in the favour of men remains blatant. Women still remain ineffectually represented in domains that have traditionally been dominated by men, such as exact sciences and technological sciences. For example, a statistical analysis carried out in many European states at the end of the 90s revealed the fact that women represent only a percentage of 8-12 % in the technological domain and approximately 20% in the Physics domain of the total number of the teaching personnel (Nauta et al. 1998). Even though we can observe a slight increase in the presence of women in the fields of Biology and Chemistry, other fields such as Physics, Mathematics and the technological sciences prove to be less accessible in this sense.

Another matter at least as important and likely controversial, the aforementioned study shows, is represented by the very reduced presence of women in leading positions of departments or faculties. For instance, in the technological field, the number of women leaders doesn't go over 4 %, and this percentage doesn't exceed 25 % not even when all the academic domains are added up.

The majority of studies that have focused on elucidating the factors that can explain the reduced presence of the women teaching staff in these fields seem to lead to the same conclusion. Consequently, they have proved that, regarding the teaching-research responsibilities and the managerial ones, the main cause behind the reduced presence of women in the aforementioned domains consists of the gender stereotype. The gender stereotype, as we have mentioned above, refers to a set of categorical beliefs regarding the characteristics attributed to a person (man or woman), based on its belonging to one of the two sexes and that later fundamentals the expectancies regarding the abilities of the stereotyped person.

One can invoke of course numerous attempts to reduce the damaging effects of this kind of stereotype on women's professional opportunities. Unfortunately not so many have been successful. In fact, the majority of the situations in which modest or nil

results were obtained converge to the same conclusion: the gender stereotype is the main cause of this discrimination, but its effects are harder to remit. It is still very little about the psycho-social mechanisms that favour the development and sustainability of the stereotypical ideation and even less, the way it influences the behaviour and the performances of those who are the object of stereotypes. One idea clearly resulted from all these studies, specifically, that the negative effects of the stereotypes on the targeted person are dependent on the degree she identifies with her activity field. Thus, the more the person identifies herself with the work field, the more the effects of stereotypes on her professional performances are increasingly destructive (Inzlicht & Benn-Zeev, 2003)

The present project follows the study interest of the elimination or diminishing of the negative consequences of the gender stereotype. Precisely, we aim the development of the academic performances of the female educational professional that are active in departments traditionally dominated (numerically and managerial) by men. The empirical data prove that they tend to have increased levels of anxiety comparing with their male colleagues or with the female professionals active in departments balanced from the point of view of the male/ female number of staff. Supposing that this fact is true, we have enough reasons to believe that this state of facts can affect their academic performance with all its forms. The anxiety can be assigned to the existence of certain clusters of irrational beliefs that women develop in connection with the gender stereotype applied (or implied) by their male colleagues that has been labeled by Steele (1992) as the "stereotype threat". It is our believe that the aim of obtaining the full and equitable participation of women in all the scientific field and at all the academic level will promote the diversity, the progress and the excelency in the science. In case the paradigm we develop in the present paper will confirm its anticipated efficiency, we express the availability to extend its implementation in the Romanian universities at least. Moreover, we can prove that by supporting the gender equality by the present program through increasing women participation to the scientific and technological development, eventually social and economical benefits will be obtained.

Intervention strategy

Our optimization program comprise comprises three intervention strategies: a. psychological - a method to improve the emotional control - RET (a program developed and based on the rational emotive and behavior therapy - REBT); b. pedagogical - programs based on improving the efficient teaching methods; c. programs of professional optimization focused on developing the research and managerial competencies. The results of the program have been already empirically tested through a preliminary pilot study that was conducted by us in two academic departments from Babes Bolyai University.. Now we are going to extend the strategy to all male dominated departments from BBU.

In order to achieve a logical and coherent process, we have set up the following three stages: 1. diagnosis; 2. formative intervention; 3. assessment. These stages include a series of activities, the most relevant presented as it follows:

a. Identification the male-dominated academic departments in the "Babes-Bolyai" University (BBU). Based on criteria established by previous research (Ülkü-Steiner & al, 2000), we defined a domain as being male-dominated when men represent over 70% of the members of the department. A domain would be considered gender-balanced if men

represent between 40% and 60% of its members. Thus, by implementing this first objective we will be able to categorize the departments in the BBU on the basis of gender composition in: a. male-dominated, b. gender-balanced and c. female-dominated.

b. Comparative evaluation of women's academic performance (teaching, research and management) in the male-dominated (target groups) and respectively gender-balanced departments (control group).

Previous studies have shown that women highly qualified in a field tend to under perform in the situation of the domain being identified as "male" (a field that has traditionally been dominated by men) as compared to equally qualified women in domains that have not been traditionally dominated by men. The activation of a negative gender stereotype (illustrated by a perspective like "women are less capable than men in that field"), mediated by the self-evaluated anxiety, has been distinguished as a major cause of these differences in performance. In order to objectively assess the level of the academic performance we will use standardised strategies (Miclea & Opre, 2002), adapted for each academic component. The teaching activity will be assessed by using a student rating form, video records and semi structured interview with the assessed faculty. We must mention here that the student rating form and the faculty staff interviewing protocol are already created, being the result of a previous study carried out by the project coordinating team (Quality and Competitivity of teaching in Higher Education, Opre & Opre, 2005). The research performance will be assessed on the bases of certain objective criteria widely recognised at the national and international such as: the number of publications in relevant scientific journals, the number of research projects (as coordinator, research member), the number of inventions, prizes for the scientific performances. Regarding the managerial component we will consider those dimensions which are viewed, according to the field studies, as being correlated with the leading activities effectiveness: taking risk attitude, the communication skills, sensation seeking need, self-efficacy, task orientated and employees oriented (in hypothetical situations).

c. The comparative evaluation of the anxiety level, specified by the level of occupational stress, at women working in male-dominated and respectively gender-balanced academic departments.

It has been shown by previous studies that women performing in a male-environment or in a traditionally "male" field experience a higher level of anxiety and stress than do their counterparts in gender-balanced environments (Ülkü-Steiner & al, 2000). The stereotype threat approach (Steele, 1997), which is to this date one of the most influential empirically tested paradigm in gender research, attributes this anxiety to the activation of a negative gender stereotype. Women are thus submitted to a double pressure: that of performing well on tasks (common to women and men) and that of facing the burden of a negative stereotype, the pressure of the desire and responsibility to disconfirm the stereotype with which they feel they have been labeled (Inzlicht & Ben-Zeev, 2003).

d. The identification of present or implied gender stereotypes irrational believes.

Within a male dominated environment there is a high probability for men to develop a stereotype cognition about their female colleagues. Particularly, in the university setting, the female faculty may develop irrational believes such as: "I must prove them that I am very competitive", "It is awful and unbearable that they view me as less competent than them", "I must obtain only high scores at students ratings of instruction", "I must prove that I am a good leader too". This set of irrational believes will be diagnosed by using the Attitudes and Irrational Believes Scale ABS II (DiGiuseppe, 1996), that has

been translated and adapted on the Romanian population (Macavei, 2002). Moreover, in order to identify the irrational implicit cognition, we will use an indirect task, namely, the Implicit Associations Test (IAT) (Greenwald, Banaji, 1995.).

e. Implementation of RET intervention program.

Once identified, the irrational beliefs will be the object of a REBT type intervention, aiming at replacing them with their rational counterparts. The previous results proved that through these interventions people can deal with their unhealthy/dysfunctional negative emotions (anxiety, for example) and to experience healthy negative emotions (for example, concern). The functional negative emotion does not interfere with the task the subject must accomplish, on the contrary, it may have a positive effect on performance. Thus, RET may be considered an efficient method for the remission of male dominated university environments women's anxiety.

f. Improvement of the teaching competencies.

By reducing the female faculty level of anxiety we will create the premises of an efficient intervention aiming at the improvement of instruction. Traditionally, the teaching improvement programmes focus exclusively on increasing the general pedagogical knowledge. In our paradigm, the novelty at this level consists on the fact that the identification, analysis and restructuring of their personal theories about teaching, as well as the training of the teaching staff on using efficient teaching strategies, will be prefaced by the decreasing of the anxiety level through REBT type techniques. The implementation of intervention will be made, as stated before, in an individualized manner, taking into account the specific and severity of the identified deficiencies.

g. Improvement of the research abilities.

The research abilities targeted to be developed in this project are the ability to conduct a scientific study, the ability to present and publish the results of a research, the ability to design and coordinate a scientific project. The manner we consider for improving these competencies consists in organising workshops with an average length of 20 hours. The workshops will be conducted by members of the project team with training abilities and specific field expertise.

h. Improvement of the managerial competencies.

The third category of academic competences representing the object of our intervention is the managerial competencies. The managerial competencies development programme will focus on the following dimensions: time management, responsibility delegation strategies, communication abilities optimisation (assertiveness training), and subordinates motivational techniques.

i. Evaluation of the intervention effectiveness.

This would be accomplished by repeating the diagnosis steps listed on the first stage. We will evaluate through certain specific indicators the changes occurred in academic performance, as well as at the level of anxiety. The evolution of these indicators will be monitored on a 4 year period from the end of the intervention through follow-ups.

Potential impact

At a proximal level, our intervention is intended to significantly decrease the anxiety levels of women in the male dominated academic departments. On the long run, the intervention will replace the irrational beliefs that define the stereotype with rational ones,

thus ensuring a low level of anxiety, and less anxiety will result in better performance. Thus, female teachers will be better role models for female students, who will notice the possibility of succeeding in a field traditionally dominated by men. In time, this will lead to a constant increase in the number of women working in the field, so the environment will be different in its structure and will ensure gender equality in the field.

Moreover our program might impact upon the research area. Applying RET in the reduction of the stereotype-generated anxiety might lead to a development of RET. Even more, the project may generate some insight concerning the possibility of using RET in order to remit other kind of stereotypes (in general, not just gender stereotypes).

Should other Universities be interested in implementing this program, we will be open for a future collaboration with the institution. Further, our project might generate hypotheses for other researchers in the field of stereotypes and stereotype impact on evaluation, judgment etc.

We intend to raise the public awareness on the issue of gender stereotypes and their detrimental effects through advertising our project and its results (posters, handouts etc.). Many studies show that parents' stereotypes affect their children's choice of both line of study and career; therefore, the beneficial effects of changing gender stereotypes, on the long run, become clear.

The policy makers in the area will be informed on both the results of the program and on our availability to collaborate in order to implement the results in other fields of activity.

In order to disseminate these results on a larger scale, we intend to elaborate a manual presenting the program and its results; also, a web site will be set up where extensive information will be available both for members of the scientific and academic community, and members of the large public who are interested in the issue. Efforts will be made to distribute the manual throughout the academic environment and beyond it, to other areas where this information might be of interest. High school teenagers could benefit largely from such knowledge in their decision making concerning a career and line of study. The web site address will be made popular through multiple means (the manual, periodicals running in the universities and high schools etc.).

The problems identified in the "Babes-Bolyai" University are not unique; on the contrary, in numerous studies, very similar issues have been reported throughout Europe and beyond. Should this intervention be extended at a European level there would be only benefits to be gained from it. The issue of stereotype threat is common in such environments and this is rarely acknowledged. The anxiety that arises in such circumstances is due to the way the environment is perceived, therefore it cannot be solved through a direct intervention. We cannot simply decide to hire and promote, in a short time, a number of women large enough to eliminate both horizontal and vertical segregation. We cannot give up standards of quality, expertise and skills for the mere sake of gender numerical equality in all fields. Gender equality means that both women and men should have the same opportunities to choose a career and to be promoted in that career on the sole basis of competence, regardless of gender. Our proposal suggests a more realistic intervention. We aim at changing the environment, but not directly and swiftly. The environment consists of people, so we will change the individuals' cognitions (ideas) and, in time, the environment will change, too.

On the long run, implementing such a program in many different areas could contribute significantly to achieving a larger objective: ensuring gender equality in research and technological areas.

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Percepția discriminării
de gen la nivelul populației
educate tinere din România
- o abordare cantitativă

The Perception of
Gender Discrimination at
the Level of Young
Educated Romanians - A
Quantitative Approach

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gender discrimination, feminism,
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sample, ASE students

Abstract

Gender discrimination is a reality affecting an important part of the socio-economic life. The study aims to examine, by using quantitative techniques, the main tendencies in the Romanian society regarding gender discrimination, as perceived by the young, educated population. In order to meet the objectives of the study, a cluster sampling was performed among the Romanian students. The results from the statistical sampling were compared to national data from several studies made by national and international organizations. In the final part of the study, the findings of sampling research are validated by a logit model. The model is presenting the main factors that are generating gender discrimination, as well as the most important variables through-out which discrimination is perceived in Romania.

1. Introducere

Diferențele dintre bărbați și femei, sub diferitele sale aspecte, reprezintă o problemă mereu actuală. Literatura de specialitate a căutat să analizeze modalitatea în care se distribuie puterea între bărbați și femei în funcție de vârstă, orientare sexuală, etnie sau alte variabile (vezi H.L Moore), să explice sau să înțeleagă rolul diversității culturale (U Hannerz 1992, M Gullestad, 1991) sau interdependențele dintre reprezentările culturale și politic (C West, 1994; S. Hall, 1997). În anul 1792 Mary Wollstonecraft a publicat prima lucrare în care se cere apărarea drepturilor femeii în societate. Lucrarea este un adevărat program de apărare a drepturilor femeii ce consideră că, acestea sunt "un agent al schimbării" la nivelul întregii societăți. Studii privind statutul femeii în țările în curs de dezvoltare au fost realizate sau sprijinite de Amartya Sen, laureat al premiului Nobel în economie în anul 1998.

Feminismul ca și concept caută să explice și să aducă în conștiința publică relevanța diferenței de gen, și/ sau a diferenței de sex dintre femei și bărbați (M Magyary-Vincze, 2002).

Teoria feminista a cunoscut o serie de etape de dezvoltare, de la paradigma egalității (ce urmărește, în principal, să elimine dezavantajele femeii) la cea a diferenței sexuale (ce subliniază necesitatea înlocuirii unui sistem care favorizează, prin natura sa, valorile masculine) și, respectiv, paradigma deconstrucției, care urmărește să creeze un echilibru între primele două abordări. Această paradigmă recunoaște diferențele între bărbați și femei dar accentuează necesitatea asigurării șanselor egale de afirmare a femeilor în societate (vezi J. W. Scott, 1990, H Moore, 1988).

Dincolo de abordările teoretice, discriminarea între sexe există în diverse planuri și situații la nivel global. Spre exemplu, conform statisticilor Națiunilor Unite, în țările mai puțin dezvoltate, două treimi din totalul analfabeților sunt femei. Mai mult, violența îndreptată împotriva femeilor este o realitate universală, la nivel mondial, o treime dintre femei sau fete fiind bătute sau abuzate sexual pe parcursul existenței lor.

Discriminarea sexuală este departe de a fi eradicată chiar și în țările dezvoltate. Chiar și la nivelul instituțiilor Comisiei Europene, spre exemplu, ideea egalității de șanse între cei 27.000 de bărbați și femei angajați este serios neglijată în aproape jumătate din direcțiile și departamentele aparatului administrativ de la Bruxelles. Conform unui studiu publicat pe portalul Eupolitix.com, rădăcinile acestei situații s-ar găsi în "cultura muncii prelungite". Bărbații, pentru care activitățile casnice sunt mai puțin presante, își pot dedica mai mult timp orelor peste program sau ședințelor prelungite, ceea ce ar explica favorizarea lor în funcții de conducere.

În ceea ce privește România, în anul 2002 a fost promulgată Legea nr. 202/2002 privind egalitatea de șanse între femei și bărbați ce urmărește să reglementeze egalitatea de șanse între cele două categorii de persoane. Prin acest act normativ se urmărește sancționarea discriminării, indiferent de forma și locul unde aceasta are loc, în domeniul muncii, educației, informării, participării la decizie, culturii etc.

Legea definește discriminarea sexuală și face diferențierea între aceasta și hărțuirea sexuală. Prin discriminare se înțelege tratarea unei persoane mai puțin favorabil decât o altă persoană, această discriminare putând fi directă, când tratamentul defavorabil se îndreaptă direct împotriva unei anumite persoane, pe motive de sex, graviditate, naștere etc sau indirectă, când tratamentul defavorabil este îndreptat împotriva unui grup de persoane de un anumit sex.

Deși legea există din 2002, până în prezent nu s-a înregistrat nici un caz de discriminare sexuală care să fi ajuns în justiție. Cu toate acestea, un recent Barometru de Gen a relevat faptul că un procent de 6% din persoanele investigate au trecut sau care cunosc persoane care au trecut prin astfel de situații de discriminare sexuală. Prin urmare există o lipsă de acțiune a persoanelor afectate, consecință lipsei de educație și de informare a femeilor asupra posibilităților de apărare împotriva acestui gen de discriminare.

Studiul își propune să urmărească pe baza unor instrumente cantitative care sunt opiniile și tendințele la nivelul societății românești în probleme de discriminare între cele două categorii de persoane, calitatea comunicării între diverse grupuri de persoane, percepția cauzelor care generează discriminarea și care sunt variabilele principale prin care se percepe discriminarea între cele două sexe. În egală măsură în cadrul studiului organizat la nivelul ASE București au fost culese o serie de informații legate de religia persoanei, venituri sau alte caracteristici sociale ce pot explica o serie de comportamente ale populației în direcția apariției și perpetuării discriminării între cele două categorii de persoane. A fost aleasă această instituție de învățământ superior pentru desfășurarea fazei pilot a acestei cercetări întrucât prin numărul de studenți (peste 50 mii de studenți la cursurile de zi și învățământ

la distanță) și prin tradiția acesteia în învățământul superior este o universitate reprezentativă. În perioada imediat următoare se dorește aplicarea acestei analize pe baza unui sondaj reprezentativ la nivelul tuturor institutelor de învățământ superior din România.

2. Metodologia și sursele de date

Informațiile statistice la care se va face referire în continuare au fost culese din următoarele surse: i) o cercetare statistică selectivă (anchetă) efectuată în rândul studenților Academiei de Studii Economice București (ASE) în perioada aprilie-mai 2006, focalizată pe studiul percepției populației tinere educate asupra problemelor de gen. Sondajul statistic a fost unul de tip cluster, eroarea calculată fiind de 1,7%, iar volumul eșantionului de 397 studenți; ii) informații statistice oficiale publicate de Institutul National de Statistica (INS) (anuale statistice, recensăminte, anchete etc.); iii) cercetări proprii efectuate pe site-urile oficiale ale Camerei Deputaților, Senatului (www.cdep.ro, www.senat.ro) și ale Consiliilor Județene din România; v) rezultatele cercetărilor organizate de Fundația pentru o Societate Deschisă (OSF) bianual publicate sub forma Barometrelor de Opinie Publică (BOP).

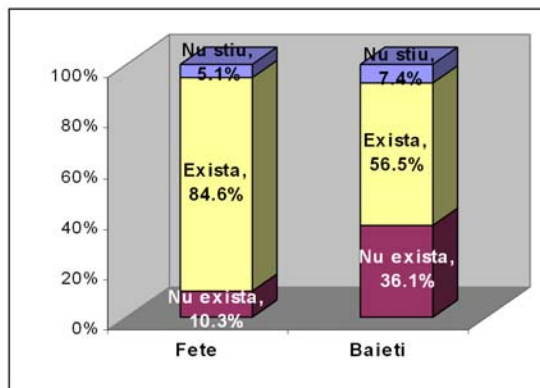


Figura 1. Percepția studenților ASE relativ la existența discriminării de gen

Sursa de date: cercetarea selectivă proprie în rândul studenților ASE

3. Percepția tinerilor relativ la discriminarea de gen și contextul național - o privire comparativă

Existența unei discriminări de gen în România nu este o noutate acestea regăsindu-se în domenii și contexte foarte variate - de la declarații de nivel suburban ale unor personaje politice importante¹ până la o percepție resimțită de noi toți relativ la atitudinea sau starea de fapt diferită în ceea ce privește genul în diverse domenii (educațional, politic, economic etc).

Ancheta efectuată în rândul tinerilor care studiază la ASE subliniază percepția tinerilor cu privire la existența discriminării între bărbați și femei în România. Astfel, aproape 85% dintre respondente și peste 56% dintre respondenți au considerat că, există discriminare de gen în țara noastră. O ilustrare grafică poate fi urmărită în figura 1.

Principala cauză a acestei discriminări o reprezintă ideile preconcepute cu privire la diferențele de gen existente în

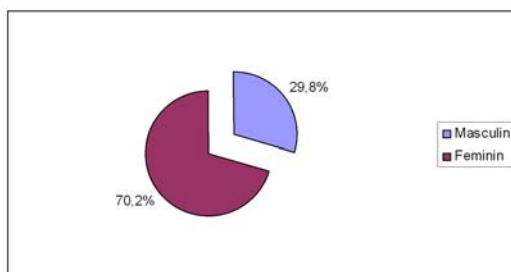


Figura 2. Populația de 10 ani și peste analfabetă

Sursa de date: INS, 2004 - Recensământul populației și locuințelor

societatea românească (78% dintre respondente și 49% dintre respondenți). La mare distanță, se situează opinia (împartășită de 17% dintre respondente și 12% dintre respondenți) conform căreia femeile alocă prea mult timp activităților gospodărești; urmată de asumția (agreată de 12% dintre respondenți și 7% dintre respondente) că, prin natura lor, femeile nu pot fi egale cu bărbații. Totodată, aproape 9% dintre respondente au apreciat și faptul că femeile nu se implică suficient de mult în cariera profesională.

Gen Naționalitate	Masculin	Feminin	Total
Români	1,2%	3,1%	2,1%
Maghiari	1,2%	1,5%	1,4%
Rromi	20,6%	30,8%	25,6%
Ucraineni	3,2%	8,2%	5,7%
Germani	0,8%	0,9%	0,9%
Ruși	1,9%	7,1%	4,7%
Turci	18,0%	30,1%	23,7%
Tătari	1,4%	3,2%	2,3%
Sârbi	0,9%	2,0%	1,5%
Slovaci	1,1%	3,0%	2,1%
Altele	0,7%	1,8%	1,2%
Total	1,6%	3,6%	2,6%

Tabel 1. Rata analfabetismului pe sexe și naționalități
Sursa de date: INS, 2004 - Recensământul populației și locuințelor

studiilor universitare pentru bărbați decât pentru femei, 80% dintre respondenți își exprimau dezacordul față de această aserțiune.

De ce această percepție? Nu putem decât să intuim. Una dintre posibilele cauze ar putea fi dezvăluită de situația analfabetismului în cadrul populației de 10 ani și peste existentă în România la ultimul recensământ, prezentată în figura de mai jos. Deși deținea o pondere de 51,5% din totalul populației de 10 ani și peste, populația feminină avea un segment cu aproape 20% mai mare din numărul de analfabeți.

Mult mai interesantă este analiza în cazul ratei analfabetismului pe sexe și pe naționalități. O scurtă statistică descriptivă în acest sens este prezentată în tabelul 1.

Datele sunt așa de grăitoare încât comentariile aproape sunt de prisos. De remarcat însă faptul că în cazul minorității maghiare și germane discriminarea de gen aproape nu există. Îngrijorătoare sunt treimile din populația rromă și turcă feminină ce nu sunt știutoare de carte.

Relativ la importanța diferită a studiilor universitare pentru băieți și pentru fete faptul că 80% dintre persoanele intervievate la ultimul BOP efectuat de OSF și-au exprimat dezacordul este ilustrat și de ponderea studentelor de sex feminin care se situează la un nivel de aproxi-

Rezultatele anchetei sunt similare datelor publicate la nivel național, de către OSF în BOP din noiembrie 2005. Astfel 50% dintre cei intervievați (față de 40% care erau în dezacord) considerau ca în general bărbații sunt mai buni lideri politici decât femeile. În ceea ce privește aptitudinile bărbaților și a femeilor de a conduce afacerile, părerile erau împărțite în mod egal. Două treimi dintre răspunsurile valide erau în dezacord cu afirmația conform căreia o soție care nu lucrează este tot atât de realizată ca și una care are o slujbă plătită. Relativ la importanța mai mare a

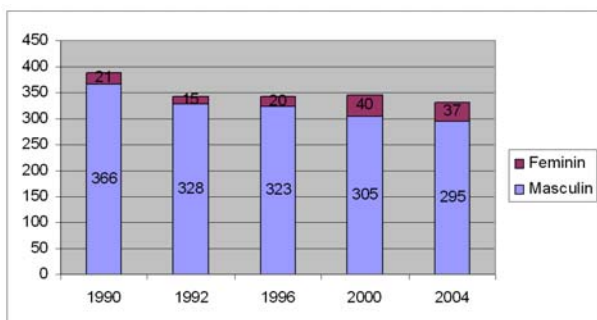


Figura 3. Evoluția și structura pe genuri a membrilor Camerei Deputaților

Sursa de date: Prelucrări proprii după datele preluate de la www.cdep.ro

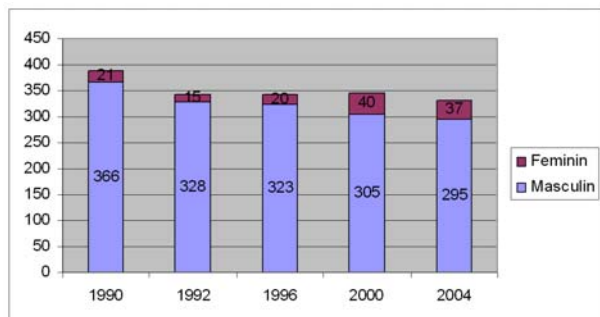


Figura 4. Evoluția și structura pe genuri a membrilor Senatului

Sursa de date: Prelucrări proprii după datele preluate de la www.senat.ro

- în opinia respondenților femeile sunt deajavantajate net în raport cu bărbații, în principal, în domeniul politic (87,6 % din respondenți consideră că bărbații sunt avantajati, în timp ce numai 1,5% au opinia că femeile sunt avantajate) și în domeniul afacerilor (71,3%, consideră că bărbații sunt avantajati, în timp ce numai 2,8% au opinia unui avantaj al femeilor; 22,3% consideră că șansele sunt egale);

- în domeniul cultural cei mai mulți au considerat că între cele două sexe există egalitate de șanse (61,7% dintre răspunsuri); mai mult, răspunsurile care consideră că femeile sunt

mativ 53%² superior, evident, studenților de sex masculin ce dețin 47%. Această diferență va duce pe termen mediu la echilibrarea și chiar inversarea ponderii superioare (53,5%) pe care persoanele de sex masculin o dețin în ceea ce privește nivelul studiilor pentru populația de 10 ani și peste.

Următoarea secțiune din ancheta noastră în rândul studenților ASE a vizat percepția asupra egalității șanselor în câteva domenii. Rezultatele sunt următoarele:

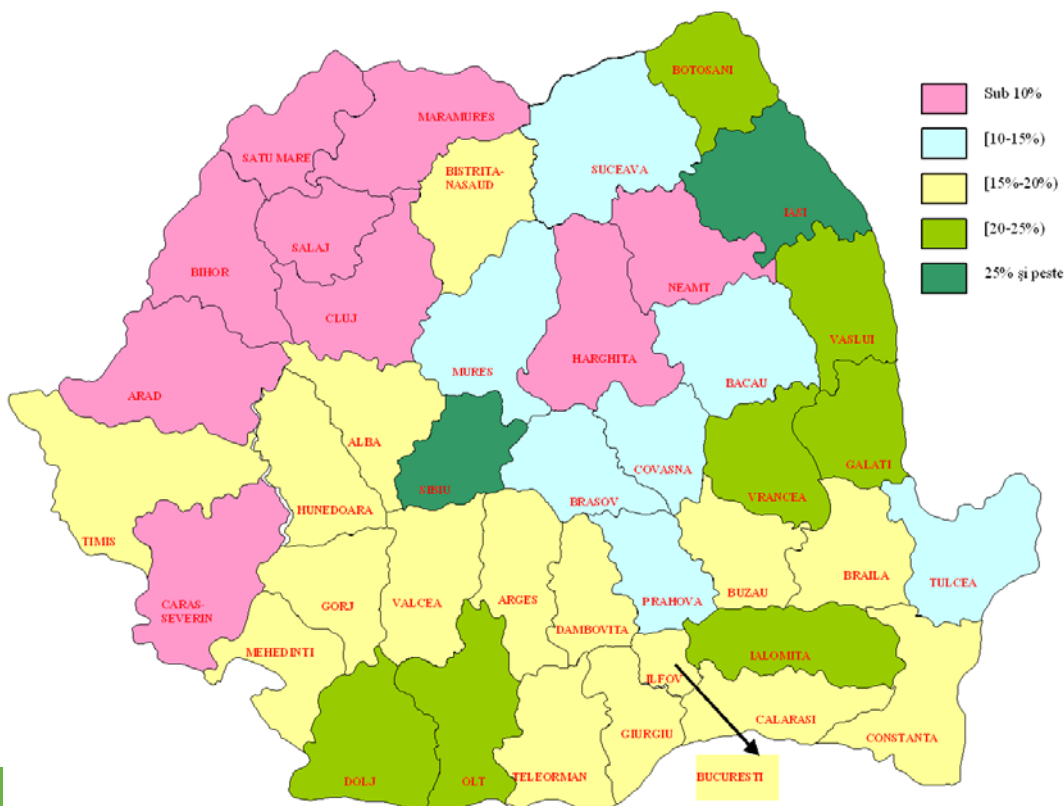


Figura 5. Distribuția județelor în funcție de ponderile deținute de consilierii județeni de sex feminin

Sursa de date: Cercetări proprii efectuate de autori pe site-urile oficiale ale Consiliilor Județene

avantajate (22,6%) sunt aproape triplul celor care înclină spre un avantaj al bărbaților (8,4%);
- în găsirea unui loc de muncă răspunsurile sunt relativ simetrice; mai mult, peste jumătate consideră că șansele sunt egale; un aspect interesant este dat de faptul că, din-

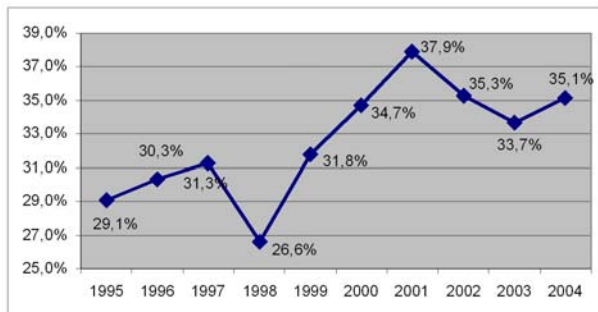


Figura 6. Ponderea întreprinderilor noi active având ca fondator/ administrator femei

Sursa de date: INS, Intreprinderi noi și profilul întreprinzătorilor 1996-2005

tre cei care consideră că nu ar fi egalitate de șanse, cea mai mare pondere o dețin fetele care consideră că bărbații sunt avantajați în găsirea unui loc de muncă și invers: cea mai mare parte a băieților consideră că femeile ar fi avantajate.

- o altă percepție a studenților ASE este aceea că în societate în general există șanse egale între cele două categorii de persoane, cu un ușor avantaj în favoarea bărbaților.

Răspunsurile studenților la această secțiune recomandă schim-

bări majore în domeniul vieții politice și a afacerilor unde femeile sunt net deavantajate. Relativ la mediul politic percepția tinerilor studenți din ASE reflectă fidel starea de fapt din țara noastră. Exemplificăm prin două situații.

În primul rând la nivelul politicii de vârf - în parlament. Conform unui mini-studiu realizat de unul dintre membrii actualei echipe³, 73% dintre tinerii parlamentari⁴ sunt de sex masculin. Dacă ne raportăm doar distribuția pe sexe a parlamentarilor, istoric situația

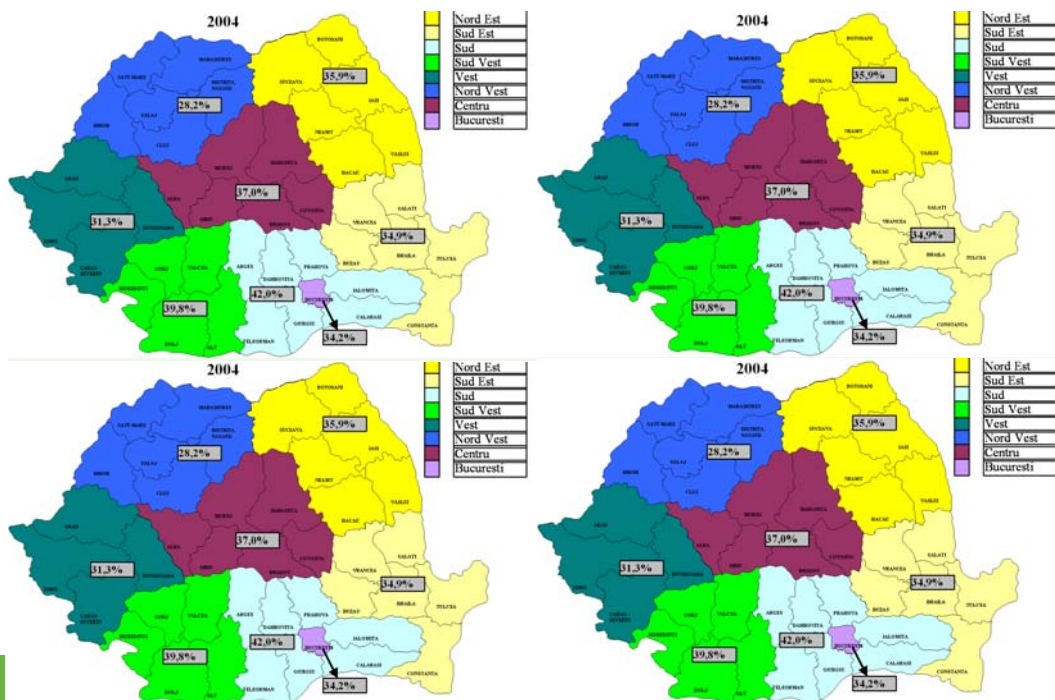


Figura 7. Ponderea întreprinderilor active nou create având ca manager/ fondator persoane de sex feminin 2001-2004

Sursa de date: INS, Intreprinderi noi și profilul întreprinzătorilor 2002-2005

este cea prezentată în figurile 3 și 4.

Ponderile membrilor Camerei Deputaților de sex feminin sunt mult mai mici atunci când eliminăm criteriul vârstă. Dacă printre tineri ponderea, pentru ultima legislatură este în jur de 25%, la nivel general ponderea - pentru ultimele două legislaturi - nu depășește 15% cu valori mult inferioare pentru legislaturile precedente.

Situația este absolut similară și în ceea ce privește membrii camerei superioare a Parlamentului. Am putea spune chiar că ponderea senatoarelor în ultimele două legislaturi a crescut de mai mult de patru ori - doar că s-a pornit de la un nivel atât de scăzut încât ar mai fi nevoie de o împărțire a proporției pentru a ajunge măcar la o cotă 60% masculin la 40% feminin. Chiar dacă există o discrepanță mare de reprezentare între persoanele de cele două sexe la nivelul Parlamentului, totuși evoluția în timp a numărului persoanelor feminine la acest nivel ne arată un trend pozitiv de reprezentare a femeilor la acest nivel și, implicit, - pe termen lung dacă acest trend s-ar menține sau accelera - de eliminare a discriminării de gen în politica românească.

O explicație pentru aceste ponderi profund discriminatorii reiese din rezultatele BOP din mai 2004 și octombrie 2004. Astfel în cercetarea din mai 40% dintre respondenți au declarat că ei nu ar vota o femeie pentru funcția de președinte al țării și 26% au declarat că nu ar vota o femeie pentru funcția de primar. În cercetarea din octombrie la o întrebare relativ la calitățile pe care ar trebui să le aibă președintele țării pe o scală de la 1 la 13 (1 semnificând cel mai important aspect și 13 cel mai puțin important) pe

locul 10 cu o medie de 7,6 (deci aproape de mijloc) apare caracteristica "să fie bărbat". Pe cale de consecință partidele au alocat locuri eligibile mult mai puține pe listele electorale pentru candidate în contrast cu locurile alocate candidaților. și la nivelul respondenților din ASE întrebarea privind posibilitatea ca președintele țării să fie o femeie într-un orizont mediu de timp a condus la răspunsuri după cum urmează: categoric negative (în proporție de 24,5% dintre respondenții de sex feminin și 38% dintre cei de sex masculin), negative (în proporție de 45,6% dintre

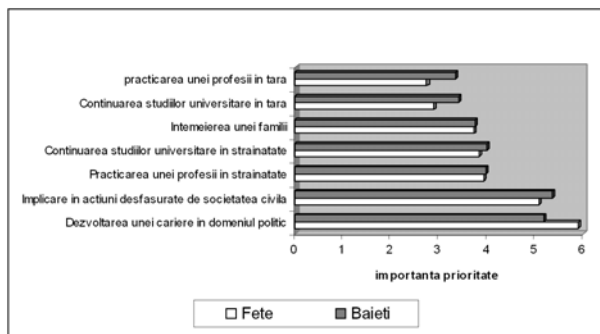


Figura 8. Ierarhizarea priorităților pe termen mediu (5-10 ani)

Sursa de date: Calcule proprii efectuate de autori pe baza rezultatelor anchetei în rândul studenților ASE

respondenții de sex feminin și 41,7% dintre cei de sex masculin), pozitive (26% dintre respondenții de sex feminin și 18,5% dintre cei de sex masculin), categoric pozitive (2,9% dintre respondenții de sex feminin și 1,9% dintre cei de sex masculin) în timp ce 0,7% dintre respondenții de sex feminin au preferat să nu răspundă.

În al doilea rând, în cazul consilierilor județeni - după cum putem vizualiza din figura 4 - situația nu este cu mult diferită. Cele mai mari ponderi ale consilierilor județeni de sex feminin se înregistrează în județele Iași și Sibiu (aproximativ 27%) în restul cazurilor situația prezintă valori mult mai mici. Se constată de asemenea că în județele din nord-vestul țării situația este cea mai dramatică (valorile minime - în jur de 3% - se înregistrează în județele Sălaj și Caraș Severin) și că cele din extremitatea nord-estică stau

ceva mai bine.

În ceea ce privește mediul de afaceri prezentăm câteva informații statistice culese de INS. Astfel, evoluția numărului întreprinderilor noi active⁵ fondate sau administrate de persoane de sex feminin este prezentată în figura 6.

Deși trendul este crescător nu avem de-a face cu o creștere constantă. Ceva mai mult de o treime din totalul firmelor nou înființate active au avut ca fondatori, în ultimii 4-5 ani, o persoană de sex feminin. Este mult? Este puțin? Greu de spus. Ponderea populației feminine în total populație este în jurul valorii de 51%. O distribuție independentă ar trebui să conducă la aceleași proporții și printre fondatorii/ administratorii de firme. Se pare că spiritul antreprenorial nu este un fenomen care să fie independent de gen. Poate pentru a putea trage câteva concluzii mai pertinente ar trebui realizate ceva comparații internaționale. O altă fațetă a aceluiaș fenomen devine demnă de remarcat. Astfel în topul 50 de femei de succes publicat în 2004 de revista Capital doar 25 aveau propria afacere restul activând în media, în zona artistică sau în politică. De remarcat ca 5 dintre cele 25 de întreprinzătoare sunt, în fapt, soții de mari întreprinzători.

Relativ la existența sau inexistența unor deosebiri regionale în ceea ce privește ponderea întreprinderilor noi active având ca fondator sau administrator o persoană de sex feminin, din figura 7 putem remarca mai degrabă lipsa unui tipar în ceea ce privește deosebiri constante regionale. Constatăm că în fiecare regiune apar în ultimii patru ani analizați valori suficient de eterogene pentru a nu putea trage o concluzie clară în acest sens.

Un alt aspect demn de semnalat este cel legat de prioritățile respondenților pe termen mediu (5-10 ani). Pe o scală de la 1 (foarte important) la 7 (deloc important) informația este cea prezentată în figura 8

Discrepanțele mai mari apar în ceea ce privește practicarea unei profesii în țară sau continuarea studiilor universitare în țară (cu o prioritate ceva mai mare pentru baieti) și dezvoltarea unei cariere în domeniul politic (cu o prioritate mai mare pentru fete). Cele mai importante priorități pentru ambele sexe par a fi implicarea în acțiuni ale societății civile și dezvoltarea unei cariere în domeniul politic.

4. Modelul logit utilizat în analiza discriminării dintre bărbați și femei

Prin intermediul modelului logit⁶ vom determina factorii importanți ce generează discriminare între cele două categorii de persoane. În cadrul modelului se definesc două categorii de variabile: variabila dependentă a modelului - ce cuantifică existența discriminării dintre bărbați și femei și variabilele independente ce cuantifică eventualele cauze ale acestui fenomen.

Variabila dependentă a modelului este variabila ce cuantifică discriminarea de gen: "*Discriminare între bărbați și femei în România*" (D). Informațiile sunt înregistrate pe baza răspunsurilor la întrebarea "*În viziunea dumneavoastră există discriminare între bărbați și femei în România?*". Întrucât variabila dependentă a modelului logit este una binară, iar variabila inițială este una cu trei valori, răspunsurile de tipul "*Nu știu*", care au reprezentat 5,6% din numărul total de răspunsuri, au fost înglobate în categoria celor care au apreciat că nu există discriminare între bărbați și femei. În aceste condiții, unui răspuns "*Da*" la aceasta întrebare i s-a alocat valoarea 1 (76,6% din numărul total de persoane interviuate), iar pentru un răspuns "*Nu*" valoarea 0 (23,6%).

Variabilele independente sunt: sexul persoanei, egalitatea de șanse între bărbați și

femei împreună cu calitatea relațiilor la nivelul grupului. Ultimele două variabile sunt derivate din alte variabile ce au fost definite pe baza întrebărilor din chestionar. Maniera de definire și caracteristicile acestora se prezintă în cele ce urmează.

A. Pentru variabila "*În ce măsură sunt egale șansele între femei și bărbați*" (SES). Pentru definirea scalei de măsură a egalității între femei și bărbați au fost luate în considerare șase caracteristici importante: găsirea unui loc de munca (SEM), remunerarea muncii (SRM), egalitatea între persoanele de cele două sexe în domeniul afacerilor (SDA), în domeniul politic (SDP), în domeniul cultural (SDC) și în societate în general (SSG). Pentru cele șase caracteristici primare au fost definite scale de măsură cu patru valori: femeile sunt avantajate, șansele sunt egale, bărbații sunt avantajați și nu știu. Ponderea răspunsurilor "*Nu știu*" a variat între 1,8% pentru răspunsurile privitoare la egalitatea între bărbați și femei în domeniul politic și 11,2% pentru răspunsurile la întrebarea referitoare la egalitatea în remunerarea muncii.

Media fiecărei variabile, precum și matricea de corelație întocmită în cazul acestor variabile se prezintă mai jos:

	SEM	SRM	SDA	SSG	SDP	SDC	Media variabilei
	Matricea de corelație						
SEM	1,000	0,279(**)	0,422(**)	0,228(**)	0,230(**)	0,238(**)	-0,05
SRM		1,000	0,557(**)	0,362(**)	0,278(**)	0,328(**)	0,35
SDA			1,000	0,472(**)	0,281(**)	0,446(**)	0,71
SSG				1,000	0,356(**)	0,473(**)	0,15
SDP					1,000	0,255(**)	0,90
SDC						1,000	-0,15

Tabelul 2. Matricea de corelație

** difera semnificativ de zero pentru un prag de semnificatie de 0,01
 Sursa de date: Calcule proprii efectuate de autori pe baza rezultatelor anchetei în rândul studenților ASE

Variabila derivată se definește ca medie aritmetică a celor șase variabile inițiale:
 Pe o scală de la -1 (femeile sunt avantajate) la 1 (bărbații sunt avantajați) valoarea medie a caracteristicii derivate este 0,40, iar eroarea standard este 0,307.

B. Variabila "*Calitatea relațiilor cu colegii/colegele, profesorii și familia*" (CR), este o caracteristică derivată ce este definită pe baza a patru categorii de relații: cu colegii (RC1), cu colegele (RC2), cu profesorii (RP) și familia (RF). Valorile acestei caracteristici se calculează ca medie aritmetică simplă a celor patru variabile primare ce definesc calitatea celor patru tipuri de relații:

Pe o scală de măsură cu valori cuprinse între 1 (lasă de dorit) și 5 (excelentă) media variabilei derivate este 3,9 iar abaterea standard este de 0,590. Valoarea mediei acestei caracteristici arată o calitate bună a relațiilor dintre persoane.

Pe baza variabilelor mai sus prezentate s-a definit un model logit. Estimațiile pentru modelul logit și caracteristicile acestuia sunt prezentate în tabelul 3.

Modelul logit, în acest caz, se definește prin relația de mai jos:

Pe baza rezultatelor obținute se formulează următoarele comentarii:

- Probabilitatea de a considera că la nivelul societății românești există discriminare între bărbați și femei este influențată de următoarele variabile: i) sexul persoanei care a răspuns la întrebările din chestionar. Astfel, percepția discriminării este mai mică în cazul bărbaților și mai mare în cazul femeilor; ii) calitatea relațiilor dintre persoane, apreciată ca fiind între acceptabil și bună, determină o reducere a probabilității de a considera că

Variabila	Codul	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
A. Sexul persoanei	(<i>x</i> ₁)	-0,963	0,215	20,03	0,000	0,382
B. În ce măsură sunt egale șansele între femei și bărbați	(<i>x</i> ₂)	0,698	0,312	4,992	0,025	2,009
C. Calitatea relațiilor cu colegii/colegele, profesorii și familia	(<i>x</i> ₃)	-0,530	0,227	5,474	0,019	0,588
D. Constantă	C	3,353	0,936	12,842	0,000	28,602

Tabelul 3. Modelul logit - rezultate și detalii tehnice
 Sursa de date: Calcule proprii efectuate de autori pe baza rezultatelor anchetei în rândul stu-
 denților ASE

la nivelul societății există discriminare de gen; iii) variabila ce cuantifică poziția per-
 soanelor de sex masculin și feminin în raport cu găsirea unui loc de muncă, salarizarea,
 poziția în afaceri, politică, societate în general și în cel cultural arată o influență pozitivă
 în evaluarea probabilității de a da un răspuns afirmativ că există discriminare în societatea

$$SES = (SEM + SRM + SDA + SSG + SDC + SDP) / 6$$

românească între bărbați și femei.
 - În cadrul modelului logit au mai fost incluse inițial și alte variabile, precum reli-
 gia persoanei, în ce măsură cheltuielile lunare sunt acoperite din venituri proprii precum

$$CR = (RC1 + RC2 + RP + RF) / 4$$

și tipul locuinței din timpul studiilor (în aceasta situație s-au avut în vedere următoarele
 situații: împreună cu părinții, la un cămin studentesc, într-o locuință închiriată, într-o
 locuință proprie separat de părinți. Pentru aceste modele formulăm următoarele obser-
 vații: i) în cadrul modelului în care s-a introdus religia persoanei valoarea coeficientului

$$P(D = 1) = \frac{\exp(3,353-0,963x_1 + 0,698x_2 -0,530x_3)}{1 + \exp(3,353-0,963x_1 + 0,698x_2 -0,530x_3)}$$

acestei variabile este egal cu 0,044, iar pragul de semnificație este de 0,732. În concluzie
 această variabila nu are o influență semnificativă în formularea opiniei dacă la nivelul
 societății există discriminare între sexe; ii) în cazul în care la modelul inițial cu trei vari-
 abile s-au adăugat alte trei s-au obtinut rezultate care nu pot fi validate. Astfel noul

$$\ln \frac{P(D = 1)}{1 - P(D = 1)} = 3,204-0,985 x_1 + 0,706 x_2 -0,517 x_3 +0,051 x_4 +0,098 x_5 -0,060 x_6$$

(0,000)
(0,025)
(0,024)
(0,695)
(0,403)
(0,606)

model, definit pe baza a șase variabile, se prezintă după cum urmează:
 În fiecare paranteză este trecut pragul de semnificație pentru fiecare estimator.
 Valorile înregistrate pentru cele trei variabile nou introduse în cadrul modelului logit arată
 că acestea nu au o influență semnificativă în formularea punctului de vedere privind dis-
 criminarea între cele două sexe la nivelul societății românești.

Concluzii

Fără a putea avea pretenția de a epuiza problematica complexă a discriminării de gen, am încercat în prezentul material să ilustrăm și posibilitatea utilizării metodelor specifice abordărilor cantitative. Pe lângă informațiile descriptive relativ la percepția persoanelor tinere educate (studenți) asupra discriminării de gen, am creionat și câteva posibile explicații ce ar putea sta în spatele acestei stări de fapt. Este vorba despre câteva caracteristici sociale: educația, spiritul antreprenorial și, eventual, diferențierile culturale regional și/ sau județene.

Dacă în ceea ce privește primele două elemente (educația și spiritul antreprenorial) am putut sesiza diferențe semnificative de gen, diferențierile geografice nu au condus la segmentări clare ale impactului culturii regionale (județene) asupra discriminării de gen.

Oferim în cadrul analizei, ca o noutate în cercetarea discriminării de gen, o serie de concluzii plecând de la folosirea metodelor econometrice în exploatarea bazei de date ce a fost obținută la nivelul eșantionului statistic. Astfel, utilizând tehnici econometrice de analiză, s-a realizat un model logit ce demonstrează existența discriminării dintre bărbați și femei. Ea este percepută mai pregnant de către populația tânără de sex feminin. Discriminarea de gen este percepută atât în ceea ce privește domeniul economic (referitor la condițiile de angajare și salarizare), dar și în cel politico-social. În ceea ce privește factorii determinanți ai discriminării, paradoxal, variabile precum religia, sursele de finanțare sau tipul locuinței în care domiciliau respondenții nu au o influență semnificativă statistic asupra percepției discriminării.

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Note:

1. Amintim aici declarația șocantă a domnului Adrian Nastase, la acea oră prim ministru al României și candidat la președinție în data de 4 decembrie 2004 la Sibiu, citată de *Evenimentul Zilei* din 6 decembrie 2004 conform căreia pentru a dovedi orientarea heterosexuală era dispus să facă sex cu toate soțiile angajaților cotidianului *Evenimentul Zilei*. Tot în această categorie se înscrie și declarația lui Ludovic Orban, președinte al PNL București, citată în *Evenimentul Zilei* din 27 martie 2006 în care recomandă membrilor PNL (nominalizând negativ și câteva persoane politice de sex feminin) să aleagă un alt traseu pentru promova politic decât varianta de a trece prin paturile șefilor.
2. Conform datelor furnizate de INS în urma efectuării Recensământului din 2002
3. Publicat în Frunză, M., Frunză, S, Gavriliuță, N., Rogobete, S. (editori) *Tinerii și Politica. Împreună pentru o politică mai bună*, Editura Provopress, Cluj Napoca, 2006, pag. 190-197
4. Au fost considerați parlamentari tineri acei parlamentari care aveau până în 35 de ani la alegerile din 2004
5. O întreprindere nou activă este acea întreprindere care este înființată de 1 an și care a supraviețuit acestei perioade.
6. O prezentare teoretică asupra modelului logit se găsește în: Green W. H., *Econometric Analysis*, Prentice Hall, 2000 și în Bourbonnais R., *Econometrie*, Dunod, Paris, 2005.

MONICA ROMAN

Diferența dintre genuri în alocarea timpului liber în România

Gender Difference in Allotting Leisure Time in Romania

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der differences, occupational status

Abstract:

Recent theoretical and empirical studies tend to highlight the prominent role that time plays in society, in a context of changing rhythms of work, the ageing of the European population and changing family structures.

In this contribution I analyse the way time is used for leisure in Romania and situate it in the European context. I highlight the time use for creative and leisure activities in respect with gender, following the hypothesis that leisure is an important dimension of gender gap.

It was used factor analysis to observe the differences existing in time use for leisure in respect with occupational status, marital status and education.

Introducere

Acest articol prezintă diferențele existente între sexe în ceea ce privește petrecerea timpului liber.

În primul rând, este analizat modul în care petrecerea timpului liber semnalează diferențe de gen, realizând o trecere în revistă a principalelor cercetări în domeniu. Sunt prezentate datele folosite în analiză, cu accent pe Anchetele utilizării timpului, care se constituie într-un instrument standardizat la nivel internațional de obținere a datelor și de analiză a alocării timpului.

Analiza realizată pune în evidență existența unor diferențe de gen în utilizarea timpului liber în România, atât în ceea ce privește dimensiunea acestuia, dar și a structurii pe activități.

1. Timpul liber - indicator de analiză a diferențelor dintre sexe: repere în literatura de specialitate

Doctrina socialistă se raportează la două elemente definitorii: egalitatea și dreptatea, concentrându-se asupra politicilor și reformelor care pot conduce la scăderea și dispariția inegalităților sociale și economice, la o societate mai echitabilă.

În România, în perioada comunistă, egalitatea femeilor cu bărbații a fost puternic susținută, fiind una dintre ideile importante folosite în procesul de modernizare a societății românești postbelice. Potrivit sociologilor români (Pasti, 2003), în comunism femeile au câștigat locuri de muncă, independență economică față de bărbați, asistența statului în creșterea copiilor, promovarea în poziții de conducere, acces la toate nivelurile și tipurile de

educație. Totuși, sunt de acord cu Vladimir Pasti în argumentația sa potrivit căreia socialismul nu a condus la redistribuirea echilibrată a puterii în relațiile de gen, ci a creat propriul său patriarhat, statuând "o dominație a bărbatului socialist asupra femeii socialiste".

Mai mult decât atât, același autor demonstrează (2003) că patriarhatul este o realitate mai prezentă în România decât în alte societăți, iar tranziția, "după un moment de cumpănă, tinde să încline balanța în favoarea bărbaților". Concluzia cercetării este că în România trăiesc două populații, o populație de bărbați și o populație de femei și ele interacționează între ele în așa fel încât diferențele tind să se accentueze în loc să se diminueze. Aceste diferențe dintre genuri sunt analizate în articolul de față dintr-o perspectivă mai puțin abordată, respectiv aceea a modului în care bărbații și femeile aleg să își petreacă timpul liber.

Diferența dintre genuri (*gender gap*) desemnează diferențele dintre bărbați și femei din punct de vedere a trei dimensiuni:

1. accesul la viața politică
2. accesul pe piața forței de muncă salarizate
3. bunăstarea umană în sens larg (Dragomir, Miroiu, edit., 2002)

Una din formele de manifestare specifice ale diferențelor de gen este existența poverii duale la care este expusă femeia (*double burden*). Concept de bază al teoriilor feministe, acest termen desemnează tensiunile dintre multiplele roluri sociale ale femeilor în viața de zi cu zi, când ele trebuie să satisfacă grija față de familie, munca în gospodărie și munca pentru un salariu. Astfel, femeia este confruntată cu alegerea între satisfacerea nevoilor personale și satisfacerea nevoilor și dorințelor celor de care au "grijă" în mod natural: soț, copii, părinți, și indirect, generează tensiuni între munca plătită, și cea neplătită, invizibilă.

În statele comuniste elementul distinctiv al dublei poveri este apariția unei poveri suplimentare: maternitatea impusă de politicile pro-nataliste ale acestor state (Dragomir, Miroiu, edit., 2002).

În multe cercetări occidentale dubla povară este asociată cu lipsa timpului liber. Lipsa timpului liber reprezintă principalul subiect de discuții în ceea ce privește calitatea vieții contemporane (Robinson and Godbey, 1997). Mai multe modificări recente contribuie la această îngrijorare. Norma de lucru de 40 de ore, cu o săptămâna de 5 zile, nu mai poate fi apreciată ca fiind corectă. Incidența crescândă a familiilor cu "câștiguri duble" a generat o vastă literatură asupra dublei poveri.

Conform statisticilor, oamenii consideră că timpul lor liber s-a micșorat și se simt copleșiți (Robinson and Godbey, 1997). Acest sentiment este valabil mai ales în cazul femeilor, care trebuie să jongleze între serviciu, familie și divertisment. Într-adevăr, s-a sugerat că femeile suferă de sărăcia timpului (Hochschild, 1997). Aceasta datorită nevoii iminente ca ambii parteneri să lucreze, iar femeile adaugă responsabilităților lor casnice și de îngrijire a copiilor cele ale unei munci plătite.

Necesitatea ca ambii parteneri să câștige și problema potențială a unei duble poveri este în conflict cu așteptările care guvernează relațiile intime moderne. O ipoteză standard a sociologiei prezente este aceea că relațiile personale moderne se bazează, ca valoare centrală, pe egalitarism (Giddens, 1992; Beck și Beck-Gernsheim, 1995). Totuși, distribuția inegală și munca neplătită (treburile gospodărești, copiii și cumpărăturile) alocată în raport de gen, creează dificultăți teoretice în cazul acestei dispute. O cale de rezolvare a acestei dispute privind egalitatea este acordarea unei importanțe deosebite relației de parteneriat în cuplu și o concentrare asupra volumului muncă - aceasta înseamnă, o combinație între timpul acordat muncii plătite și muncii neplătite (Becker, 1985; Berk, 1985).

Pentru ca teza privind dominanta familiei moderne egalitare să fie credibilă, un important corolar este argumentul că egalitatea între sexe a timpului acordat muncii totale conduce la egalitatea între sexe privind timpul liber.

Într-adevăr, într-un articol recent, Nancy Fraser demonstrează că egalitatea între sexe trebuie să fie reconceptuată ca o "noțiune complexă care include pluralitatea principiilor normative distincte" (1997). Unul din cele șapte principii cheie pe care ea le propune ca fiind cruciale pentru egalitatea între sexe privește distribuția timpului liber. Suntem de acord că aceasta este o dimensiune importantă a egalității și considerăm că o investigație empirică a acestui aspect, în cazul societății românești, este necesară.

Literatura privind folosirea timpului face distincție între diferitele clase de folosire a timpului considerate a fi fundamental diferite. În mod tipic, este demonstrat că timpul poate fi împărțit în patru categorii: munca plătită, munca neplătită, îngrijire personală și timp liber (Robinson și Godbey, 1997).

Munca plătită reprezintă timpul depus pentru producerea de activități în spațiul economic sau timpul cheltuit de persoanele implicate în propria afacere. În sensul cel mai larg, include de asemenea timpul cheltuit cu transportul la locul de muncă, pauzele din timpul lucrului și, deși controversat, munca voluntară și timpul cheltuit pentru studiu.

Eticheta "*timpul pentru munca neplătită*" reflectă caracterul obligatoriu al muncii neplătite. Acesta include îngrijirea copiilor, prepararea mâncării, curățenia în casă, spălarea hainelor, gospodărirea casei, grădinaritul, întreținerea casei și reparațiile, îngrijirea mașinii și cumpărăturile.

Îngrijirea personală sau timpul "personal" este asociat cu menținerea funcțiilor corpului; dormitul, mâncatul, spălatul, îmbrăcatul și îngrijirea sănătății.

Timpul liber reprezintă o categorie reziduală. Este timpul care rămâne după satisfacerea condițiilor pentru menținerea corpului într-un stadiu acceptabil de sănătate și acceptabil social, după desfășurarea activității în economie și după realizarea responsabilităților casnice și familiale. Timpul liber include, de asemenea, activitățile explicite dar și timpul folosit spre exemplu pentru activități religioase și civice.

Timpul liber are diferite conotații pentru fiecare dintre sexe. În timp ce dormitul, mâncatul și îmbrăcatul - activități clasificate ca fiind de îngrijire personală - sunt practic constante, devine necesar să se facă distincție între muncă (plătită și neplătită) și timp liber. Este posibil să vedem timpul liber ca sursă directă de satisfacție, ceea ce înseamnă că persoanele având cantități similare de timp liber au o calitate similară a vieții.

O diferență fundamentală între bărbați și femei este aceea că femeile, având ca responsabilitate îngrijirea copiilor, au o experiență specială asupra timpului. Istoricii au atras atenția asupra legăturii între evoluția programării după ceas a timpului și organizarea industrială a muncii (Thompson, 1967; Landes, 1983). Deoarece bărbații sunt "specializați în munca plătită, s-a demonstrat ca viața lor se desfășoară după regulile liniare ale programării exacte timpului. Oamenii de știință feministi au lansat ideea că timpul femeilor este predominant determinat de sarcinile pe care le au. (Nowotny, 1994; Adam, 1995; Glucksmann, 1998). Timpul de lucru al femeilor ca soții și mame nu poate fi privit din perspectiva "munca separată de timp liber, timp public față de privat, timp subiectiv față de obiectiv și sarcini conform unui program pe ore" (Adam, 1995). Cercetările privind munca grijulie și emoțională a femeilor au arătat limitele concepției liniare asupra timpului. (Hoschild, 1983; Larson și Richards, 1994). Munca femeilor de regulă coordonează multiple activități, precum "calcularea timpului și a priorităților" (Adam, 1995). Din această perspectivă, consecința este că experiența femeilor privind timpul liber este

distinctă și este greu de separat de multitudinea de activități legate una de alta. Accentuând calitatea timpului liber al femeilor, se sugerează reformularea conceptului privind diferențierea între sexe a timpului liber. Problema crucială nu este aceea că femeile au mai puțin timp liber "primar" decât bărbații, ci aceea că timpul lor liber nu este de aceeași calitate cu al bărbaților.

2. Datele utilizate

În România studiile care se raportează în primul rând asupra utilizării timpului sunt puține. Este important să amintim faptul că analize ale utilizării timpului au fost efectuate în centre de cercetare universitare din Timișoara (de exemplu, studiile profesorului Boghaty Zoltan- Un studiu psihologic despre utilizarea timpului de lucru, Anuarul Korunlor, Cluj Napoca 1983-1984), din Iași, și amintim cercetările utilizării timpului de către studenți, realizate de d-na prof. Elisabeta Jaba (2002). De asemenea, au fost preocupați de această problemă cercetători de la Institutul pentru Cercetarea Calității Vieții, cum sunt Laureana Urse- Preocupari de timp liber ale românilor și comparații internaționale, Revista calității vieții 1-4, 2002.

Mai recent, pe plan internațional, interesul deosebit pentru analiza utilizării timpului a fost afirmat încă de la întâlnirea *EUROSTAT de la Luxemburg* (1997), odată cu definitivarea strategiilor europene de ocupare, dar și mai recent, la *summit-urile de la Lisabona și Barcelona, în 2000 și 2001*. Întrucât țara noastră are drept obiectiv primordial, atât economic cât și politic, integrarea europeană într-un viitor cât mai apropiat (2007), analiza utilizării timpului trebuie privită ca o necesitate. Aceasta cu atât mai mult cu cât nevoia de cercetare a acestui domeniu vine să acopere un spațiu aproape inexistent în literatura de specialitate din România.

În contextul descris anterior, Ancheta Utilizării Timpului (TUS) se înscrie pe coordonatele generale ale unui program amplu, demarat în anul 1990 de Oficiul de Statistică al Uniunii Europene (EUROSTAT).

Ancheta utilizării timpului (TUS) în România asigură informațiile necesare pentru analiza modalităților de utilizare a timpului de către populația în vârstă de 10 ani și peste, pentru realizarea diferitelor activități: îngrijirea personală, activitate economică (principală și secundară), educație și perfecționare, activități de îngrijire și gospodărire a familiei, relații de înțajutorare, activități culturale - recreative și sportive, relații sociale și activități asociative etc.

Informațiile colectate permit dimensionarea timpului utilizat pentru diferite activități și analiza comparativă pe sexe și grupe de vârstă, pe medii de rezidență, după statutul socio-economic, nivelul de instruire, stare civilă. Totodată, se poate măsura ritmul specific al zilelor de lucru dintr-o săptămână și cel al zilelor de odihnă (sâmbătă și duminică).

Rezultatele anchetei pot fi folosite pentru fundamentarea unor programe de lucru flexibile, a unor programe de transport îmbunătățite, a unor politici coerente privind utilizarea timpului în activități culturale și de petrecere a timpului liber.

Datele rezultate sunt comparabile la nivel internațional, ancheta organizată în România fiind armonizată cu anchetele similare din țările Uniunii Europene din punct de vedere al metodei de organizare în teren și de colectare a datelor, al conceptelor, definițiilor și clasificărilor utilizate, ca și al planului de sondaj.

3. Aspecte ale utilizării timpului liber în România

În analiza rezultatelor anchetei s-a utilizat (conform recomandărilor EUROSTAT) o grupare mai redusă a activităților, rezultate din agregarea activităților cuprinse în lista detaliată, prezentată în *Anexa 1*.

Structurarea activităților pe trei grupe mari (Îngrijire personală, Muncă, Timp liber) cu 23 subgrupe asigură premisele unor analize amănunțite ale repartizării timpului zilnic

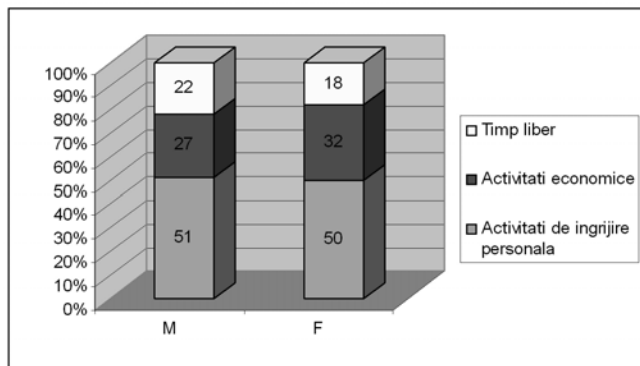


Figura 1. Structura utilizării timpului pe principalele grupe de activități

de către populația țării și permite evidențierea unor diferențe semnificative între bărbați și femei, între tineri și vârstnici, între persoanele active și cele inactive, între populația din mediul urban și cea din rural, între persoanele singure și cele care au familie etc.

Evidențierea diferențelor de gen în ceea ce privește alocarea timpului liber este observată pe câteva paliere diferite: în primul rând, analizez importanța timpului liber în economia resurselor mediei zilnice de

timp; în al doilea rând analizez principalele activități efectuate zilnic de către bărbați și femei în timpul liber; în al treilea rând identific, pe baza analizei factoriale, existența unor grupări în funcție de variabile demografice, care reflectă comportamente similare în alocarea timpului liber; în fine, ultimul aspect discutat în acest articol se referă la existența unor diferențe în ceea ce privește ritmul zilnic în care se desfășoară principalele activități de timp liber.

Mai mult de jumătate din timpul zilnic este alocat de către bărbați activităților de îngrijire personală (12,2 ore), 29% este folosit pentru activități economice aici sunt incluse munca, activitățile educaționale și transportul - călătoriile - iar 20%, respectiv 4,8 ore, este alocat timpului liber.

Femeile alocă, de asemenea, jumătate din timpul zilnic activităților de îngrijire personală, respective odihnă, somn, masă și activități de igienă. Diferențe importante apar în ceea ce privește activitățile economice, femeile muncind în medie 7,6 ore față de 6,5 ore cât muncesc bărbații. Consecința este faptul că bărbații dispun de un timp liber semnificativ mai mare decât femeile, respectiv cu 1,1 ore mai mult.

Acest avantaj al bărbaților este remarcat la toate grupele de vârstă, fiind mai puțin important la grupele extreme de vârstă - la tineri și vârstnici - și mai important la grupa de vârstă adultă, când femeile sunt confruntate cu un număr mare de activități economice, legate de munca plătită, munca în gospodărie și creșterea copiilor.

Deși orele de timp liber pentru bărbați sunt mai multe decât cele pentru femei, în majoritatea țărilor pentru care s-au condus anchete asupra utilizării timpului, există și excepții. În Australia, Norvegia și SUA (1995), pentru cei aflați între 20 și 59 ani, media orelor de timp liber pentru femei este mai mare decât cea pentru bărbați, deși numai cu mai puțin de o oră și jumătate pe săptămână. Bărbații italieni au, în mod excepțional,

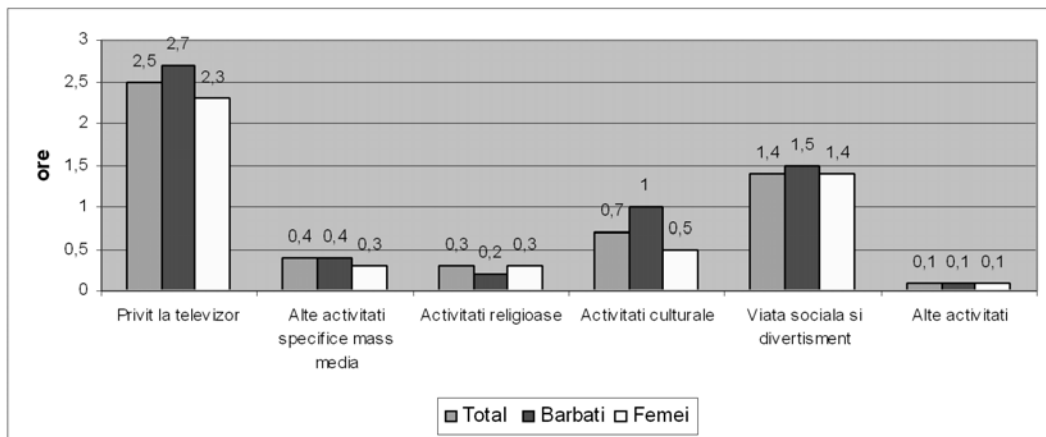


Figura 2. Timpul mediu zilnic alocat activităților de timp liber

timp liber mai mult de șase ore și jumătate (sau 21%) mai mult timp liber decât femeile italiene. (Bittman, 1999).

Considerăm în cele ce urmează principalele activități de timp liber urmărite în TUS 2000, observând existența unor diferențe semnificative în alocarea timpului funcție de gen.

Vizionarea programelor de televiziune rămâne modalitatea principală de petrecere a timpului liber, satisfăcând atât nevoia de destindere și/sau de distracție cât și preocupările informative și de dezvoltare a personalității. Mai mult de jumătate din timpul liber este petrecut atât de către bărbați, cât și de către femei privind la televizor. Această proporție situează România pe unul din primele locuri, în contextual în care norvegienii privesc la televizor 28% din timpul liber, suedezii 34%, iar belgienii 45%. Bărbații alocă acestei activități cu 24 de minute mai mult decât femeile.

Viața socială este a doua activitate importantă de petrecere a timpului liber. Aici sunt incluse vizitele, conversațiile, socializarea în cadrul familiei, convorbirile la telefon etc.

Cititul este a treia activitate de petrecere a timpului liber în majoritatea țărilor europene, chiar dacă există diferențieri importante în ceea ce privește dimensiunea a timpului zilnic alocat acestei activități. Acesta ia valori pe un interval cuprins între 23 de minute (Slovenia, Franța) până la 46 de minute (Finlanda). În România timpul alocat cititului este de 18 minute zilnic, ușor mai ridicat pentru bărbați decât pentru femei. Această preocupare a înregistrat unele scăderi față de începutul deceniului nouă când interesul era mai mare, probabil din câteva motive: explozia de publicații a constituit o noutate pentru români după perioada comunistă; nivelul de trai nu scăzuse atât de mult încât să pună problema imposibilității de a mai putea cumpăra ziare și reviste, pentru anumite categorii de populație; problemele economice și șomajul au creat o dispoziție a populației mai puțin propice cumpărării și citirii de ziare și reviste. (Urse, 2002).

Timpul pentru citit scade pe măsură ce crește vârsta populației, în special în cazul femeilor și este mai ridicat odată cu creșterea nivelului de instruire.

În ceea ce privește *ascultarea radioului sau înregistrărilor (CD, casete etc.)* timpul alocat este mult mai redus față de alte activități specifice mass media, iar rata de participare este mai redusă - 8,5%. Bărbații ascultă mai mult la radio decât femeile (9,8% față de 7,2%). Este important de remarcat faptul că ascultatul radioului este un substitut pentru alte activități mass media, astfel că proporția celor care ascultă mai mult radioul este mai ridicată pentru categoriile de populație care au o participare mai redusă la privitul TV.

Activitățile religioase, civice și politice consumă 18 minute zilnic. Femeile sunt mai

implicate în acest tip de activitate decât bărbații (13.9% față de 8.5%). Preocupările religioase (inclusiv frecventarea bisericii) sunt considerate în cadrul metodologiilor specifice anchetelor utilizării tipului ca fiind preocupări de timp liber. În același timp, prin sărbătorile religioase (la nivel național, la nivelul unor confesiuni și pentru anumite segmente de populație care respectă cu strictețe sărbătorile religioase) religia este producătoare de timp liber. Demn de remarcat este faptul că activitățile religioase consumă în medie zilnic valori mult mai reduse în țările europene, între 1 minut - Suedia, Norvegia- și 3,9 minute - Marea Britanie .

La români, frecventarea bisericii a înregistrat o anumită creștere după 1990 (Urse, 2002).

Participarea populației la *activități culturale* este redusă, numai 2,2 % fiind interesată de astfel de activități. Acestea sunt legate de mersul la cinema, teatru, concerte, expoziții, muzee sau evenimente sportive. Proporția este mai redusă decât în alte țări europene, unde ia valori între 3% - Ungaria, 4% Estonia , Franța și 9% Germania. După 1990 interesul pentru activitățile culturale a înregistrat scăderi importante. O explicație constă în faptul că acest tip de activități au fost înlocuite de televiziune, pe fondul scăderii nivelului de trai și a limitării accesului la serviciile culturale.

Există importante disparități în ceea ce privește utilizarea timpului liber în funcție de gen, dar și de alte variabile demografice, dintre care am reținut statutul ocupațional, nivelul de educație și statutul marital. Se impune următoarea întrebare: există o diferențiere clară pe genuri în alocarea timpului în funcție de aceste variabile, sau, cu alte cuvinte, sunt determinate diferitele modele de utilizare a timpului de variabilele demografice amintite?

Pentru a răspunde la această întrebare vom folosi analiza factorială, concret analiza componentelor principale.

Principalele aplicații ale acestei metode sunt:

- de a reduce numărul de variabile
- de a identifica structura legăturilor între variabile, respectiv de a clasifica variabilele

Astfel, analiza componentelor principale se bazează pe principiul reducerii a două sau mai multor variabile la un singur factor. Nu dorim să intrăm în detalii metodologice, care pot fi găsite cu ușurință în literatura de specialitate (a se vedea referințele bibliografice).

Varibilele luate în considerare sunt duratele medii zilnice alocate diferitelor activități specifice timpului liber. Prezentăm în continuare câteva concluzii mai importante.

În raport cu *statutul marital*, comportamentul bărbaților din România înregistrează diferențe majore. Astfel, sportul și hobby-urile sunt corelate negativ cu toate celelalte activități, iar distracția este corelată pozitiv doar cu activitățile religioase. Corelații pozitive există doar între cumpărături și activități religioase, respectiv ajutor dat altor gospodării, hobby-uri și sport.

Gruparea ierarhică indică, de asemenea, comportamente eterogene, cu diferențe majore între bărbații căsătoriți și cei necăsătoriți, cei văduvi și cei divorțați.

Pentru femei, așa cum se poate constata din figura 3, diferențele apar în cadrul grupărilor, deoarece femeile căsătorite se apropie comportamental de cele necăsătorite oficial, iar la extremități se situează de asemenea femeile necăsătorite și cele separate.

Considerând *statutul ocupațional*, constat existența unor polarizări ale comportamentelor cât și disproporții majore. Repartizarea bărbaților pe axe principale indică pe de o parte o grupare comportamentală semnificativă a celor care lucrează o mare parte a timpului (angajați, angajatori, muncitori în agricultură și cei pe cont propriu) și diferențieri majore pentru celelalte categorii. Astfel, șomerii sunt la una dintre extremități,

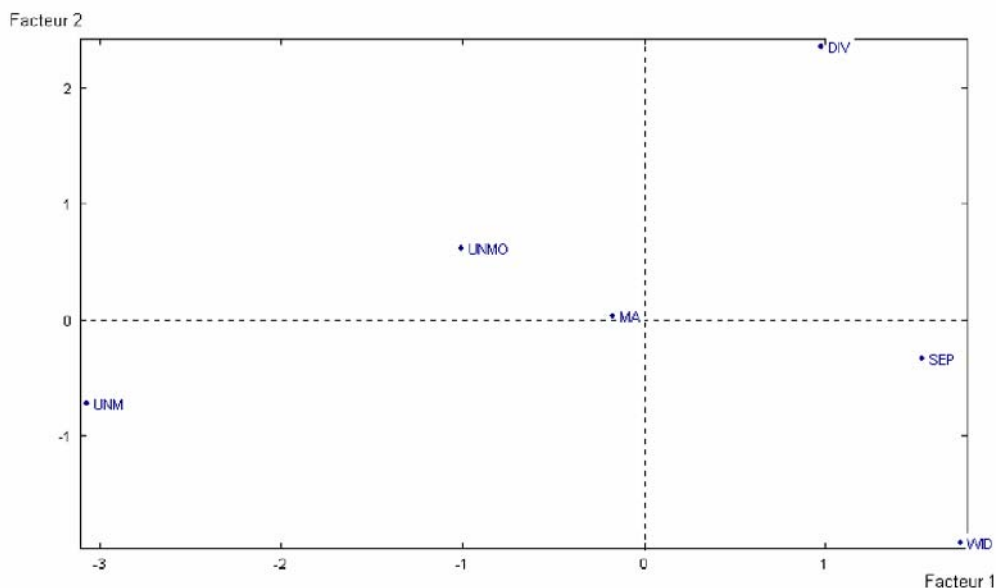


Figura 3. Gruparea bărbaților funcție de statutul marital

copiii și studenții sunt în opoziție cu pensionarii.

Comportamentul femeilor este diferit de cel al bărbaților. Matricea de corelație indică faptul că pentru femei activitățile sportive sunt negativ corelate cu toate celelalte activități. Cea mai mare parte a timpului liber este dedicată de către femei distracției și activităților religioase, iar cel mai puțin timp este alocat hobby-urilor și ajutorului dat altor gospodării.

Repartiția pe axe principale indică alte grupări comportamentale. Astfel, comportamentul femeilor angajate se apropie de cel al lucrătoarelor pe cont propriu și cel al cas-

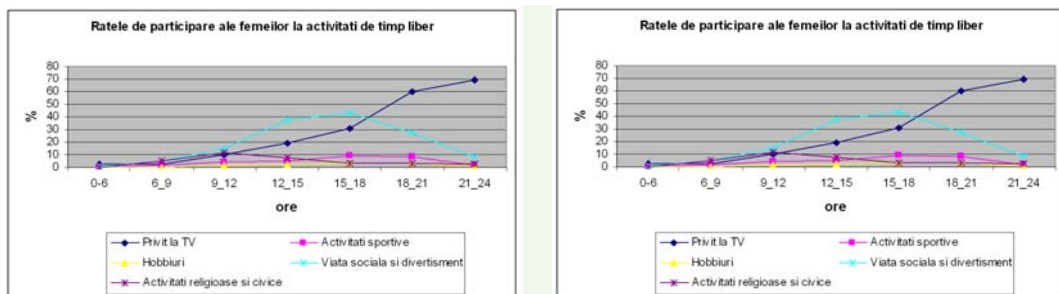


Figura 4. Participarea bărbaților și femeilor la activitățile de timp liber

nicelor, în timp ce patroanele și pensionarele au comportamente opuse. Ca și în cazul bărbaților, tinerii au propriul tip de comportament, de consum a timpului liber, opus celorlalte categorii.

Clasificarea ierarhică, ca și repartizarea pe axele principale indică o grupare puternică după *gradul de pregătire școlară*: persoanele cu pregătire universitară și cele cu studii postliceale formează o grupă, urmate de cei cu studii liceale și vocaționale, pentru ca persoanele cu studii primare sau fără studii să formeze o clasă separată; Gruparea pe clase ierarhice este similară în cazul celor două genuri.

Axe principale ale analizei indică separația majoră între tipurile de studii: pe prima axă principală se situează la extremități cei cu școală primară și cei cu studii postliceale, iar pe cea de-a doua axă cei cu studii universitare și studii medii.

Analiza *participării* bărbaților și femeilor la principalele activități de timp liber este pusă în legătură cu paliere orare ale zilei. Principala concluzie este aceea că ritmurile zilnice înregistrate sunt asemănătoare în cazul bărbaților și femeilor, în timp ce ratele de participare sunt mai ridicate în cazul bărbaților - excepție fac activitățile religioase și civice, unde femeile au rate de participare ușor mai ridicate decât în cazul bărbaților.

Principala preocupare de timp liber în cadrul seriei este atât în cazul bărbaților cât și al femeilor privitul la televizor. După amiaza este alocată îndeosebi pentru activități sociale, când ratele de participare ale femeilor sunt mai ridicate. Sportul este desfășurat în cursul dimineții, fiind mai agreat de bărbați decât de femei. Tot bărbații sunt cei mai implicați în practicarea unor hobby-uri, deși ratele de participare sunt destul de reduse pentru ambele genuri.

Această analiză, trebuie să admitem, ascunde multe aspecte legate de calitatea timpului liber, de existența unor activități simultane, cum sunt cele legate de supravegherea copiilor în timp ce se desfășoară și alte activități. Cercetările recente (Bittman, Wajcman, 1999) evidențiază faptul că, în ceea ce privește calitatea timpului liber, femeile sunt dezavantajate, iar *dubla povară* implică desfășurarea mai multor activități simultan.

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Anexa 1

Clasificarea activităților în ancheta utilizării timpului, INS 2000

A. ÎNGRIJIRE PERSONALĂ

A.1. Somn

A.2. Servit masa

A.3. Alte activități de îngrijire personală, odihnă

B. MUNCĂ, EDUCARE, ÎNGRIJIRE GOSPODĂRIE, CALĂTORII

B.1. Activitate economică

B.2. Studiu

B.3. Îngrijire gospodărie și familie, inclusiv activități voluntare

B.3.1. Administrare alimente (preparare hrană, conserve etc.)

B.3.2. Întreținere casă

B.3.3. Realizare și întreținere confecții și tricotaje

B.3.4. Grădinărit și îngrijit animalele de casă

B.3.5. Construcții și reparații

B.3.6. Cumpărături și servicii

B.3.7. Îngrijire copii

B.3.8. Ajutor dat altor gospodării

B.4. Călătorii (după scopul acestora)

C. TIMP LIBER

- C.1. Privit la televizor
- C.2. Alte mijloace de informare mass-media
 - C.2.1. Citit
 - C.2.2. Ascultat radioul/muzica
- C.3. Activități religioase, civice, politice și de voluntariat
- C.4. Activități culturale, sportive, hobby-uri, jocuri
- C.5. Viața socială (vizite, conversații etc.)
- C.6. Alte activități de petrecere a timpului

CRISTINA GAVRILUȚĂ

Expresii și reprezentări sociale ale femininului în practicile divinatorii

Expressions and Social Representations of the Feminine in Divination Practice

Abstract:

The purpose of this text is to analyze the social representations of feminism in divinatory practices. Our research in a few Moldavian counties has identified two main types of social representations of the relationship between magic/divination and feminism.

Therefore, there are some dual representations of the feminine divinatory agents versus the masculine ones. Even though women are well represented among clairvoyants, clients, and spectators, these valorizations function as negative stereotypes and do not serve the women. Another representation of feminism in divinatory practices that does not necessarily imply negativism and damnation is a more recent one. Old stereotypes are tamed and attenuated.

The results of our research have shown that women continue to be associated with the survival of these practices. This is proof that old myths and representations are still alive. They are discretely present in social expressions. Finally, they will dominate us completely.

1. Femeile - protagoniștii principali ai actului divinator. Considerații generale.

Cercetarea fenomenelor divinatorii ca și practici magico-religioase aduce în prim plan pe principalii protagoniști ai actului. Pe aceștia îi putem numi: *prezicători, clienți și spectatori*. Analiza lor arată că la nivel colectiv se impun o serie de imagini și reprezentări sociale care indică o “specializare” pe sexe a celor care sunt apropiați de diferite practici magico-religioase. Multe dintre acestea sunt rodul unor experiențe sociale concrete dar și al unor valorizări simbolice de natură magico-religioasă ce s-au sedimentat de-a lungul timpului.

1.1. Femeia - un “specialist al sacralui” înnăscut?

Cercetările¹ întreprinse de noi ne-au demonstrat că, în categoria celor interesați de astfel de practici mantice, predomină femeile. La nivelul simțului comun am fi tentați să

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punem totul pe seama eternei curiozități feminine. Ea ar fi dublată de anumite predispoziții de natură psihică, sociale și înnăscute ale celui interesat de fenomenele în cauză. Din acest punct de vedere femeile demonstrează afinități deosebite față de cunoașterea magică a lumii și a omului. Aceasta nu înseamnă căuși de puțin că bărbaților le este interzis accesul la astfel de practici. Sunt cazuri, cei drept, mai puține, când bărbații magicieni, vrăjitori sau ghicitori se bucură de o mare autoritate și recunoaștere socială.

Cert este că și astăzi divinația, ca oricare altă artă sau profesie, presupune existența unui personal antrenat care știe să o deservească. Totuși, ghicitorul se prezintă ca o persoană nespecializată care dispune de o serie de capacități dobândite, mai curând printr-o „tradiție experimentată” – cum scrie Antoaneta Olteanu.² De asemenea, cercetările demonstrează că acest profesionist își dezvoltă propriul stil, cel mai adesea format prin starea de inspirație, exaltare sau prin posedare. În această privință ghicitorul se aseamănă mult cu alchimistul prin puternica individualizare a actelor sale. Totuși, principiul «obscurul prin mai obscur» care stă la baza alchimiei ar putea fi tradus aici prin sintagma «obscurul prin concret». În mod firesc, această profesie sau artă presupune existența unor calități.

Max Weber, în *Sociologia religiei*, scrie despre performatorii diferitelor ritualuri magico-religioase numindu-i *specialiști ai sacralului*. Ei se bucură de o anumită autoritate în comunitate în funcție de carisma de care dau dovadă. De exemplu, Marcel Mauss³ arată că magiciamul, trebuie să posedă o serie de calități fizice și profesionale. Cercetările etnologice și antropologice atestă că cei mai predispuși spre actul magic, divinatoriu ar fi: păstorii, fierarul, croitorul, frânghierul, preotul, cei care poartă stigmatul marginalizării (hoinarii, cerșetorii, negustorii ambulanți, căruțașii, vagabonzii); țiganii, persoanele însemnate (cele care posedă semne din naștere sau care au un handicap fizic sau psihic), femeia și copilul. Dacă o serie de categorii socioprofesionale nu mai livrează astăzi cu constanță specialiști în tehnicile divinatorii, femeile, indiferent de vârstă și profesie, au perseverat în înclinațiile lor față de practicile magice. și aceasta în ciuda tratamentului social, deloc blând, de care s-au bucurat în diferite epoci.

Nu putem trece cu vederea faptul că manifestarea înclinației de a divina, prezentă mai mult în rândul femeilor, ar putea fi manifestarea târzie, camuflată a unor străvechi legături între femeie și sacru/divinitate. Astfel de motive pot fi regăsite cu ușurință în miturile și credințele celor vechi⁴. C. G. Jung aprecia că acestea ar funcționa astăzi la nivelul inconștientului colectiv asemeni unor arhetipuri. Toate imaginile și reprezentările femeii-prezicător nu ar fi decât o haină de suprafață a unor motive arhetipale străvechi. Chiar dacă timpurile se schimbă, o serie de imagini și reprezentări individuale și colective funcționează asemeni unor invariante, date prime. Ele vor îmbrăca doar forme diferite. șamanul, profetesele și preotesele din antichitatea greacă și romană, femeia-magician, vrăjitoarea sau astrologul de serviciu din zilele noastre sunt doar câteva exemple în acest sens. În plus, se observă că reprezentările colective care au în centru relația feminitate-sacru, indiferent de valorizare afirmă, în cele din urmă, o anume intimitate între sacru și feminitate.

Indiferent de sex și apartenență socioprofesională, prezicătorii și ghicitorii se identifică și astăzi ca o categorie aparte. Cei mai mulți refuză să se numească vrăjitori sau magicieni, aceștia fiind socotiți de multă lume ca având îndeletniciri malefice. Deși nu reușesc să facă o delimitare clară a fenomenelor (dovadă că mulți dintre cei chestionați practică divinația urmată de descântece sau vrăji) ei se consideră superiori, principala lor funcție fiind aceea de diagnosticare și prognosticare. „Eu spun omului ce văd și cel așteaptă, nimic în plus...” (...) Acest lucru este demonstrat și de alte cercetări întreprinse

în spațiul francez. Publicând în 1988 o lucrare despre vrăjitorie în ținutul breton, Dominique Camus⁵ a făcut referiri, în mod inevitabil, și la practicile divinatorii. Regăsim aici aceeași reprezentare față de îndeletnicirea pe care o au prezicătorii: „Vedeți dumneavoastră, un lucru este sigur, anume că noi nu suntem ca ceilalți (vrăjitori). Noi nu putem să prezicem decât ceea ce vedem.”⁶

Trebuie să recunoaștem că această categorie, a celor care practică divinația, este destul de difuză, greu de reperat. Ea este dominată în majoritate de femei. În interviurile realizate, o sută douăzeci la număr, am avut ocazia să întâlnim doar un singur reprezentant al bărbaților. și cu această ocazie ni s-au dezvăluit o serie de reprezentări stereotipe și duale ale actului divinatoriu. Ele confirmă unele teorii care indică valorizarea pozitivă a actorului-bărbat și o valorizare mai nuanțată, chiar negativă, a femeii-prezicător.

Din cercetare reiese că bărbații sunt mult mai discreți, într-un fel, misterioși. Ei acceptă foarte greu să vorbească despre „îndeletnicirea” lor. „Eu rezolv cazurile cele mai deosebite și am grijă atunci când îmi aleg clienții...” (Vasile, 73 ani, Iași) Mai mult, conform mărturiilor obținute prin interviu, există convingerea că „prestațiile” și „cunoașterea” masculină sunt superioare celor ale femeilor și în domeniul divinației. „Eu nu mă ocup de simple exerciții de ghicit, ci cunosc adevărate metode de cunoaștere a viitorului! Mă documentez în permanență, caut, învăț... cum să nu?” – spunea același interlocutor.

La polul opus, femeile consideră divinația ca pe un „har”, „dar”, „dar moștenit”, „capacitate paranormală” și mai puțin rezultatul unei căutări, a documentării, sau al unui îndelung exercițiu. El survine direct, fie pe cale ereditară, fie datorită unor conjuncturi deosebite: *boală* („după ce m-am însănătoșit, am văzut că știu să pot ghici”; „după ce am fost «vândută pe geam» și mi-au schimbat numele, m-am însănătoșit și am avut darul vederii, al ghicitului”); *moartea* unui membru al familiei (B. Petriceicu-Hașdeu s-a ocupat de spiritism după moartea fiicei sale, Iulia; „după ce mi-o murit bărbatu, mi-o venit așa, puterea asta ”) sau se «fură» („lângă mine stătea o babă care știa descânta și face vrăji; avea multă lume... Eu vedeam cum face și am «furat meserie»).

1.2. Feminin și iraționalitate versus masculin și raționalitate

Analizele noastre arată că prezicătorul-bărbat tinde să raționalizeze actul, în timp ce actorii feminini accentuează latura irațională, emoțională, ascunsă a practicii. Astfel de distincții se regăsesc și atunci când vorbim de categoria clienților și spectatorilor. și în această ipostază femeile apelează cel mai adesea la serviciile divinatorii. Natura feminină, se pare, este mult mai înclinată să practice și să creadă în puterea acestor „manții”. Faptul este explicabil, ar spune M. Mauss, de vreme ce ea stă sub semnul schimbătorului, influențabilului, misteriosului etc. Unii autori alătură femininul iraționalului, instinctului, în timp ce elementul rațional ar corespunde părții masculine. De aici și atracția pe care o exercită unele practici neobișnuite, „iraționale”, asupra sa. Într-un fel, între cele două există o oarecare rezonanță și compatibilitate. La fel se poate explica și apropierea femeilor de alte fenomene religioase. De pildă, ele sunt considerate de către preoți ca fiind mai prezente și mai active în viața Bisericii. Motivele, probabil, sunt aceleași.

Interesant este că acest tablou, preponderent feminin, este destul de pestriț din punctul de vedere al vârstei, al nivelului de școlarizare și al profesiei.

Iată câteva relatări:

„Da, am mulți clienți. Vin mai multe femei, foarte rar bărbați, vin fete tinere mai mult” (Sanda, 63 de ani, Galați).

„Înainte aveam mulți clienți, că mă cunoștea toată lumea. și acu' vin mulți la mine, da' nu mai pot să primesc pe toată lumea că obosesc repede. Primesc acum doar cunoscuți. Au venit la mine de la doctori, până la ingineri, femei, în general”.

Deși peste 95% din răspunsurile la interviu au afirmat că femeile sunt majoritare în rândul clienților, există și relatări care atestă și prezența bărbaților într-un număr deloc neglijabil. Existența lor este argumentată de momente de limită ale vieții și mai puțin de o serie de curiozități cotidiene.

Datele obținute au mai dezvăluit un lucru deosebit: la nivelul reprezentărilor colective persistă o imagine duală, segregată pe sexe, față de cei care performează în domeniul divinatoriu.

2. Dualitatea reprezentării actului divinatoriu în societate

Dacă, din punctul de vedere al reprezentării socio-profesionale, în practicile divinatorii, azi lucrurile pot fi nuanțate, în privința distribuției pe sexe, rezultatele sunt mult mai clare: în toate timpurile femeia deține recordul absolut în practicarea divinației și a vrăjitoriei. Drept argument, în acest caz ne stau mărturiile lăsate peste timp de ceea ce a reprezentat în Evul Mediu „vânătoarea de vrăjitoare”. Documente judiciare, arhive, documente și scrieri personale ale celor ce au trăit în miezul evenimentelor exprimă cu claritate un fapt: urmașa Evei a fost răspunzătoare de toate relele Evului Mediu. Sub chip de vrăjitoare, descântătoare, vraci sau ghicitoare, ea putea influența realitatea.

Spre deosebire de femeie, bărbatul este valorizat în mentalul colectiv mai mult ca magician. Or, această îndeletnicire nu exclude și arta divinatorie. Mai mult, ea nu comportă o conotație peiorativă asemeni vrăjitoriei. Să fie oare aceasta o consecință a faptului că practicianul este de sex masculin? Reprezentările sociale mai vechi, dar și cele moderne seamănă destul de mult între ele. Conform acestora, bărbații care practică divinația sunt persoane respectabile și estimate, inspiră respect și încredere în comunitate. Rareori ei sunt impostori și șarlatani. „Dacă un bărbat medieval este socotit nebun, femeia este anulată printr-un cumul de interdicții (...) Întelegem atunci că marele strigăt de furie vine de la cea care nu posedă nimic, nici chiar identitate. Fiindcă ea se revoltă, ea va fi numită posedată.”⁷ Astfel tot ceea ce ea va întreprinde femeia (inclusiv practici divinatorii) va sta sub semnul răului.

Bărbații sunt valorizați ca adevărați „specialiști” în domeniu. Nu întâmplător, doar în cazuri excepționale se apelează la serviciile pe care ei le oferă. Adesea sunt vraci și solomonari, personaje de care comunitatea tradițională cu greu se putea despărți. Ghicitorul-magician este, în plus, cunosător de carte și, deci, instruit. Arta sa devine în ochii publicului rodul unei cunoașteri profunde, temeinice și secrete a lumii.

În concluzie, imaginea pe care ne-o oferă această descriere este departe de a fi atât de înspăimântătoare și greu de acceptat. Bărbatul-ghicitor ia adesea chipul „filosofului decăzut” sau a „căutătorului de adevăr”⁸ neînțeles. Este limpede că, în aceste condiții, bărbatului îi este tolerat accesul la numite forme de cunoaștere în timp ce femeia beneficiază de un tratament special: persecuții, stigmat social, oprobriu public, moarte violentă.

Aceeași reprezentare duală și contradictorie o regăsim în multe lucrări de specialitate. Dintre acestea *Malleus Maleficarum*, cel mai cunoscut și uzitat manual de demonologie atestă clar faptul că femeile sunt mai vulnerabile la acuzația de magie și vrăjitorie. Ele sunt suspecte, din diverse motive, de a colabora cu diavolul. Martin Le Franc, în *Champion des Dames*, prezintă femeile care practicau vrăjitoria și care se închinau diavolului.

O anumită parte a literaturii de specialitate atribuie bărbatului rolul de *vindecător neoficial* în societatea medievală, folosind ierburi și practicând divinația. În condiții similare, femeia risca să fie acuzată de magie și vrăjitorie. Cel mult, bărbatul putea fi acuzat de erezie sau de complicitate, prin simplul fapt că putea fi soțul, fratele, tatăl, copilul unei vrăjitoare. În aceste reprezentări colective, femeia ocupa polul opus, negativ.

Cunoașterea femeii-magician sau prezicătoare nu mai este una de ordin filosofic, ci una demonică (ea rezultă din pactul cu diavolul). Mobilul său final nu mai este adevărul, ci aflarea sorților, a viitorului și a modului cum acesta poate fi modificat în bine sau rău. Așadar, ei i s-ar potrivi mai bine cunoașterea aplicată la concret și nu cunoașterea pură. În cele din urmă sociologul își pune în mod firesc întrebarea: cărui fapt i se datorează această reprezentare colectivă duală a actului divinator?

2.1. Sentimentele sociale și influența lor asupra reprezentărilor colective

Marcel Mauss și Henri Hubert⁹ oferă o explicație sociologică. Înclinația femeii spre actul magic și divinatoriu – am completa noi – s-ar datora, în primul rând, *sentimentelor sociale determinate de natura sa specifică* și mai puțin aptitudinilor sale fizice și intelectuale. Ciclul menstrual, sarcina, predispoziții spre isterie, excluderea sau acceptarea pasivă în culte oficiale sunt doar câteva aspecte care generează uluire, teamă și mefiență. De exemplu, imediat ce naște femeia devine tabu. În jurul său se țes o mulțime de reguli, norme și interdicții. O mare parte din aceste credințe le găsim în comunitățile arhaice dar și mai târziu, în modernitate. Toate acestea pot pune în mișcare imaginarul colectiv, iar reprezentările acestuia pot fi dintre cele mai neașteptate: femeia-descântătoare, femeia-ursitoare, femeia-vrăjitoare, femeia – ghicitoare etc.

În plus femeia, ca purtătoare a unui stigmat fizic sau social, genera aceleași sentimente de suspiciune, teamă sau respect. Nu de puține ori orbii, ciungii, cocoșaii au plătit social pentru neșansa de a nu fi la fel cu ceilalți. În general, stigmatul fizic a fost și încă mai este în unele zone rurale semn al prezenței păcatului și al unei damnări divine. La fel se întâmplă și cu cei care suferă de o serie de beteșuguri sociale: persoanele părăsite, văduvii, bastarzii, cei renegați de familie și comunitate, hoinarii, vagabonzii. Merită anunțat că sentimentele sociale sunt mult mai intense atunci când în centrul atenției este un personaj feminin. Mentalul și reprezentările colective tind, chiar și astăzi, să facă mai puține concesii femeilor care poartă în vreun fel povara stigmatului.

2.2. Femeie-vegetație-șarpe. Imagini mitice și valorizări contemporane.

Un posibil răspuns ni-l poate oferi și relația strânsă dintre femeie și natură. Mai precis, este vorba de relația femeie-vegetație-pământ-apă-lună și șarpe ca epifanie a lunii, care este dezvoltată și aprofundată de Mircea Eliade în *Tratat de istorie a religiilor*¹⁰.

Fertilitatea femeii, a animalelor, dar și cea din lumea vegetală este pusă sub semnul lunii. Nu puține sunt credințele și miturile care pun în relație femeia cu natura sau cu unele elemente *personificate* din natură. De pildă, credința că luna, ca personificare a masculinului, are relații sexuale cu femeia este destul de răspândită. În acest sens, australienii, papuașii, grecii, romanii etc. credeau că șerpii se împerechează cu femeile. Sir J. G. Frazer, în *Adonis*, descrie felul cum tribul indian komati utiliza șerpi din piatră pentru a influența fecunditatea/fertilitatea femeilor tribului. Mai târziu, „în cercurile rabinice

se spune că menstruația se datorează raporturilor Evei cu șarpele în Paradis¹¹. Relația femeie-lună se consumă nu numai sub raport erotic, ci îmbracă o multitudine de forme și semnificații.

„O legendă bretonă ne asigură că părul vrăjitoarelor se transformă în șerpi (R. Brifault, II, p. 662). O femeie oarecare nu are, așadar, această putere, ci numai aceea care stă sub influența lunii, care participă la magia „transformării“. Un mare număr de documente etnografice confirmă că, adesea, vrăjitoria este o investitură lunară (directă sau transmisă prin mijlocirea șerpilor). La chinezi, de pildă, șarpele este la originea oricărei puteri magice, iar termenii ebraici și arabi desemnând magia sunt derivați de la cei desemnând șerpii.”¹² Sintetizând, putem spune că șarpele este, pe rând, simbol al lunii, al fertilității, simbol al magiei și vrăjitoriei, el poate fi însuși diavolul, dar poate semnifica și înțelepciunea, poate întruchipa spiritele strămoșilor (trăiește în întunericul subpământean) și tot el poate cunoaște viitorul.

Din această simbolistică duală mentalul colectiv a reținut, în special, două aspecte ce privesc influența șarpelui asupra femeii: rolul său în ritualurile de fecunditate și ca predispoziție spre vrăjitorie, magie și divinație.

Înclinația femeii spre actele magice și divinatorii este susținută și de relația specială pe care o întreține cu natura și vegetația. Acest fapt care stă sub semnul unei rezonanțe speciale între femeie și natură va înlesni descifrarea semnelor exterioare: a cerului, a vegetației etc. Toate aspectele anunțate aici ne conduc cu gândul la o femeie care deține puteri neobișnuite prin însăși natura sa. Ele dobândesc însă conotații peiorative, tocmai din simbolismul demonic al fapturilor cu care rezonază șarpele. Mai mult, aproape toate miturile și legendele ce stăpânesc mentalul colectiv în diverse epoci și spații accentuează misterul și necunoscutul care învăluie femeia. Or, faptul acesta poate conduce la teamă și suspiciune.

2.3. Păcatul original și reprezentările feminității.

Creștinismul pare să fi pecetluit definitiv imaginea femeii ghicitoare, magician sau vrăjitoare. Ea este descendenta Evei care a pactizat cu diavolul. Conlucrarea sa cu geniul răului -poate nu întâmplător- se săvârșește și aici sub forma unei relații cu șarpele. Acest raport revine constant de-a lungul timpului, indiferent de contextul la care ne raportăm. Interesant este că relația stă, de această dată, sub semnul dobândirii cunoașterii, a înțelepciunii și nu al fertilității, așa cum se întâmplă în comunitățile arhaice.

Femeia devine principala responsabilă a păcatului original. Din cauza ei și -bineînțeles- a diavolului, am pierdut eternitatea, dar uităm că am dobândit cunoașterea sau măcar iluzia unei cunoașteri. Din episodul petrecut în Paradis, se pare că bărbatul s-a bucurat de mai multă cunoaștere și re-cunoaștere socială. De exemplu, practicarea divinației, în cazul său, este apanajul cunoașterii și descoperirii adevărului. Nu la fel se poate vorbi despre femeie, care va purta cu sine stigmatul colaborării cu demonul.

Urmărind modelul creștin în ideea paternității cunoașterii, putem gândi o ipostază similară și în planul relațiilor sociale. G. Kligmen¹³ vorbește despre patriliniaritatea voinței, a autorității, dar și a cunoașterii. Așadar, bărbatul, beneficiind de această moștenire direct de la Dumnezeu, va avea un loc privilegiat în societate. Chiar și gesturile sale cele mai oculte (practicarea magiei divinatorii, de exemplu) stau sub semnul cunoașterii. În consecință, pentru el, regulile sociale vor fi mult mai blânde și mai îngăduitoare. Această interpretare, suspectă de unele influențe feministe, zugrăvește o societate a bărbaților în care femeile sunt ostracizate, stigmatizate și condamnate definitiv.

Credem, deci, că această reprezentare duală a fenomenului divinatoriu a fost alimentată de străvechi credințe precreștine (de pildă miturile și legendele referitoare la relațiile dintre femeie și lună) care atestă predispoziția femeii pentru practici magice, divinatorii. Aceste reprezentări precreștine au fost revalorizate apoi de creștinism, dobândind o conotație peiorativă. Faptul este de înțeles, de vreme ce creștinismul se așezase pe un teren mustind de credințe, practici și ritualuri închinute unor diverse zeiități. Dezavuarea acestora, deci și a divinației și punerea sub semnul demonilor, având ca pretext povestea petrecută în Paradis, a asigurat supremația Bisericii.

Vorbind despre reprezentări duale, am putea fi acuzați de un anume "feminism". Nimic mai fals! Ceea ce am prezentat aici sunt doar o serie de secvențe și evaluări mai frecvent întâlnite în Evul Mediu, dar și în modernitate. Acest fapt nu exclude și alte viorizări și reprezentări ale femeii în ipostaza sa de operator, client și spectator al practicilor divinatorii.

3. "Demonul îmblânzit" și revalorizarea contemporană a femininului în practicile divinatorii

Unele abordări ale secolului XIX încearcă să schimbe vechile chișee și șabloane ale Evului Mediu privind interpretarea relației femeii cu magia și vājitoria. Michelet, de pildă, cu celebra sa lucrare *Lă Sorcičre (Vrājitoria)* - 1862, va pune într-o cu totul altă lumină fenomenul vrājilor și al divinației. El va recupera imaginea femeii al cărei suflet a căzut pradă diavolului și care a îndemnat-o la tot felul de nelegiuiri. Personajul principal al cărții, femeia vrājitoare, va pune în umbră celelalte personaje: judecătorul sau diavolul. De această dată femeia este victima răului și nu colaboratoarea lui. Mai mult, ideea pare să fi prins destul de bine la public și treptat, cele care au fost victimele nevinovate ale diavolului conștientizează că sunt în egală măsură și victime sociale. Lucrarea a aprins spiritele vremii și a fost socotită de mulți prima carte feministă.

Astăzi lucrurile s-au mai schimbat. „Vrājitoarea lui Michelet nu mai este figura emblematică pe care mișcările feministe, mai ales cele germane, italiene și franceze ar revendica dreptul femeii de «a spune da pentru sine și nu pentru lume așa cum era și cum este și cum n-ar trebui să fie».”¹⁴ În lumea contemporană reprezentările și valorizările actului divinator și ale celor ce-l practică sunt mult mai nuanțate. Nu totul este pus sub semnul negativității și diabolicului. Un rol important în acest sens îl joacă tratatele de parapsihologie și lucrările dedicate fenomenelor paranormale. Mediatizarea practicilor divinatorii (chiar și sub forma unei literaturi de mână a doua) a avut drept efect crearea unui evantai de opinii și reprezentări diferite de cele duale și antagonice. Între cei doi poli extremi ai reprezentărilor sociale (pozitiv și negativ) lumea preferă să adopte o poziție neutră. Adesea, aceste practici sunt socotite ca fiind modele „alternative”, iar practicienii, persoane ce dețin o serie de abilități specifice.

Cu toate acestea, rezultatele cercetărilor de teren ne demonstrează că femeia continuă să fie asociată cu supraviețuirea acestor practici. Este un semn că vechile mituri și reprezentări n-au dispărut. Se regăsesc în expresii sociale mai blânde și discrete. În cele din urmă, ele vor continua să ne locuiască la modul cel mai perfect cu putință.

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Note:

1 Este vorba de o cercetare a practicilor divinatorii derulată de noi în câteva județe ale Moldovei care a inclus în primul rând tehnici calitative, dar și cantitative de culegere a informațiilor.

2 Antoaneta Olteanu, *Metamorfozele sacralului*, București, Editura Paideea, 1998.

3 Marcel Mauss, Henri Hubert, *Teoria generală a magiei*, traducere de Igrind Ilica și Silviu Lupescu, prefață de Nicu Gavriluță, Iași, Editura Polirom, 1997 pp. 35-52

4 A se vedea în acest sens Mircea Eliade, *Tratat de istorie a religiilor*, cu o prefață de Georges Dumézil și un cuvânt înainte al autorului, traducere Mariana Noica, București, Ed. Humanitas, 1992. Lucrarea cuprinde o bibliografie impresionantă, care vine să argumenteze legătura subtilă între femeie-plante-apă-lună. În vechile sisteme de credințe religioase aceste relații erau mai mult decât evidente. Ele funcționau la nivelul trăitului, coborau în experiența cotidiană. Probabil vechile profetese și preotese ale templelor străvechi nu erau altceva decât o încarnare vie a vechilor reprezentări legate de divin și feminitate.

5 Dominique Camus, *Puteri și practici vrăjitoarești. Anchetă asupra practicilor actuale de vrăjitorie*, Iași, Ed. Polirom, 2003

6 Ibidem, p.85 Diferența pe care o stabilește autorul între divinație și vrăjitorie, pe baza rezultatelor cercetării este următoarea: "Dacă ghicitorii sînt specialiști prin excelență în interpretarea prin vise a viziuni lumii de dincolo, vrăjitorii practică uneori metode analoage"(p.85) Cercetările făcute de Dominique Camus și Jeanne Favret Saada evidențiază, în cele din urmă, actualitatea cercetării socio-antropologie și etnologice a fenomenelor magico-religioase indiferent de spațiul de producere a lor (rural sau urban; spațiu modern sau spațiu tradițional). Prezența acestor manifestări în lumea contemporană sporesc dificultățile cercetării și analizei fenomenului.

7 Jeanne Favret -Sadaa și Jose Contreras, *Corps pour corps*, Paris, Gallimard, 1981, p.139.

8 Antoaneta Olteanu, în *Școala de solomonie. Divinație și vrăjitorie în context*

comparat, București, Editura Paideia, 1999, face o apropiere între solomonarul-ghicitor și ereticii bogomilici ai secolului al XI-lea. Aceștia din urmă erau phoundaites (din latinescul fundata – „traistă”). Termenul desemnează o cracteristică a acestora: cerșetoria și traiul din pomană. Ambii – spune autoarea – „nu sînt altceva decît niște căutători de adevăr neînțeleși, greșit interpretați de semenii lor“ (p. 9).

9 Marcel Mauss și Henri Hubert, *Teoria generală a magiei*, ed. cit.

10 Mircea Eliade, *Tratat de istorie a religiilor*, ed. cit.

11 *Ibidem*, pp. 164-165.

12 *Ibidem*, p. 166.

13 Gail Kligmen, *Nunta mortului, ritual, poetică și cultură populară în Transilvania*, traducere Mircea Boari, Runa Petringenaru, Georgiana Farnoaga, West Paul Barbu, Iași, Ed. Poliron, 1998.

14 Robert Muchembled, *Magia și vrăjitoria în Europa din Evul Mediu pînă azi*, traducere Maria și Cezar Ivănescu, București, Ed. Humanitas, 1997, p. 277.

MIHAELA FRUNZĂ

Who's Afraid of Feminism in Romania? Misconceptions, prejudices, stereotypes

Abstract:

The paper presents several cases of feminism rejection from the part of influent Romanian intellectuals. The misconceptions and prejudices surrounding feminism are sometimes difficult to interpret, as long as there are not many individuals ready to accept the feminist label. The author analyses the reasons of this phenomena, establishing the correlations among the rejection of feminism and other Western ideologies, such as multiculturalism and political correctness. Finally, it attempts at sketching several solutions, by emphasizing the importance of support groups where the feminist identity may be promoted and practiced.

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I will begin my paper with a real life anecdote. Some time ago, I took dinner with a couple of friends who live and work abroad. After a polite conversation about weather and other innocent stories, the woman got enough courage to question me tentatively: "We heard about you that you are a feminist...". The sentence was deliberately unsure and equivocal; such as they would expect me either to contradict it or to confirm it. "Yes, it's true", I replied. Visibly encouraged by my answer, she continued: "So, how is it? How is it to be a feminist in Romania?!"

Something was striking in her questions, and it still is. The tone suggested (and it did rightly) that it is somehow not OK, or that is something problematic, or at least that it is not very fashionable to be a feminist in Romania. But why? In a country that proclaims itself democratic and free, why does the word "feminism", that was so recently re-discovered by our post-revolutionary past, carry such a disputable meaning? And if feminism is nothing more than (an)other Western-imported ideology (such as liberalism and Christian democracy, for that matter), why is it still so hard to find people ready to declare themselves "feminists"?

Of course, my paper is not going to answer all these questions. Instead, it will focus on a single dimension of this rejection phenomenon applied to feminism in Romania, and particularly on the one that, in my opinion, is the most difficult to live with: that of some Romanian intellectuals. Why? Because, if one is ready to accept the prejudices from somebody that had no interest and education in these topics, it is incomparably more difficult to tolerate the misconceptions of several distinguished, highly educated and very sophisticated intellectuals, who additionally got the opportunity of doing research abroad and studying in Western universities.

I will attempt at investigating several types of misconceptions, prejudices and stereotypes concerning feminism and feminists in Romania, to find the reasons of these attitudes, and to suggest some solutions for overcoming.

Multiculturalism and feminism: or who is the enemy after all?!

In many cases, feminism is rejected not as a single phenomenon, but in correlation with other, similar ones. Such is the case of the relation between feminism and multiculturalism¹. The most striking feature is that they are usually discussed as a single topic, if ever; generally speaking, negative references about multiculturalism have included, implicitly or explicitly, critiques on feminism.

One of the most spread critiques is the one that assimilates both multiculturalism and feminism to the ideology of political correctness.² Such an example is Horia-Roman Patapievici, a quite famous author who usually is identified as a very pro-democratic, pro-liberal, and anti-nationalistic. He criticizes political correctness in a very virulent language, referring to it as a mere “aberration” that is imposed through “intellectual terrorism” and “institutional aggression”, aiming at “transforming the American society based on fusion and integration (melting pot) in a multicultural and multilinguistic society strictly fragmented”. This ideology further imposes an unpardonable equalization between “Christian theology” and “Polynesian myths”. The most serious accuse (in his view) is that, by rejecting “the liberal” view, multiculturalism represents in fact the “American communism”.³ (I have to say that, for the Romanian audience, this accuse equivalents with the complete termination of the notion)

This radical (but by no means extraordinary) position can be very easily criticized. It is obvious that the opposition communism=multiculturalism Vs. liberalism is at the very center of his argumentation. Therefore, one can easily comment that this distinction misrecognizes the basic assumption of all the three political trends; neither communism is the simple distorted reflection of liberalism, nor liberalism is such a clear-cut and without nuances political ideology. There are in fact some important liberal thinkers who are also multiculturalists, such as Will Kymlicka or Joseph Raz⁴.

I also think that one cannot equalize multiculturalism (or feminism) with political correctness. This process also ignores the American debates about political correctness itself. If some multicultural trends (the “aggressive multiculturalism”, to use Agnes Heller terminology) can manifest an intolerant tendency, other ones (the “critical multiculturalism”, to use Goldberg’s terminology) are looking for other types of solutions, through intercultural mediation and dialogue. As Peter Caws puts it, multiculturalism stands for a huge variety of social articulations, ideas and practices that cannot be reduced to the “ism” of political correctness⁵. Not to mention the fact that here, in Romania, very many respectable public figures complain about the stupidity of political correctness, in the absence of such a think. At least, I never heard that somebody was publicly discredited for displaying a misogynist attitude.

In the same time, the supposition on the inner solidity and homogeneity of feminism and multiculturalism, with or without the political correctness, is proved illusory for anybody who read more than one book on these issues. It is hard to say even about feminism that is “one and unmodified”, as some authors would want it, that made many other writers to speak about “feminisms”. In any case, if the political diversity is not accepted for the case of feminisms (Rosemarie Tong speaks about 13 types of feminisms,

and the list remains open), one must at least indulge it for historical sake: it is sure that one cannot speak of the same feminism in the case of, say, John Stuart Mill and Naomi Wolf (!).

The same (hypothetical) construction “political correctness/ multiculturalism/ feminism” is denounced virulently in one of Patapieviçi's books that proved to be a best-seller: *Omul recent* [The Recent Man]. Here, on some two hundred pages out of the book's 500, the author criticizes the excesses of the PC-multi-feminism. Unfortunately, the bibliographical apparatus on which the critique stands is not as solid as for the rest of 300 pages. I could barely count some 6-7 titles in his bibliography, very unequal and not at all representative for the issues they tried to depict. For instance, one can find Alan Bloom, Eduard Behr and Camille Paglia, all of them being recognized for their attitude against the three currents. It is more difficult to find some book of a feminist or multiculturalist author. No feminist author is mentioned with her name and/or her books in the entire volume and as for the multiculturalism, the only identifiable authors are A. Margalit and ... Frantz Fanon, the last one being claimed more vividly by the post-colonial studies, but this is another story.

Another Romanian author, who is rejecting multiculturalism and feminism, in a similar polemical manner, is Monica Spiridon⁶. Her reasons are different: she thinks that multiculturalism is “out of date”, because it promoted unconditionally and aggressively the “Saint Trinity” of “race, gender, class” in universities, but which finished by being rejected inside the very country that invented it. Multiculturalism is promoting, anyway, two types of errors: “the supposition that group values and beliefs are incompatible and incommensurable” and “the supposition that all our value choices are determined by our belonging to a group”. The result of practicing this “aggressive parochialism” was “cultural atomization pushed to its limits, hopeless enclavization into a racial, classeist and gender ghetto”. Romania, says the author, must by no means adopting this “dangerous fashion”, because this will not lead the country toward Europe, but toward the darkness of racial and gender separation.

The strategy of saying that a concept is bluntly “out of date” seems to me very poor (indeed, the very act of contestation proves to be, if nothing else, a strange way of re-enforcing the concept itself). Anyway, this is surely not the case of multiculturalism, which continues to provoke debates in American society. Besides, the mere rejection of the concept implies the supposed monovalence of it, which again denies the ongoing debates and reformulations. For instance, it completely ignores the existence of a “critical multiculturalism”. Or, this “critical multiculturalism”, as proposed by D.T. Goldberg, which argues for hybridization and cooperation of cultures, is much more closed to the “inter” or “trans” cultural view that the author herself endorses⁷. Finally, the relationship between multiculturalism and feminism is not as straightforward as implied by the triad race, gender, class, and a good example is the famous book of Susan Moller Okin (with respondents), *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* in which the relation multiculturalism-feminism is problematized, and critically discussed.

Again, in this case one has problems in identifying precisely who are the feminists and/or multiculturalists the author is so virulent about. In both cases, of Horia Patapieviçi and Monica Spiridon, the bibliographical references to identifiable feminist and multiculturalist authors is very thin, if exists at all. More easily to trace is the reference to similar detractors from the Western world, such as Eduard Behr, Alan Bloom, or Dinesh d'Souza. But in this situation, our pure Romanian intellectuals talk about second-hand ideas, from second-hand sources that are the least to say, biased. So, who are these

authors fighting with? Some non-localized phantoms called “feminism”, “multiculturalism” or “political correctness” that the Western world is full of while, thanks God!, Romania is still better off? In any case, I find the sufficiency and superficiality of the authors of this rank to be unpardonable.

Sketching reasons, advancing solutions

In an issue of *Observator cultural*⁸ dedicated to a survey of feminism and feminist activities in Romania in the last 14 years, some well-known public figures associated with and or/self-declared feminists mentioned at their turn several reasons for this lack of presence of feminist ideas in the majority intellectual discourse, as well as in the majority political, social, economical, and cultural discourses. Mihaela Miroiu, Laura Grunberg, Liliana Popescu, Roxana Tesiu, Cristina Ilinca, Ovidiu Pecican talk, among others, about the opacity of the intellectuals to what they call “Western-imported ideology”, although the Romanian feminism, far from being a grass-root movements, has found a niche in the academic and civic spheres. Some possible solutions that are advanced by several of them regard especially the educational field. Unfortunately, there is still a long way towards a non-discriminatory educational process, as many of the papers from today have shown, and as one can find out from surveys and reports⁹.

In an article published in the same journal *Observator cultural*, Florin Irimia tries to find some more philosophical reasons for this rejection of feminism inside the Romanian intelligentsia. Thus, in the case of men, the author says, they tend to regard feminism “if not with condescendence, than with a sort of tolerant amusement, as a kind of female nonsense characteristic to Western societies and to the American one in particular”¹⁰. The main reason is, to his view, as we also noticed, the blatant ignorance of the feminist theoretical program, that is such comprehensive as to include “all the normative cultural systems and trends”.

As far as women's attitude is concerned, the author notices, together with Ion Bogdan Lefter, the violence with whom “fine, cultivated ladies, eventually publicly well-known personalities abjure the label: “no, I am not at all feminist!”, “I don't like these feminisms!””¹¹. Far away from despising those women, the author tries to explain their reaction by invoking the patriarchal fallogocentric roots of Romanian culture (and of many others), that naturalizes the gender differences and condemns each and every individual that attempts at breaking them.

The author also proposes a solution for this state of facts: “For a possible taking over and identification with feminist typologies to take place, there would be necessary an integral re-organization of discourse, through which several cultural constructs would be unmasked as inherently discriminatory”¹². But he also warns about the possible consequences of such a daring act: those willing to assume it will have to situate themselves outside the margins of the patriarchal culture, and in the process they will lose the legitimacy granted by it. In the same time, it is highly predictable that the critiques and deprecations of feminism will permeate more easily into the Romanian intellectual audience, especially because of the high market value of authors and opinion makers such as those previously discussed

In search for conclusions?

Among sophisticated ignorance, bad will, “constitutive impossibility” (in Kantian

terms), and marginality, what to choose? The logic answer would be: none of the above. In the same time, one must be aware that, in feminism as in other cultural fields, one needs to have a support group that would promote her and her ideas on the so-called "market". In a much criticized book, *Boierii mintii*, Sorin Matei¹³ shows how ideas and books are circulated, promoted and finally sold on the market not only because of the author's inner merits, but rather due to the influence of his support group. This explains in a supplementary way why feminist ideas are so rare in our cultural panorama: there are few prestigious support groups who would risk promoting their ideas. Instead, there are very powerful groups who support authors such as Patapievici.

But this gives another dimension to meetings, conferences and gatherings such as ours. Through open discussions, confrontations and contestations, through the publishing of their results and dissemination in the cultural landscape, they may become the key points for coagulation of such support groups that become powerful through their members. I can only wish that this would be the case for initiatives such as *gendeRomania's* one. In this way, I hope that, in 20 years from now (the magic number predicted for social change in Romania also!), when I'll have dinner again with my foreign friends, none of them would find surprising the fact that they will stay at table with a Romanian feminist.

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1 Also critical of multiculturalism is Claude KARNOOUIH, "*Un logos fără etos. Interculturalism și multiculturalism in Transilvania*" [*A logos without ethos. Interculturalism and multiculturalism in Transylvania*] in *Altera* no. 6/1997; see also Nicu GAVRILUȚĂ, *Imaginarul social al tranziției românești*, [Social imaginary of Romanian transition] Dacia, Cluj, 2001.

2 This equivalation is also found in western and American critiques on multiculturalism and feminism. See Edward BEHR (1999).

3 Horia-Roman PATAPIEVICI (1997), "*Comunismul american*" [*The American Communism*], in *Politice* (ed. a II-a), [Politics] Ed. Humanitas, București, p. 122-128.

4 See for instance Joseph RAZ (1999), "*Multiculturalismul: o perspectivă liberală*" [*Multiculturalism: a liberal view*], p. 5-22. On the relationship between multiculturalism and liberalism, see Levente SALAT, "*Puncte de vedere la interpretarea multiculturalismului în România*" [*Perspectives about interpretation of multiculturalism in Romania*], p. 23-46. Levente SALAT is the only Romanian author of a doctoral thesis about multiculturalism, which was published in 2001.

5 Peter CAWS, quoted in David Theo GOLDBERG (1994), p. 4.

6 Monica SPIRIDON (1999), "*Splendoarea și mizeriile unui concept: multiculturalismul*" [*Splendors and misery of a concept: multiculturalism*] in *Altera* nr. 12/1999, p. 26-34.

7 Margit FEISCHMIDT (1999), "*Multiculturalismul: o nouă perspectivă științifică și politică despre cultură și identitate*" [*Multiculturalism: a new scientifically and political perspective about culture and identity*] in *Altera*, no. 12/1999, p. 5-25. For the alternative of critical multiculturalism, see Isabela CORDUNEANU, "*Identitate, memorie și multiculturalism: reconsiderări metodologice*" [*Identity, memory and multiculturalism: methodological recommendations*] in *Ibidem* p. 35-47. See also Enikő MAGYARIVINCZE, "*Negocierea multiculturalismului*" [*Negotiations of multiculturalism*] in

Kiserletek Kulturalis Elemzesre / Experimente in cercetarea culturală / Experiments in Cultural Analysis, EFES, Cluj, 1997, in special p. 293-295.

8 One of the Romanian journals more openly committed to publishing quality articles and book reviews on feminism, due to the pro-feminist orientation of the former director, Ion Bogdan Lefter. Unlike other Romanian civic journals, such as *Revista 22* or *Dilema*, where feminist ideas were presented more or less episodically, and anti-feminist attitudes may accidentally appear, in *Observator cultural* there were regularly published texts with a feminist orientation. This is why the whole journal was accused of exposing the shameful “political correctness” (by journalists of *Dilema*, for instance). Now, that the director of the journal was changed, we are wondering about the continuation of this trend.

9 For an introduction on the topic in the 1990s, see the volume Mihaela Miroiu (eds.), *Gen si educatie. For an analysis of gender perspective in Romanian higher education*, see Mihaela Miroiu (2002), “Fetele patriarhatului”, *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies*, no. 3, summer 2002, <http://hiphi.ubbcluj.ro/JSRI>. For a recent survey on this issue, see *** (2004), *Perspective asupra dimensiunii de gen in educatie*, Institutul de Stiinte ale Educatiei, UNICEF.

10 Florin IRIMIA (2001), “Către o secularizare (feministă) a discursului cultural românesc”, in *Observator cultural*, No. 72, 10.07-16.07, p. 14, my translation.

11 *Ibidem*, my translation.

12 *Ibidem*, my translation.

13 Sorin Adam MATEI (2004), *Boierii mintii. Intelectualii români între grupurile de prestigiu și piața liberă a ideilor*, Compania, București.

Media and gender: Constructing feminine identities in a postmodern culture

Abstract

In the postmodern era the impact media have on our lives is continuously growing. Not only do media reflect reality, but they also shape and reconstruct it according to the public's hopes, fears or fantasies. Reality itself is not the sum of all objective processes and things, but it is socially constructed by the discourses that reflect and produce power. On the other hand, the public does not simply accept or reject the media messages, but interprets them according to its social background (Zoonen, 1994, p. 41).

My interest lies in identifying how are women represented in the media and what are the dominant images of femininity, as well as the alternative ones. There is a strong connection between image and identity as the latter can not be constructed without the former. Basically, the postmodern subject has been reduced to an image, therefore the image plays an important part in constructing the feminine identity.

Postmodern identity and the media

The postmodern discourse questions the concept of identity itself, since it appears as a myth and an illusion. According to Jean Baudrillard, the autonomous subject is falling apart and disappears (Kellner, 2001, p.278). A dismembered and discontinuous type of experience represents the fundamental characteristic of the postmodern culture, and can be found in personal experiences, as well as in the media texts.

The postmodern identity consists of constructing an image and assuming a social role. The postmodern identity is centered around leisure time, appearance, image, consumerism and is based on producing an image. The postmodern identity tends to be constructed mainly of images of entertainment and consumerism, therefore it is unstable and always subject to change. However, there is a positive aspect suggesting that the individuals can change their lives at anytime, that the identity can be reconstructed and that the human being can be changed and modeled according to personal choice. Identity becomes a game, a theatrical presentation of the self, allowing the individuals to present themselves to the others in a variety of postures, roles, images and activities. The postmodern self becomes a multiple one and is more open to changes. In the contemporary society, identity is strongly mediated by images provided by the mass culture, offering ideals for modeling one's personal identity. For instance, advertising, fashion or television constantly reconstruct the identity, producing a more fluid and changing one (Kellner, 2001, p. 305). In the postmodern culture of image, the scenes, the stories and the cultural texts provided by the media are meant to offer the individuals a variety of attitudes that can shape their personality. These images provide social role models, appropriate and inappropriate patterns of behavior, style and fashion and a subtle impulse of

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imitating and identifying with certain identities. However, individuals may choose whatever model they wish, be it a dominant or an alternative (therefore less popular) one. Media do not tend to construct a subject (or to encourage the individuals to identify themselves as subjects), but to offer ready-made identities, inviting individuals to identify themselves with certain figures, images or positions. In our culture individuals learn to see themselves through the eyes of the others. They discover that their image is more important than their experience or knowledge. Since the others will judge them by the products they own, by their outfits and their personality, they adopt a theatrical view of their own "performance". The postmodern world pays a great deal of attention to superficial images and impressions, to such extent that the individuals become almost impossible to distinguish from their surface.

Images of femininity in the contemporary mass culture

In what regards the feminine identity, it is constructed according to the postmodern model. In other words, it is acquired when the woman manages to display an image commonly recognized as "feminine" and to play a role suited to her gender. Since the instruments of mass culture are used for educating the public, I intend to explain how they define femininity in order to understand how women appear portrayed in the postmodern culture. If individuals acquire an identity by constructing an image and playing a role, then an individual "becomes" someone if s/he is able to construct a personal identity that can be recognized by the others. A feminine identity has been successfully constructed if the external observers can recognize a "feminine" body associated with a "feminine" behavior. Here I will refer mainly to the construction of the feminine body in a postmodern context.

Media provide images and figures that spectators can imitate and identify with. These images play an important part in socializing and educating individuals using social and sexual role models (as well as a lot of different positions of the individual) that value certain patterns of behavior and a certain style, while discouraging any others. This is particularly true when we refer to women's representation in the media. Media are efficient means for disseminating the dominant discourse of power and for disguising it into a matter of "common sense". Therefore, artificially created needs, norms and standards regarding the female body are presented as natural and normal. Firstly, I will analyze how is the feminine body represented in the media and secondly, what roles are women encouraged to assume.

The "feminine" and the "masculine" are defined using binary oppositions: subject/object, essence/appearance, culture/nature, reason/passion, active/passive, spirit/matter. The second terms of these binary oppositions are attributed to the "feminine". In order to be recognized as "feminine", women must internalize the "feminine" values and to construct their identities accordingly. Since femininity is associated with matter, the symbol of femininity is the female body. In contemporary culture, the body, especially the female one, is regarded as an object that can be shaped and modeled to match the promoted beauty standards. The media are an efficient instrument that both reflect and shape social realities. The ideal of femininity media promote also reflects women's position in a certain society.

I will use Jeremy Bentham's *panopticon* as a metaphor to illustrate how the control and surveillance performed over the female body from outside tend to act automatically, from inside, once a certain ideal of femininity has been internalized. Media define

femininity in relation to beauty and youth, as these are dominant values in the contemporary culture. I am interested in the media discourse on the feminine body and on the roles it considers to suit women best.

Michel Foucault defines the panopticon as a highly efficient instrument of surveillance and control that is present in all modern institutions (Foucault, 1997, pp. 279-315). Inside the panopticon the observer can see without being seen, while the observed are permanently exposed. The object of control is aware of its permanent visibility, therefore obeys all rules. Since the individuals can never see their observer, they can never know if they *are* actually watched, but only that they *could* be watched. This mechanism grants the automatic effects of power, causing the observed to become their own principle of subjection. The external surveillance becomes self-surveillance, so that any other external constraint is no longer needed. As for the female body, it is enough for the woman to internalize that she is being an object of the masculine gaze so as to obsessively control and survey her gestures, postures and looks. The practices women use in order to subscribe to the contemporary ideal of beauty (excessive diets or plastic surgeries, for instance) affect their physical health and, since the femininity standards are difficult to reach, women are compelled to live most of their lives with a feeling of deficiency, of not being good enough, which means that a severe control over the body can also affect the mind. As it appears, the key-concepts the media discourse operates with are "surveillance" and "control" over the female body, both external and internal. Media use this strategy so as to shape women's bodies as well as to fashion their social roles.

I will explain how self-surveillance and self-examination techniques operate for the case of women's bodies. Firstly, an increased visibility of women's bodies is created for the panoptic observers, hence for "invisible" agents. Media sets standards for the shape and the dimensions of the "beautiful" body, according to a series of binary oppositions regarding, for instance, the normal/ abnormal size of the body. The women whose bodies do not match the ideal standards need to be "normalized" through a series of practices of self-surveillance and self-control. Such discourses regarding the aspect of the body suggest that there's always a need for improvement. Control is granted by producing norms, by associating women to certain identity types and by offering certain solutions to the artificially created needs. Normative femininity is made of a series of disciplinary practices regarding the body, its gestures, its appetite, its shape and its aspect. The great advantage of the disciplinary model of power is that it replaces violence with normalization (Price, 1999, p. 195).

Women's image in the media reflects social prejudices regarding women's most appropriate roles in a given society. Media are efficient means of dissemination and control. They play the observer's role in a virtual panopticon, exposing women's bodies in detail, setting norms for their shape and dimensions, providing the methods to model one's body according to standards and sanctioning every exception to the rule. Women are kindly invited to control their bodies. A woman who constantly controls the way she looks, dresses, what she eats, is a subject of self-surveillance. This is the reflection in her conscience that she is a subject of surveillance in ways a man is not and no matter what she does, she is, first of all, a body, and her role is to arouse and to decorate. This state of permanent visibility has been induced to women to grant the automatic effects of power. Women are prisoners in this virtual panopticon as, once aware they are being objects of the gaze, they apply to themselves the normalizing politics of control and self-surveillance. In the contemporary patriarchal culture women act as if a masculine observer were permanently watching them.

Role models for women: dominant versus alternative

In what concerns women's social roles, mass culture provides the public with a variety of models that reflect, however, cultural beliefs and gender stereotypes. Each model stresses certain qualities, yet some models prevail. We may say that some models seem dominant while the "alternative" ones are quite few and are often considered to be rather "unfeminine". The public is taught that some attitudes and activities are more suited to women than others. Media offer us traditional representations of women as well as different, "emancipated" ones. Women can choose from a wide range of social roles that can be performed both in the private and in the public space.

Once again, femininity is defined according to the binary oppositions mentioned above. The second term, associated to the feminine, appears as inferior, even opposed to the first term. The man appears as rational, active, independent, while the woman appears as passive, dependent, subject to passions. Therefore, the tasks that require responsibility, competitiveness, ambition, initiative, intelligence, strength (such as earning an income, taking political decisions, leading an institution) are traditionally attributed to men, while those requiring care, empathy, nurturing, obedience, submission, are attributed to women. Based on this separation between masculine and feminine, the roles women and men perform in the private and in the public space are divided as well: men are the central authority of the family, the bread-winners, producers of material goods and representatives of their family in the public space, while women are unpaid domestic workers, nurturers, reproducers and subordinates. This separation prevails in the public space as the top position within a hierarchy (be it a political, organizational or institutional one) is usually held by men, while women are usually subordinates and mediators, working in the low-paid sectors of the labor market, performing similar activities to those at home.

Family is a central value in traditional, patriarchal societies, therefore mass culture products celebrate the values of the traditional family. The traditional family appears as a hierarchy having the man at the top and the wife and children - as subordinates. Opposite to this traditional model is the egalitarian family. The two partners share private and public responsibilities so that neither one of them is subordinate to the other. The traditional roles for women are those of wives and mothers, of beautiful objects and reproducers. Traditional women find their fulfillment in the private sphere, in nurturing the other members of their family. On the contrary, the emancipated women invest their time and efforts in their personal development, in building a career. For them marriage and motherhood are an option they might decide not to choose. In the public space, these women appear as professionally successful, rational, ambitious, talented and hard-working. They are endowed with the so called "masculine" features.

Anyhow, the "alternative" role models media promote are not radically different from the traditional ones. Moreover, the alternative media offer us a traditional model of femininity that has been added some liberal elements. To put it differently, besides beauties and mothers, feminine women also appear as professionals, successful in the public space. The growing importance of the image undermines women's social position. Besides their duties of mothers, wives, workers, women also have the duty to look good. They have to obey men's desires and beauty standards, being valued mainly as beautiful objects. The new ideal of femininity strengthens the male domination, since women must look good with the only purpose of attracting and keeping a man. These new standards require that women should be young and slim, domestic workers, reproducers, lov-

ing wives and mothers, intelligent, ambitious career women altogether. Media suggests women should be able to do it all. Women's failure to identify themselves with this model is seen as a personal failure due to personal flaws, while the model itself is not being contested.

Media presents a distorted model of the emancipated femininity: instead of liberating women from their status of objects and instead of placing them on an equal position with men both at work and at home, media creates "the perfect woman", setting standards very difficult to reach (and even more difficult to preserve) and promoting women who seem to match this ideal. When portraying a woman, media follow three coordinates: the image (if she subscribes to the ideal of beauty), the private life (if she has a partner, if she has children), the career (how talented she is in her work). This scheme is useful for manipulating women's attitudes towards the alternative models of femininity as our culture is centered on image and leisure time, therefore personal image and private life appear to be more important than any relevant activities in the public space. So, if a successful career woman is not young and slim, is not married, divorced or has no children, the readers will not look up to her for their system of values is different. Each time a woman appears as independent, rational, successful, the stress is moved on her personal life (she has no partner, no children or is not attractive) so as to undermine her professional achievements. The cost for being "different" is too high and women are not willing to give up their femininity (beauty and motherhood) in exchange for liberation.

The alternative models are present, though. Different models are accepted and integrated in the "official" culture only if they submit to some traditional aspects. In other words, a career woman is a fine model for women as long as she preserves her femininity, as long as she is attractive and appears as a wife and a mother. Media manipulates women into rejecting the "emancipated" model by portraying intelligent or successful women as deprived of family or personal life. In our culture family is still seen as a source of fulfillment for women. Most women are not prepared to postpone the chance of getting married and having children in order to be successful at work. The image is also very important since it is the very symbol of femininity, so if the career women do not look feminine, the public will reject them and women will refuse to identify themselves with such models.

Conclusions

Since middle-class women have been sequestered from the world, isolated from one another, and their heritage submerged with each generation, they are more dependent than men are on the cultural models on offer, and more likely to be imprinted by them. Given few role models in the world, women seek them on the screen and on the glossy page (Wolf, 1992, p.58). In these conditions, media representations of femininity have a strong impact on women and on the shaping of their identities. Women are supposed to have a variety of models to choose from when constructing their image and assuming their roles, but the truth is that their options are quite limited and induced by the media discourse. After they have internalized the standards of femininity, their choices regarding image and role models are quite predictable.

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Words and Women. An eligible bachelor vs. an eligible spinster

Abstract

The subject of gender discrimination in language and the relation between language and social structures is well known and widely debated. Nevertheless, everyday experiences show, over and over, the linguistic hierarchy at work when men and women are concerned.

This paper has two main parts. The first one concerns the image of women in language and the other one treats the manner in which women usually use the language.

Despite the fact that these social unwritten rules and deep rooted preconceptions are, in my opinion, difficult to ignore, the initiative of analyzing such facts represents an important first step in reducing the negative effects of the phenomenon. Obviously, we are aware of the fact that the problem is extremely profound and the imposed usage of certain nondiscriminatory terms represents not a very efficient solution, but, all in all, this analysis is the first phase of a much profound change that hopefully will occur.

Introduction.

This paper starts from the assumption that there is a very close relationship between language and social structure: the linguistic variation is generated by and, at the same time, generates social variation. Language appears to be an important factor in the analysis of the social relations among different groups. I am referring here to what Jennifer Coates calls minority and majority groups. The usage of these terms has nothing to do with the number of the group members; instead it deals with the different access to power and control. (Coates 1993: 3-15) I use her affirmation that women are a “minority group” and analyze it from the perspective of the manner in which language, when women are concerned, is used by women and by the other members of the society. The social position of the members of the different groups (minority and majority) can be perceived by analyzing some linguistic aspects, for example the way they speak or their linguistic image.

Even if there were earlier preoccupations concerning language and women’s social place, the systematic study of linguistic sexism appears with the second wave of women’s movements that started in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Adina Brădeanu presents the main threads of the critical analysis of discourse, analysis that examines the language in order to understand the way in which it contributes to the reproduction of the social structures and relations. These general principles of the critical analysis of discourse highlight the close connection between language and social structure. I believe it is useful to present some of these principles:

- the field of concern of the critical analysis of discourse is represented by the social issues and not by language itself;
- the critical analysis of language studies power at the level of discourse and the power on the discourse

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- the society and the culture are dialectally linked to discourse for they are influenced by discourse, and, at the same time, they compose the discourse;
- the understanding of discourses is not possible without the understanding of the historical context in which the discourse appears and functions;
- the discourse is a form of social behavior;
- the critical analysis of discourse conceptualizes the discourse as a form of social practice and emphasis on the mutual influences of the language and the social structures. (Brȃdeanu, Dragomir, Rovența-Frumuțani, Surughiu 2002: 142)

These principles of discourse critical analysis function also when the relationship between society and language is considered from a feminist perspective.

In my modest attempt to analyze the relation between gender and language, I present two important aspects of the issue: the way women use language and the way language uses women. Both approaches illustrate the preconceptions regarding women.

The language is not a neutral entity. It uses us just as much as we use it. In our linguistic behavior we can find true forms of discrimination towards women. An important direction in the feminist research is the analysis of the social differences from the linguistic perspective. In my paper, I will try to briefly present two aspects of this issue: the image of women in language and women's manner of using the language.

The image of women in language

The first aspect is women's image in language, referring to the fact that in most of the languages, there is an obvious asymmetry concerning the terms that represent women and those that indicate men.

An interesting study of this phenomenon is done by Anne Pauwels (Pauwels 1998). She maintains that a wide variety of types of discourse has been subjected to analysis of linguistic sexism. Among them, several have a particular importance due to the impact and the influence on mentalities and behavior. A significant category is represented by the education texts, for their central role in the formation of children and for their promotion of gender stereotypes and bias about girls and women – who are usually associated with emotionality, physical aspect, home and family life etc. Law and media texts are also very important in the study of the relationship between language and society, because of the great impact this kind of discourse has. These texts promote stereotyped images of men and women. But, if men's representation contains features that are positively valued (physical strength and force, rationalism, aggression, independence, mastery over other beings and things), women's image, on the other hand, is based on features as dependence, physical beauty, emotionality, sensitivity and caring, features not valued by the patriarchal order.¹

Pauwels' volume proves that the linguistic sexism is an "international phenomenon". Despite the differences between languages, the author presents a number of common elements in the linguistic representation of women and men across several languages:

- the man is portrayed as the benchmark, as the norm for all human beings;
- the woman's linguistic invisibility, or, when she is visible, her asymmetry in comparison to man;
- the dependence of some terms denoting women on terms denoting men;
- the stereotypical linguistic representation of both sexes: women are primarily

depicted as sexual creatures (e.g. the Madonna - whore polarity) whereas men are more likely to be portrayed as rational beings (Pauwels 1998: 34).

Anne Pauwels also quotes other three main regularities observed by Hellinger across a large variety of European languages. The first regularity is that terms referring to women are always gender-specific, whereas terms referring to men can have two functions: gender specific and generic. The second regularity concerns the semantic asymmetry between the terms referring to women and men, especially those denoting occupations. The third regularity concerns comparisons of women to men; in most instances the feminine is the negative term ("*he cries like a girl*"), meanwhile the masculine is the positive one ("*she is a second Mozart*") (Pauwels 1998: 35).

These features in the linguistic image of the men and women are acting also in Romanian.

Probably the most famous example that comes to support the idea of discrimination through language is represented by the terms *man* and *he* denoting the human species. As I have already mentioned, this situation exists in many languages. But, in Romanian the term *om* (that refers to the *whole human species*) is no longer often used with the meaning of *bărbat* (*male*). Yet, the existence of two different terms for denoting *man* and *male*, gave me the opportunity to observe an example of sexism, when, just having found about a gender study conference, a student said: "*Another conference about women being oppressed by men (om)!*". Here, the usage of *om* (with the meaning of *man* and not that of *male*) suggested that women are not human beings, as men are.

Even if in Romanian the trap of *man* is usually avoided, there are many other examples that confirm the patriarchal order that manifests itself in language. Among them, I remind the form of the genitive, who doesn't allow women to possess: the genitive form accords with the object possessed and not with the possessor. Also, the plural form of the third person is the masculine one, when both men and women are concerned. But it is worth mentioning the existence of *ele*, the plural form of the third person, feminine. The masculine linguistic "superiority" is also expressed by the gender concord. When adjectives or verbs refer to several nouns of different gender it is the noun with the masculine gender that will determine the gender concord.

As it was already said, the language illustrates the social structure. There are some rules that act in language and one of the most significant is that corresponding to men being the norm and women being the deviation. This regularity underlined by Pauwels exists also in Romanian. As an example, the terms that denote the persons that have certain professions become problematic when women are concerned. In this case, the feminine term is the diminutive form of the word denoting the man having that occupation. Thus, as Cărtărescu concludes, the practice of a profession by a woman involves, in comparison to a man, a lack, the diminutiveness being in fact a diminution, a reduction of importance. A woman is less than a man that has the same profession (Grünberg, Miroiu 1997: 29-33).

Also, there are professions in which exist many women, but there are no terms to designate them. Even if there are words referring to women performing a certain profession, they are not totally accepted and introduced in the dictionary.

Another interesting example is the usage of the feminine form of a profession to denote an equipment and not a person (*semănător- semănătoare*). (Văcărescu 2004)

This example comes to support the idea that women are usually associated to negative elements (irrationality, weakness) and this preconception emerges at the linguistic

level. This is also the conclusion of an analysis made by Cirkseña and Cuklanz. (Rakow 1992: 18-44) They present five dualisms, very important for the occidental thinking, and they analyze the women's place within the framework of these dualisms. These five dualisms are: reason and emotion, public and private, culture and nature, subject and object, mind and body and the authors' conclusion being that the feminine is always associated to the "inferior" part of these couples.

It is worth mentioning here the linguistic asymmetry that exists between women and men, asymmetry caused by the labels of *sexual woman* and *generic men*. As Pauwels says, "a fundamental characteristic of every definition of 'woman' is her sexual nature (for women, sex is destiny), whereas [...] An important semantic feature in the definition of the word 'man' and its equivalents in other languages is its capacity to represent or stand for the entire human race". (Pauwels 1998: 50) The idea of sexual women is suggested also by the large number of terms or metaphors for prostitutes existing in most languages. The fact that the terms that denote the sexual act present especially the man's perspective, as "something that a man does to a women", suggests also a linguistic image in which women are a sexual object. "The language and discourse of sex and sexual activity is said to be a clear testimony to the fact that it is men who have the power to name and define in language." (Pauwels 1998: 55)

The situations mentioned above: the morphological asymmetry and the lexical gaps (the absence of terms referring to women in certain situations) reflect a social fact and represent an important object for the feminist critics.

I consider that the usage of *man* and *he* to refer to the whole human species, represent, let's say, "basic elements" of our language, elements that are used unconsciously, proving the deep rooting of preconceptions in our way of thinking and speaking. At the same time, I stress the importance of analyzing more complex structures of language, structures that are, I dare say, closer to the plan of conscience, in order to emphasize the discrimination through language.

The importance of such structures is underlined by Steve Duck, who speaks about the role of the metaphors in analyzing the relationships. "The way in which the individuals really experience a feeling or a relation is tightly connected to the language through which they communicate and describe this experience. The terms they use contain the experience, but they also direct it." (Duck 2000: 38) The metaphors don't have only an aesthetic role; they are in fact culturally and personally organized psychological structures, which not only express our thoughts, but also organize our perception, thoughts and action.

The fact that, in expressions such as: "husband/man and wife", "brother and sister", "son and daughter", the man occupies the first position was, in 1551, motivated by Mr. Thomas Willson by the fact that man's superiority must be reflected also in language (Spender 1980: 3-7). Today, even if no one maintains this opinion, the sequence of the terms remains the same. Women are presented in language as second rank or even negative.

To support this idea, I resort to two Romanian expressions used to encourage a person found in a difficult situation, expressions that have almost the same meaning: "*Fii bărbat!*" ("*Be a man!*") and "*Nu fii muier!*" ("*Don't be a woman!*").

It is worth mentioning another linguistic aspect concerning women, the names and the forms of address. These elements are extremely important because they synthesize a conception regarding women, stressing the aspect that is considered essential for them. The superlexicalization of women refers to the fact that there are a lot of terms

that denote women, implying several aspects: dehumanization (*skirt, piece*), vulgarity (*pet, chick*), possession by men (*wife, mistress*). These terms are used in Romanian, next to others that have trivializing connotations, as *cucoană, coană, duduie, duducă, madamă*. Also, the expressions like *sweetie* or *honey* suggest the idea of an object of consumption, while *girl* implies immaturity and irresponsibility.

The two forms of addressing to a woman: *Mrs.* and *Miss* oblige the woman to declare her marital status and, thus, her “sexual availability” and, at the same time, the fact that she is possessed by a man (Flower 1991: 94). The addressing form for men is *Mr.*, irrespective of the marital status. This difference in addressing forms between genders exists in Romanian, too. Moreover, the Romanian *domnișoară* (*Miss.*) is used to question a women’s virginity.

The asymmetry also characterizes the ways men and women address each other. The power relations between the sexes imply non-reciprocal forms of address, that manifest themselves especially in work situations, where it is not unusual for a male boss to address his female subordinate by her first name or even by endearment such as *darling, sweetie, sugar*, etc. “It need no to be said that the female worker cannot reciprocate in similar terms address her male superior” (Pauwels 1998: 62).

The object of some important feminist criticisms is the usage, in the presentation of a woman, of terms that indicate family relations (*mother, wife, daughter*), while, for men are usually used terms related to his activity outside the home (his profession). Women’s identity seems to be constituted in relation to the others, within the borders of the “proper space” for her, i.e. the private space. Thus, the former rules, consciously given up, appear at the linguistic level, proving their powerful influence on our thinking.

It is also important the asymmetry of the same term when it refers to women in comparison to men. For example, the terms *bachelor* and *spinster* have the same definition: persons that are not married. But, if *bachelor* does not have negative connotations, sometimes being even a compliment, the pejorative nuance of *spinster* cannot be denied. Robin Lakoff gives the example of two sentences in order to point out the differences between the terms: “*Mary hopes to meet an eligible bachelor*” and “*Fred hopes to meet an eligible spinster*” proving the abnormality of the association *eligible spinster* (Lakoff 1975: 64). If a *bachelor* is a person that chooses not to get married, a *spinster* doesn’t have the possibility to get married.²

These linguistic differences are generated by and, at the same time, generate social variations, often discriminatory ones. The awareness of this fact is the first step towards a less sexist and discriminatory language.

Women’s language

The second aspect of the analysis of the relation of language and gender is the specific way in which women use language. Men and women use language differently.

On the one hand, for men, the speaking refers strictly to facts, problems and solutions. The masculine communication is characterized by self-imposing, competition, interruption of the interlocutor, assertiveness, by short and well structured sentences. The communication is perceived by men as an opportunity to demolish the others’ discourse.

On the other hand, women are interested in mutual relationships, in communication, cooperation, harmony; the aim of the women’s communication style is the creation and the maintaining of interpersonal relations. Women’s way of speaking implies gen-

uine communication, and not fact reports, as in men's case. Women's communication is cooperative, aiming to sustain the interlocutor and not to challenge her/ him, to add at her/ his discourse or at her/ his argumentation and not to criticize it. Thus, tag-questions, which help the other, preparing the way for his response, are a characteristic for women's discourse.

Besides the interpretation of tag-questions as an encouragement of the interlocutor, there is another way to perceive them, as a need for support, for affirmation, a need that women, as a minority group, have. This example helps us bring up two theories of gender difference in communication: the domination theory and the difference theory. The underlying question for both of them is: what determines the differences in communication between men and women?

The theory that stakes on domination sustains that women's communication is the result of the male social supremacy. The *silence* is the word that characterizes women's linguistic behavior, silence meaning their absence from the public sphere. Male domination is imposed through language and requires a certain way of speaking for women. The patriarchal order allotted to women the private space, restricting them the contact with the public sphere. Also, women had no or very little access to education and culture, their communication manner being shaped by the relationships at home and by the patriarchal rules that imposed them a humble attitude. The characteristics of women's communication style result from their social position in a patriarchal social order, from their uncertainty, from their lack of power and self-esteem.

The difference theory emphasizes the idea that women and men talk differently because they are different. Women's voice is a different one that emerges from a different mind and a different body. So, women appear as a subculture that has its own way of experiencing the world and the interpersonal relationships and has its own means to put them in words (*l'écriture féminine* which is capable of expressing the difference between man and woman). The main objections to this idea refer to the essentialism underlying it, essentialism that denies the importance of other determinants (such as ethnicity, culture, education, social and economic position, etc.) and to its utopian character (Brădeanu, Dragomir, Roventă-Frumușani, Surugiu 2002: 129).

None of these theories can alone offer an acceptable explanation for the difference between the masculine and the feminine communication. Aspects from both of them must be taken into consideration in order to approach such a difficult and delicate issue. The differences between men and women exist and no one can deny their importance in communication, but the role of women's traditional social place cannot be neglected in shaping the feminine discourse.

Women's way of speaking, usually described in negative terms, as emotional, irrational, illogical etc. needs to be re-valued. Thus, new criteria of evaluation will be used. This process has already started, but it evolves slowly because of both women's and men's lack of awareness. Nevertheless, there are situations which show that we can talk about a positive re-valuing of terms that characterize women's discourse. For example, the frequency and the importance of gossip columns in newspapers or the emphasis on the benefits of the cooperative conversational style, as opposed to the competitive one. There are many situations in which a masculine conversational style gives no result, thus being preferred a "more feminine" type of communication (Coates 1993: 3-15).

The assimilation, which is the adoption by women of a masculine language (powerful voice, an assertive style, words and expressions taboo, etc.) should be surpassed. This is a technique that allows women to impose themselves in a male dominated

sphere. But a price must be paid: the specificity of feminine discourse. The positive re-valuing of the feminine communicational traits, traditionally perceived in a negative manner, represents perhaps the beginning of the end of the assimilation.

Conclusion.

The linguistic variations when gender is concerned stand for a veritable indicator of social unwritten rules and deep rooted preconceptions. As it was already said, women suffer a linguistic discrimination and this fact has a great importance on women's general situation. The mechanisms through which the language acts on our thinking and through which we act on it are impressive and impossible to reveal. Yet, the fact that we become more aware of this phenomenon represents an important step towards a less discriminatory language and, hopefully, society.

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Notes:

1. Adina Brădeanu has a very interesting study on the bias against women manifested in a Romanian bill that defines the sexual harassment and in an article from a Romanian magazine for women.
2. We must say that in Romanian there is a masculine correspondent for *spinster* (*fecior bătrân*).

GEORGINA GABOR

Sexual Harassment at the Workplace: Converging Ideologies

Abstract:

The present study endeavors to give a description of a famous case of sexual harassment at the workplace (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission vs. Mitsubishi Motor Manufacturing of America) and critique it in terms of its embedment of an intertwined relationship between two pervasive ideologies prevalent in our society: patriarchy and consumerism. By focusing on the favorable conditions, ways of resolution, and outcomes of the lawsuit, this essay approaches the organizational culture of Mitsubishi Motor Manufacturing of America through the lens of critical theory. Selective literature review on sexual harassment, as well as general coverage of the event by the media and the parties involved demonstrate the validity of the claim that this study has made.

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sexual harassment, dominant ideology, organizational culture, critical theory, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

When one saves a single soul, one saves the world.
(New Testament)

People act. People convey their thoughts, feelings, interests, and power as they try to make sense of things. Seldom do they do that elsewhere than in social interactions. As our society becomes more and more work-oriented, often the most prevalent place for action and expression is the workplace itself. The constraints that an "appropriate work environment" imposes on coworkers are not always effective, in terms of their capacity to stop people from acting and expressing themselves in ways that prevent others from having the same opportunity. In fact, it is often the case that certain organizational settings encourage - whether consciously or not - situations of an ambiguous character to unfold.

One of the most controversial issues of our times, in terms of its status (legal and/ or managerial and/ or ethical), its favorable conditions, its ways of getting solved out, and its impact on people's lives at the individual, organizational, and societal levels is the concern for sexual harassment at the workplace. Facts tell us that the rates of sexual harassment incidences and cases of sexual harassment brought to the court increased significantly in the past decades. As it usually happens, it is when *naming* an experience becomes available that people start taking account of it. That does not mean that the experience itself did not take place before. But with the appearance of the name/ label, awareness of the situation itself also comes. When naming occurs, it is usually accompanied by definitions, however divergent those are. The terms in which a concept is being defined are always easier for people to identify and so they start making sense of previ-

ous experiences that they could not classify in earlier stages of their lives. Oftentimes, exaggerations occur: as individual perceptions vary drastically, the ways in which people recognize and/ or decipher the available definitions varies as well.

Sexual harassment is a concept that first appeared in the 1970s in the United States and, much later on, in 1986, broke its way in Europe through a case that was recognized as *illegal* in Great Britain (Collier, 1995). Perhaps more visibly than many other terms, *sexual harassment* created a possibility for both positive and negative effects on the society as a whole and on both individuals and organizations in particular. It was due to a widespread (and ongoing) range of definitions, which later on created a much broader area of connotations of their own, that people were able to recognize harmful experiences of that sort (and often bring them to court) at the time *when they actually happened*. But, in the same vein, it was due to the same ambiguity of the concept that misuse of power, proliferation of gender stereotypes, and sometimes even "workplace paranoia" (Zalesne, 1999) started to take place more and more often.

This study attempts to assess the event of the sexual harassment case filed by the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) against Mitsubishi Motor Manufacturing of America (MMMA) on April 9 1996, in terms of its organizational communication conditioning, management, and implications. By looking at various literature on the topic (sexual harassment at the workplace), this essay scrutinizes the event in terms of its legal, organizational, media, and public opinion coverage, and on those bases proposes that all the above concur in explaining the conditions, the processing, and the outcomes of a sexual harassment incident in general. By use of critical analysis, the present study aims at gaining access to the prevailing ideologies and dominant structures that allow, if not foster the proliferation of cases of sexual harassment at the workplace. Organizational usage of strategic ambiguity (Eisenberg, 1984) with regard to sexual harassment - both in terms of the concept's status (legal/ managerial/ ethical) and in terms of its proposed definitions - has a lot to do with the increased frequency of such incidences. The fact that outrageous cases of sexual harassment at the workplace do take place, regardless of the degree to which the term is being misused for various reasons, impose on organizations to avoid strategic ambiguity when it comes to this particular issue.

Definitions, Perceptions, Attitudes - Is There More to It?

Ever since it has been introduced in the legal, organizational, and scholarly areas of interest, sexual harassment produced an overwhelming amount of literature. It would be off limits to even attempt to review it systematically and comprehensively. However, for the purposes of this study - and many other studies for that matter - a comprehensive literature review is not a desirable goal in the first place. What needs to be presented is the part of the existing literature that concurs in explaining the instance that this study focuses on. The implication of the above statement is that an enormous amount of research on sexual harassment is being deliberately and legitimately left aside (e.g., cases of same-sex sexual harassment, etc.). Zalesne (1999) points out that more and more victims of sexual harassment intend lawsuits to their perpetrators. This, in the author's opinion, is a positive thing, regardless of media's portraying sexual harassment as a "useful tool for disgruntled employees looking for a legal way to blackmail their coworkers or employers". Societal progress "to the point where sexual harassment is being taken seriously" - continues the author - is to be appreciated as the positive upshot of the abun-

dance of suits brought to the United States Supreme Court in the recent years. Therefore, it is important for people to know what legal options they have, before submitting such a case to the court.

According to DiLorenzo and Pharshbarger (1999), the law of sexual harassment originates in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964: "Title VII prohibits discrimination against an individual 'with respect to compensations, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin'. Although the statute does not expressly prohibit harassment, the courts eventually came to view sexual harassment as a form of sex discrimination" (p. 37). However, explain the authors, the specific conducts that stay for sexual harassment are still a problem of interpretation, as various cases continue to claim legitimacy by emphasizing different aspects that, in the victims' perception, constitute sexual harassment. If initially, as DiLorenzo and Pharshbarger note, sexual harassment conduct was narrowly defined as "only actual demands for sexual favors", the concept progressively evolved to include "any unwanted term or condition imposed on an individual's employment because of unwelcome conduct of a sexual nature" (p. 37).

Though the issue is still under discussion, two basic categories of sexual harassment are presently being recognized: (1) quid pro quo harassment and (2) hostile work environment. DiLorenzo and Pharshbarger proceed to explain the two categories:

The essence of a quid pro quo harassment claim is an individual's reliance upon his actual or apparent authority to extort or attempt to extort sexual favors from another employee by conditioning work-related benefits on sexual favors. To be actionable, the plaintiff must show that a term or condition of her employment was linked to her acceptance or rejection of sexual advances. A claim for hostile work environment harassment, in contrast, requires a showing that the workplace was permeated with a 'discriminatory intimidation, ridicule, and insult'. A hostile work environment is actionable only if the conduct is 'sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter the conditions of (the victim's) employment and create an abusive working environment'. (p. 37)

This long quotation is meant to show that, even in its more specific version, the law on sexual harassment is still ambiguous, whereas this ambiguity is often being used in organizational settings in order to talk victims out of intending lawsuits to their perpetrators. Moreover, the same ambiguity is the key to understanding the reinforcement of already extant power structures in organizations and in society upon the whole, among which perhaps the most pervasive is patriarchy.

According to Baugh (1997), proliferation of sexual harassment, despite the general agreement on its abhorrence and the various programs aimed at eradicating it from the workplace, is a result of gender divergence in perceptions on what constitutes sexual harassment, as well as an outcome of our society's propensity toward institutionalizing and legitimizing male perspectives on the issue. The most alerting upshot of this situation, argues the author, is that an attention-shift from the specific sexual harassment conduct that caused a victim (generally a woman) to file a complaint to the victim itself is being performed. The deeper meaning of the above consequence is that the foundations of patriarchy remain unquestioned in our society; moreover, the extant power structures get reinforced. Some of the specifics that ultimately discourage abused women to take action in such instances are organizations' responses to such protests. Organizations tend to view sexual harassment as a personal issue that one should be able to deal with on one's own, in order for both one's coworkers and her employers to even regard her as a "competent" colleague. Complaint about such cases *is still expected* to take place - since

organizations do want to be accountable under the federal law; therefore, the victimized woman *is expected* to be able to "prove" that the behavior that she complains about was indeed "unwelcome" (p. 904). The implication is that perception of the legitimacy of instances where such behavior is appropriate still prevails in a male dominated workplace. In such a working environment, sexual remarks and jokes are considered "natural" (p. 988).

However, at this point it has hopefully become overt that sexual harassment has multiple intricacies to display; ambiguity at the legal level, at the managerial level, and even at the individual level - with regard to people's perceptions - are all there. Research on sexual harassment at the workplace, as stated by Rogers and Henson (1997), has basically followed four directions: the extent of sexual harassment, labeling sexual harassment, responses to sexual harassment, and contributing factors to sexual harassment. Responses to sexual harassment, according to Piskorski (1993), present a striking conflict between the public policy favoring the resolution of the dispute at a managerial, local level, and the public policy against sexual harassment. Moreover, as the United States Supreme Court decided on certain conditions under which employers' liability under Title VII can be sustained (DiLorenzo & Pharshbarger, 1999), employers themselves are often torn within dilemmas: they have to have the company "comply with federal law requiring a workplace free of sexual coercion", but at the same time they may have to deal with abused employees whose perceptions of sexual harassment advise them not to file the case (Niven, 1992).

Research has also shown that it is usually men who initiate sexual harassment, and that the most frequent victims are women. At the same time, women tend to perceive as sexually harassing a broader range of behaviors than do men (Studd & Gattiker, 1991; Stokes, Riger, & Sullivan, 1995; Baugh, 1997). Management itself and internal gender distribution within organizations place a great deal of difference on the conditions that favor a sexual harassment environment. Fitzgerald, Drasgow, and Magley (1999) report that "harassment occurs less frequently in groups whose members perceive that the organization's upper levels will not tolerate such behaviors, as well as in more gender-balanced workgroups" (p. 330). A model proposed by Drasgow et al. (1997) backs, from a theoretical point of view, the results above, which are also confirmed by later studies (Hesson McNinnis, & Fitzgerald, 1997). On the contrary, there are cases where both managers and employers ignore sexual harassment at the workplace in principle; that principle becomes a sort of "cultural norm" (Folgero & Fjeldstad, 1995). However, there is general agreement on the fact that individual characteristics and organizational features interact in conditioning sexual harassment at the workplace (DeCoster, Estes, & Mueller, 1999).

Timmerman & Bajena's (1999) article is somewhat of a milestone in the research on sexual harassment, because it consists of a meta-analysis of current studies in Northern and Western Europe on the above issue. The authors suggest that special care should be taken when explaining differences in incidence rates or perceptions of sexual harassment as national or cultural differences. While it still holds true that organizational cultures do influence the above variables, in terms of sexualization of the work environment, tolerance of sexual harassment, social climate, and balancing work and personal obligations, this does not mean that a strong correlation between nationality/ culture and incidence rates and perceptions of sexual harassment explains cross-cultural differences. The authors conclude that organizational cultures reflect, at most, a certain degree of "national"/ "cultural" awareness of the issue, but do not stand for an accurate repre-

sensation of that country's/ culture's likelihood to experience certain rates of sexual harassment or to hold specific perceptions of it.

As the reviewed research clearly shows, sexual harassment constitutes an extremely complex issue. The most important thing about it, however, is that sexual harassment experiences are virtually in store for everyone. Perhaps that, if nothing else, could make people aware of the fact that "sexual harassment is made possible and condoned by all of us, including those who decry it as reprehensible. Analogous to institutional racism and sexism, sexual harassment may be institutionalized in our society, maintained by a much wider range of attitudes, values, behaviors, and traditions that we have recognized" (Tinsley & Stockdale, 1993, p. 2).

The Case of EEOC vs. Mitsubishi Motor Manufacturing

When certain practices are traditionally and morally considered "wrong" in principle, measuring the "degree" to which they are so seems like a futile thing to do. However, the lawsuit that the U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) filed on April 9, 1996, against Mitsubishi Motor Manufacturing of America, Inc. (MMMA) was unanimously regarded as "the largest sexual harassment case in the history of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964" (www.eeoc.gov, September 2000). According to *The Auto Channel*, "EEOC charges that the Japanese automaker permitted an atmosphere that was hostile to women at their plant in Normal, Illinois, and that hundreds of women have been sexually harassed since 1990". As a response to 26 female workers' at MMMA filing private suits against the company in 1994, for "incidences of harassment, assault, and rape dating back to 1989", EEOC investigates the case for fifteen months, alleges that "as many as 700 workers may be eligible for damages", and finally intends a separate lawsuit to MMMA. The charge that MMMA had to confront reads as follows: "a pattern of egregious and pervasive sexual harassment and retaliation at Mitsubishi's Normal, Ill. Plant". After initially pursuing "an aggressive and coordinated effort . . . to discredit both this litigation and the EEOC", by having its employees protest in front of the EEOC's office in Chicago for a regular wage pay, MMMA started to be "interested in pursuing settlement discussions with EEOC". Eventually, the case was brought to an "end" by the parties' entering a Consent Decree on June 23, 1998. The settlement stated that MMMA voluntarily agreed to pay \$34 million to be "distributed among all eligible claimants" and "revise as necessary its existing sexual harassment policy and complaint procedure to ensure that it continues to encourage employees to come forward with complaints about violations of MMMA's Statement of Zero-Tolerance Policy and Equality Objectives". Further, the company agreed to provide mandatory sexual harassment training to employees, to be prompt in investigating and reporting future cases of sexual harassment at the workplace, and to subject itself to supervision by a three-person panel of Decree Monitors "to oversee the execution of the steps included in the settlement for the duration of the proposed Consent Decree". The Decree Monitors were to review MMMA's ways of pursuing the policies and the practices directed toward the maintenance of its Zero-Tolerance Policy and Equality Objectives, and were to complete their review and evaluation within one year after their appointment.

The same source states, in September 2000, that the monitors watching over MMMA's efforts to put up with the Decree eventually reported: "Mitsubishi is in compliance with the Decree, has sexual harassment in the plant firmly under control, and has made considerable progress in improving its systems for preventing such behavior

and dealing with it appropriately when it occurs". The monitors' committee consisted of Nancy B. Kreiter, Research Director of Women Employed in Chicago, George F. Galland, Jr., an attorney in the Chicago law firm of Minner, Barnhill, & Galland, and Joyce E. Tucker, formerly a Commissioner of EEOC and currently a member of the consulting firm of Tucker, Spearman, & Associates of Alexandria, Virginia. The Decree Monitors' 2000 report was based on their ongoing supervision of MMMA's management and extensive documentation provided by the company, and on their several visits at the location, during which they conducted extensive interviews with the plant employees and oversaw practices of sexual harassment training for both associate and supervisors. The monitors' report concludes that: "The challenge for (Mitsubishi) now is to institutionalize these systems (for preventing and dealing with sexual harassment) so that when the Decree expires a year from now, the company can continue the significant progress it has made".

The regional attorney in the EEOC's Chicago District Office, John C. Hendrickson, summarizes the "success" of the EEOC's intervention in this outrageous sexual harassment case as follows:

The test of success for EEOC in the Mitsubishi case has always been comparable to the two-sides of a coin. On one side was monetary relief to compensate for the harm done in the past. Thirty-four million dollars is the most ever in a sexual harassment case and surely counts as a major success. On the other side - equally important - is putting a stop to sexual harassment in the workplace itself, making a concrete change for the employees of today and tomorrow. The monitors are telling us that this kind of change is a reality at Mitsubishi. That, I believe, means that EEOC has had a real success here.

Created in 1965, EEOC is a legal institution aimed at enforcing Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits employment discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; the Age Discrimination in Employment Act; the Equal Pay Act; Title I of the Americans with Disabilities Act, which prohibits employment discrimination against people with disabilities in the private sector and state and local governments; prohibitions against discriminations affecting individuals with disabilities in the federal government; and sections of the Civil Rights Act of 1991. Since the 1990s, the Commission had to face the results of "a substantial boost in public awareness about discrimination and harassment at the workplace" - a significantly increased load of race and sex discrimination charges that it started to receive.

The pattern of the EEOC's dealing with such cases is the "consent decree" or the "settlement". Cases such as the 1991 discrimination based on sex lawsuit against AT&T Technologies (\$66 million), the 1998 sexual harassment case against Astra U. S. A., Inc. (\$9.85 million), the 1999 sexual harassment case against Tanimura & Antle, the country's largest lettuce grower and distributor (\$1.85 million), the 1999 racial harassment case against American Seafood Company (\$1.25 million), the 1999 racial harassment lawsuit against Woodbine Healthcare Center (\$2.1 million), and the 1999 sexual harassment case against Long Prairie Packing Co. (\$1.9 millions) are the EEOC's major achievements, which, at the same time, reveal its "preferred method".

However, focusing on the EEOC's patterns of legal action is not the purpose of this study. Instead, this essay aims at exploring the conditions that favored sexual harassment at MMMA's Normal, Ill. Plant, MMMA's dealing with the reported cases, both out of and in court, and the outcomes of the EEOC's intervention in the major sexual harassment case. All the above inquiries' results will count as evidence that MMMA's being ideologically grounded in patriarchy and consumerism is the very condition that gave birth

to a morally outrageous situation and, at the same time, the very explanation of the company's ways of dealing with it.

When Patriarchy and Consumerism Join Hands

Inevitably, the inquiry on patriarchy and consumerism leads to a discussion of power. As stated by Shockley-Zalabak (1999), in its most general sense, power consists of "attempts to influence another person's behavior to produce desired outcomes. As such, power is a neutral term subject to positive use as well as abuse. The power process occurs through communication and is related to resources, dependencies, and alternatives" (p. 62). Critical theory questions power structures and reveals the ways in which abuses of power are being committed through the process of communication. The critical theory approach starts with the assumption that power is strategically embedded in organizational settings and that, through "legitimate controls" and proliferation of myths, its connected pervasiveness and, at the same time, invisibility create the conditions for hegemony: "Hegemony is a process of control based on a dominant group leading others to believe that their subordination is normal or the norm" (Shockley-Zalabak, 1999, p. 72).

For critical theorists, communication represents both the process through which power is being exerted and the means by which the conditions of domination can be brought out in the open, by focusing on the rules and the norms of the communication process itself, as they are being strategically made invisible by the power-holders. Shockley-Zalabak (1999) draws the attention upon the fact that "This 'legitimate' yet hidden exercise of power can contribute to the suspension of critical thinking" (p. 73). And, moreover, "the organizational structure itself represents how formal power is intended to work" (p. 248).

According to Tretheway (1997), from a critical theory point of view, organizational culture defines the unquestioned, pervasive, and sometimes abusive ideologies and power structures that secure privileged positions for certain groups within organizations. Critical approaches to organizational culture have an evaluative telos: they are aimed at revealing the ways in which certain ideologies "limit the social construction of reality by preventing other equally possible but not yet articulated conceptions of organizational realities from coming to fruition" (p. 215). However, as stated by Alvesson and Deetz (1996), "the pervasiveness of power relations makes them difficult to resist. Prevailing discourses are experienced as fact, which makes alternatives difficult to conceive of, let alone enact" (p. 630).

In the view of the above words, it becomes easier to understand the way in which the female employees' from the MMMA's Normal, Ill. Plant gesture of suing the company for sexual harassment abuses has been classified in the NOW news: "the women found a work environment fraught with harassment, discrimination, and abuse. Women workers claim that their workstations were sabotaged - causing equipment to malfunction and putting the women at risk of physical harm. Many complained of physical assaults and verbal abuse. It was so bad that the women at Mitsubishi *did the unthinkable* in a company town: they sued the company" (*italics mine*). Indeed, Shockley-Zalabak (1999) argues, sexual harassment conflicts are a rich soil for understanding that "many women and men have been culturally conditioned to believe many of the behaviors (characteristic in such incidences) . . . are normal and acceptable communication" (p. 249). Moreover, it becomes part of the organization's capacity - and even attributions - to further endorse

such misconceptions, for the sake of its own prosperity. Therefore, as has been stated about the sexual harassment case under study, the company treated the women's complaints like a public relations problem. In response to the recursive situation, Mitsubishi hired consultants to investigate, report on, and *prove* the company's commitment to diversity. Instead, points out the source, Mitsubishi "cannot fix their problems by simply writing new rules; they have to change their corporate cultures as well."

Shockley-Zalabak (1999) makes aware that "our perceptions of our own power and the power of others will influence the approaches we choose during conflict. Both the wise use and the abuse of power influence how communication occurs and what happens during conflict" (p. 248). Therefore, in sexual harassment conflicts, as both men's and women's perceptions are being marked by the pervasive ideologies of the organizational culture they belong to, their responses to conflict will be shaped accordingly. Men, as research on sexual harassment emphasized, tend to view a broader range of behaviors and language choices of a sexual nature as "normal" at the workplace, whereas women are more prone to regard this "normalcy" as abusive. Women's partial liberation from the dominant ideology that privileges men's voices and social constructions over their own in our society (patriarchy, as feminist research labels it) is clearly illustrated in their willingness to report and bring to court incidences of sexual harassment at the workplace. That has been the case with the women workers from the Normal, Ill. plant of MMMA. However, the dominant ideology, as reflected in the MMMA's organizational culture, was powerful enough to keep the workers silent for many years. As the literature review reveals, women face many obstacles in their encounter with such situations. They are expected to deal with the case on their own, their very "capability" being estimated as a result of how they manage to confront such "challenges". Further, as in a patriarchal society men's voices convey the legitimate "truth", women's reports of sexual harassment will not be taken seriously or believed. They will be regarded as "troublemakers who are jeopardizing the jobs of others" (NOW news). When female employees from Normal, Ill. decide to report the cases of sexual harassment they have been victims of, a "pattern" of such misconduct was already in place. Moreover, as patriarchy goes beyond the limits of MMMA's organizational culture, it took *several years* and *dozens of cases* to be reported in order for the EEOC to finally intervene.

As has been shown at an earlier stage in this study, MMMA's responses to the pattern of conflictual situations of sexual harassment were initially self-defensive. Patriarchy's lack of self-reflectiveness, backed by specific corporate interests, let to MMMA's sustained efforts to deal with the situation internally and to obscure workers' voices. Yet, at some point, the company had *to choose* between accepting the accusations and submit to the demand of offering the workers compensations for their mistreatment, in terms of money and policies/ training implementation, or having to face society's "unofficial" justice. Indeed, a major corporation such as MMMA functions in a "consumer-oriented" society; therefore, "consumers" can strategically boycott the company by taking the side of the law and ethics in cases such as the one under discussion. Seemingly, MMMA's decision to finally submit to the Consent Decree was based on business-related interests, rather than sensitivity toward the law and ethics.

Therefore, as I understand this case, it was because of one ideology (consumerism) that another (patriarchy) failed to put its mark on the situation any further. As NOW reports, "The Women-Friendly Workplace campaign is determined to make the corporate world understand that harassment and discrimination are not just bad business - they are

bad for business . . . All of us must use our *power as consumers* and as activists to demand justice for the Mitsubishi . . . women and for ourselves" (italics mine). However, in terms of the EEOC's intervention, as mentioned at an earlier moment, MMMA took serious steps toward creating and maintaining a workplace free from sexual harassment. MMMA's agreement to submit to the conditions of the Consent Decree in June 1998 has been characterized as a "win-win" choice. On the one hand, the law's prescriptions and the ethical standards of equity were finally being met. Moreover, "compensations" were offered to those who suffered from the lack of normalcy up to that point. On the other hand, the corporation "won" because, under the pressure of consumerist ideology, it could have otherwise run out of business.

Still, in the end a question imposes: how much of the above "resolution" carries the heritage of the two ideologies that defined the situational conflict in the first place? I suspect - without proof, and this is certainly a limitation of this study - that the very choices of compensation have a strong foundation in the patriarchic and consumerist ideologies. I believe further study in this direction would benefit the critical theory line of research on sexual harassment.

Conclusion

The present study attempted to give a description of a famous case of sexual harassment at the workplace (EEOC vs. MMMA) and critique it in terms of its embedding an intertwined relationship between two pervasive ideologies prevalent in our society: patriarchy and consumerism. By focusing on the favorable conditions, ways of resolution, and outcomes of the lawsuit, this essay approached the organizational culture of MMMA through the lens of critical theory. Selective literature review on sexual harassment, as well as general coverage of the event by the media and the parties involved demonstrate the validity of the claim that this study has made.

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Contribuții și limite ale feminismului în asistența socială

Contributions and Limitations of Feminism in Social Work

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Abstract:

Today, the feminist ideologies and practices, the philosophies in action and the academic gender studies are all forms of the emancipation of women. All these are intimately related by the feminization and professionalization of social work. The common view identifies social work with those who deal with adoptions, philanthropy and Christian charity, and more recently with the dehumanizing bureaucracy of the local offices for social protection. Yet, a great proportion of those who deal with all these things are women. In the same time, women contribution is not identical with the feminist contribution toward the emancipation of women and the development of social work. Thus, there are still women and men, no matter how they label themselves, who contribute to the emancipation of women and the development of social work, while there are still unanticipated effects of feminism that perpetuate the patriarchal thinking and social inequalities, of which social work is not exempted.

Key words:

emancipation of women, social work, feminism, inequalities, social protection, empowerment

Profesionalizarea muncii sociale începe prin anii 1880 – 1890 odată cu emanciparea așezămintelor sociale pentru săraci de sub tutela financiară și ideologică a societăților caritative religioase. Pentru a pune în funcțiune în SUA un așezământ social similar celui condus de soții Barnett în Londra și pentru a-și păstra autonomia, Jane Adams și Ellen Star preferă să mobilizeze fonduri de la cluburile liberale de femei¹. În acest fel conceptele de dreptate socială, autonomie și autodeterminare se emancipează progresiv de sub dominația conceptelor de milostenie și filantropie creștină.

Franța și Germania cunosc experiențe similare. În Berlin, susține Maria Roth, femeile din cercurile bogate doresc să se implice în reducerea tensiunilor și să-și demonstreze utilitatea specială. Alice Salomon, reprezentanta cea mai de seamă a mișcării femeilor din Germania, a militat – dintr-un punct de vedere de gen clar exprimat – pentru profesionalizarea muncii femeilor în slujba semenilor lor². Într-un mod tipic feminist, arată autoarea, ea a susținut că rolul femeilor în munca socială nu este de a face față greutăților specific bărbătești, ci de a adăuga ceva feminin la profesia de muncă socială, precum sentimentele materne și alte calități pe care femeile le demonstraseră până atunci numai în viața privată. Prin aceste observații, continuă ea, Salomon depășește concepția de până atunci privind profesionalismul și importanța recurgerii la metode obiective, recunoscând aportul subiectivității în relația de ajutor.... Alice Salomon vorbește pentru prima dată de arta de a ajuta, descriind-o ca activitate de sprijin în vederea unei mai bune adaptări la

cerințele mediului de trai și pentru o mai bună orientare în viața socială, dar totodată și ca o acțiune de schimbare socială, astfel ca indivizii să poată să se realizeze și să-și exprime potențialitățile. În Franța, cele care au inițiat „casele sociale” recomandate de Papa Pius X în spiritul evanghelic, frăției creștine, au refuzat să subordoneze activitatea lor asistențială vreunei propagande religioase sau ideologice, considerând că reconstrucția socială este o problemă de dreptate, nu de binefacere creștină³.

Această eferescență se întinde ulterior în toată Europa, inclusiv în România, începuturile asistenței sociale⁴ fiind legate aici de Regina Maria și fiica ei, prințesa Ileana. În 1929 se înființează la București învățământul universitar cu specializarea în asistență socială, Școala Superioară de Asistență „Principesa Ileana” care se desființează în 1949 odată cu instaurarea dictaturii comuniste. Urmează înființarea unor școli postliceale de asistență cu pronunțat caracter birocratic, sub dominația conceptelor fundamentate științific prin „teologizarea” filosofiei lui Marx⁵.

Surprinzător și mult mai dramatic, cu 30 de ani mai devreme decât în Europa, Orientul Mijlociu se confruntă cu experiențe comparabile. În 1852, o femeie pe nume Tahirih din Persia este condamnată la moarte de autoritățile ecleziastice pentru îndrăzneala de a fi îmbrățișat o credință religioasă, diferită de cea oficială, care încurajează în mod deschis și fără echivoc căutarea independentă a adevărului religios și emanciparea femeilor⁶. Ultimele cuvinte rostite de Tahirih înainte de execuție au fost: „pe mine mă puteți uide când vreți, emanciparea femeilor n-o puteți opri⁷”. În 1958, la cca o sută de ani de la acest eveniment, Sattareh Farman Farmaian⁸, o femeie din dinastia Qajarilor înființează învățământul universitar de asistență socială⁹ care se desființează în 1979 odată cu instaurarea dictaturii lui Khomeini; aceeași soartă pe care o are și școala „Principesa Ileana” din România.

De la formele caritabile ale asistenței sociale la acțiunile mai sistematice, femeile aveau să contribuie și în România la acțiunea socială inițial transformatoare, apoi reproductivă, a ordinii și inegalităților sociale existente, în funcție de politicile sociale și legislațiile fundamentate succesiv (religios, liberal, marxist¹⁰) de către bărbați. Frica de autoafirmare și lipsa stimei de sine, menționate de Mihaela Miroiu¹¹, „păcatele” femeilor invadate de gândirea patriarhală, alături de blamarea lor pentru aceste „păcate” și „patronarea” femeilor de către alte femei, invită la reflexie. Într-adevăr, contribuția femeilor nu este identică cu contribuția feministă la emanciparea femeilor și dezvoltarea asistenței sociale. Indiferent cum decid să se definească pe sine, ce repere ontologice și epistemologice semnificative utilizează, cred că important este ca femeile să-și îngăduie să gândească fără delegați de conștiință, inclusiv abordările feministe și studiile de gen. Deși știu că pentru multe feministe „feminismul” înseamnă angajare politică, mă delimitez de orice fel de agendă politică¹², prefer să aduc în discuție și în continuare contribuția emancipării femeilor la dezvoltarea asistenței sociale, indiferent dacă cele care contribuie la această emancipare se numesc sau nu feministe, cei care o susțin se numesc profemiști sau nu¹³.

Vorbim de asistență socială¹⁴ ca acțiune socială cu referire la organizațiile guvernamentale și nonguvernamentale, servicii, activități, inițiative și programe profesionalizate prin care se oferă ajutor persoanelor, familiilor, grupurilor și comunităților aflate în dificultate, precum și profesioniștii din domeniul serviciilor sociale care contribuie la realizarea sarcinilor și atingerea scopurilor formulate în misiunea lor. Asistența socială cuprinde atât acțiunile propriu-zise prin care profesioniștii acordă ajutor cât și protecția socială – în sensul de sistem formal de instituții și legislativ prin care sunt prescrise formele de ajutor acordate beneficiarilor. Asistența socială ca acțiune socială, susține

Roth, se referă la intervenția sistematică, coerentă, științific fundamentată, cu menținerea unor standarde morale profesionale, în cea mai mare parte desprinse de morala religiei de orice fel. Morala intervenției specifice asistenței sociale, precizează ea, se concentrează asupra îmbinării valorilor personale cu cele ale dreptății sociale.

Abordarea și practica feministă în asistența socială se înscrie, după analiza lui Howe et all., în paradigma umanismului radical¹⁵ de analiză și intervenție socială. Alături de paradigma sociologiei interpretative, ea ne propune să vedem lumea din punctul de vedere al celor implicați în fenomenul social studiat. Ambele paradigme, își asumă subiectivitatea: lumea socială este rezultatul interacțiunii sociale iar oamenii își impun propria ordine și propriile semnificații asupra celorlalți, așadar trebuie să găsim o modalitate de a vedea lumea așa cum o văd ei. Studiind obiectiv, oamenii nu află nimic despre speranțele, planurile sau sentimentele lor. Abordările derivate din psihologia umanistă și perspectiva fenomenologică din sociologia modernă sunt centrate pe căutarea de semnificații, o mai bună înțelegere între participanți și reducerea diferențelor de percepție și așteptări, cheia acestor scopuri fiind menținerea ordinii sociale existente. Spre deosebire de acestea, abordările feministe urmăresc ridicarea gradului de conștientizare și schimbarea ordinii sociale patriarhale, cheia acestor schimbări fiind conflictul. În lumea deumanizantă și materialistă, văzută prin lentila umanismului radical analizat de Howe, oamenii comunică folosindu-se unii de alții, luptând unii împotriva altora pentru supremație. Hegemonia ideologică constă tocmai în controlul conștiințelor, al modului în care ne autopercepem și nu este de mirare, precizează Howe, că umaniștii radicali consideră soluțiile reparatorii impuse de medici, profesori și asistenți sociali ca invalidante. Soluțiile acestora perpetuează condiția de oprimat a pacienților, elevilor, studenților și beneficiarilor de asistență socială, denumiți clienți în lumea mercantilă în care trăim. Văzută prin prisma de mai sus, femeile trăiesc într-o lume a bărbaților și sunt considerate probleme, atât de către bărbați cât și de către ele însele. Într-o societate definită de valori, opinii, idei și standarde masculine – continuă Howe – femeile vor fi puse să se evalueze folosind instrumente și concepte care le sunt străine, care nu le pot fi aplicate. Revoluționarii structuralismului radical – a treia paradigmă relevantă pentru asistența socială analizată de Howe – au în comun cu feminismele și umanismul radical: conflictul. Ca și abordările feministe aliate acestora, revoluționarii analizează societatea și interacțiunile în termenii structurilor de autoritate și putere promovând o asistență socială marxistă. În timp ce funcționalismul – ultima paradigmă analizată de Howe – vorbește de îngrijire, tratament sau intervenție reparatorie de inspirație psihiatrică sau cognitiv comportamentalistă, marxiștii și feministe aliate vorbesc despre control asupra alocării resurselor și asistența socială chemată să schimbe ordinea socială existentă. Howe¹⁶ atrage atenția asupra faptului că ceea ce facem cu clienții asistenței sociale nu este o chestiune de bun-simț, ci una de alegere teoretică: locul unde ne situăm determină punctul nostru de vedere, iar punctul nostru de vedere – continuă Howe – ne influențează acțiunile. Pe de altă parte, el reamintește asistenților sociali că munca lor nu poate beneficia de pe urma războiului de supremație dintre diferite teorii, invitând la alegerea și adaptarea teoriilor în/ la contextul social al practicii.

Într-o analiză a asistenței sociale în context politic mai larg, Stepney¹⁷ nu uită să amintească Europa Centrală și de Est unde statele colaborează pentru crearea noilor piețe de desfacere și se subordonează politicilor mult mai drastice de modernizare. Atât asistența socială cât și munca socială evoluează rapid într-o imitație ironică a SUA și Marea Britanie, precizând că – nu trăsături instituționale ale unui sistem universal de protecție socială – ci „plasele de siguranță” reziduale marchează în aceste zone tranziția spre capitalism.

Proiectele feministe în asistența socială - precum centre de consiliere pentru fete și femei împotriva abuzului și violenței, educație de gen pentru prevenirea abuzului sexual, violenței și oprirării, adăpostirea femeilor și copiilor victime ale violenței în familie - nu mai sunt o noutate în spațiul Europei de Est, chiar dacă au devenit o raritate¹⁸ în spațiul occidental. Pentru spațiul Europei de Est, inclusiv România, ar fi o noutate proiectele de educație și practică profeministă inițiate și administrate de bărbați pentru bărbați cu scopul de a conștientiza relația dintre violență și valorile patriarhale care legitimează violența de orice fel. Bărbații care vor să lucreze pentru combaterea violenței, susțin autori profemiști alături de feministe¹⁹, este important să conștientizeze opresiunea mai puțin evidentă a pornografiei, hărțuirii sexuale și relația dintre această oprire și tratarea femeilor ca obiecte sexuale. Este apoi la fel de important, susțin ei în continuare, ca bărbații profemiști să se confrunte cu faptul că propriile lor atitudini și fapte sprijină violența și să nu mai pună întreaga responsabilitate pentru violență asupra celor care comit violențele. Una dintre limitele feminismului în asistența socială vine nu atât din faptul că sunt puțini bărbați angajați în profesia de asistență socială cât mai ales din faptul că cei mai mulți bărbați - și nu doar bărbați - se tem de emanciparea femeilor care angrenează și propria lor emancipare. Această emancipare ar necesita redefinirea masculinității: * eliberarea de teroarea competitivității, dominației, controlului și manipulării, de supremația cognitiv-comportamentală focalizată unilateral pe scop-sarcini-rezultate și * favorizarea aspectelor de relaționare, empatie și cooperare, și mai ales * renunțarea de a defini femeile ca „probleme” sau ceva ce trebuie „reparat”, „recuperat”. Unele dintre feministele anilor 70-80 în SUA gândeau viitorul în termeni de „societate feministă” și bărbaților nu le era prea clar ce puteau ei să facă diferit fără să devină „femei” sau anexele lor. Nu este de mirare că unii bărbați încă se tem de așa-zisul matriarhat și refuză să se vadă locuind într-o societate feministă, să-și definească masculinitatea în termenii feminismului²⁰. În fond, și bărbații au dreptul să spună „Nu!” sau „Nu așa!”. Feministele s-au văzut confruntate cu un paradox pragmatic: „să mănânci prăjitura și s-o ai în același timp”. Confruntate cu această dilemă²¹, puțin discutată și încă nerezolvată, feministele au avut inițial mari rețineri de a se lansa în arena politică pentru a propune schimbări legislative de inspirație feministă, structura politică fiind inerent ierarhică, autoritară și elitistă. Multe dintre ele doreau să înlocuiască structurile tradiționale, să dezvolte noi tipuri de interacțiune și stiluri nonautoritare de conducere, nu să participe la birocrații care perpetuează valorile și structurile patriarhale²².

Pe lângă această problemă, mișcarea femeilor *reproduce*²³ în interiorul ei inegalitățile de șanse și putere existente între femei de diferite rase și etnii, condiții economice și sociale chiar dacă *nu le reîntărește* în mod necesar. Lena Dominelli aduce în discuție ierarhia mascată sub forma diferitelor ciocniri și a luptelor pentru accesul la resurse, aspectul cel mai evident și în organizațiile de femei fiind coexistența pozițiilor neprivilegiate de muncă neplătită denumită voluntariat alături de pozițiile privilegiate și plătite de conducere și expertiză profesională²⁴. Deși în deplină consonanță cu valorile feministe, asistența socială se afla deja în plin război al teoriilor, se confruntă cu propriile dileme profesionale; așadar s-a păstrat la distanță de încurcătura în care s-au băgat feministele, funcționând după modele preponderent reparatorii, psihanalitice sau comportamentale. Cum au încercat feministele să iasă din această încurcătură? Au redefinit noțiunea tradițională de putere²⁵. Reinterpretarea feministă a puterii extinde acest concept de la abilitatea de a domina, controla și influența alte persoane la abilitatea de a le capacita pentru realizarea propriilor potențialități și aspirații: *empowerment*.

Lena Dominelli²⁶, alături de alte feministe, se străduiește să scoată feminismul din

încurcătură și să contribuie la evoluția asistenței sociale în context social și politic mai larg, internațional. Ea dezvoltă conceptul de *empowerment* dintr-o perspectivă non-liniară a relațiilor de putere care transcende dihotomiile și unilateralitatea fragmentărilor conceptuale clasice. Înainte de toate, ea face deosebirea între consecințele pozitive și negative ale puterii, și cele trei forme ale puterii: *puterea asupra relațiilor*, *puterea de a face și puterea relațiilor sau puterea inițiativelor de grup*. Puterea asupra relațiilor ca expresie a relațiilor de putere opresivă indică puterea de a (de)numi sau defini cu scopul de a *denatura sau altera alteritatea*: „othering”, adică patologizarea sau deviantizarea dezumanizantă a „diferenței” care devine în acest fel indezirabilă. Puterea de a face indică puterea transformatoare de realizare a potențialităților, inclusiv puterea de a rezista interacțiunilor opresive care implică „a oprima” și „a te lăsa oprimat/ă”. Puterea relațiilor se referă la puterea colectivă care apare atunci când indivizii se întâlnesc pentru atingerea unor scopuri comune și care – pentru a crește - necesită acțiuni colective sau de colaborare între membrii cu identități similare de grup. Analiza feministă a puterii sugerează că pentru eliberarea puterii de a acționa, femeile – și alte grupuri subordonate în societate - pot dispune împreună de puterea relațiilor cu scopul de *capacitare* individuală și/ sau de grup. Lena Dominelli menționează lucrările lui Foucault din 1980 pentru a atrage atenția asupra faptului că, în absența vigilenței, activitățile care ținesc capacitatea individuală sau de grup pot reproduce *puterea asupra relațiilor* dacă urmăresc și subordonarea celorlalți la propriul control sau negarea capacității lor de a acționa. Nici-un individ sau grup, menționează autoarea, nu este complet puternic sau complet lipsit de putere. Posibilitatea ca o persoană să fie oprimată de alții cu privire la o anumită calitate sau aspect al vieții lor și în același timp să-i oprească pe alții pe cu totul altă bază este ignorată de analizele feministe dihotomizante și unilaterale care împart lumea în cei care opresc vs. cei care sunt opriți și focalizează doar un aspect al experienței.

În asistența socială, *capacitarea*²⁷ este intim legată de *practica anti-opresivă*: punerea în acțiune a valorilor profesionale de bază ale asistenței sociale la nivel individual, de familie, grup și comunitate, cultural și structural. Este vorba²⁸ de autodeterminare și autonomie, lupta împotriva prejudecăților și discriminării, dreptul persoanelor de a avea acces la resursele necesare vieții și dezvoltării ei, respectul și dezvoltarea demnității, încrederea în valoarea ființei umane, confidențialitatea. În funcție de peisajul legislativ, politic și valorile active²⁹ într-o societate la un moment dat, unele dintre valorile profesionale ale asistenței sociale rămân standarde de atins, evoluție care nu este scutită de confruntări etice și dificultăți care își au originea în sistemul de asistare. Această problemă poate fi pusă în evidență printr-o analiză aprofundată a relațiilor dintre codul deontologic al profesiei de asistență socială dintr-o țară la un moment dat, legislația din domeniu și valorile societale și individuale care acționează la nivelul organizațiilor din aceeași țară, comparativ cu evoluția asistenței sociale în alte țări. Asistența socială, menționează Maria Roth³⁰, este o formă de redistribuire a bunurilor, de solidaritate și echitate socială. Totodată, prin scopul ei de a restabili legăturile reciproce benefice dintre persoanele defavorizate și societate, asistența socială întărește sistemul social existent, menținând de fapt inegalitățile. Ambele aceste laturi – precizează autoarea - sunt permanente prezente în asistența socială, dar – în diferitele tipuri de practici - latura de remediere a inegalităților și cea de menținere a ordinii de drept dobândesc ponderi diferite. Într-o ordine mondială care sacralizează din ce în ce mai mult competiția oarbă și profitul, nici eforturile de construcție și negociere a unor etici globale³¹ sau schițarea unui sistem echitabil de guvernare mondială nu sunt scutite de luptele pentru supremație, confruntările etice sau de scepticism. Lena Dominelli³² menționează statisticile din 1994 și

arăta că 80% din populația globului are acces la 16 % din resursele umanității. Pe măsură ce sărăcia și foametea se accentuează – continuă ea – *capacitatea oamenilor* de a contribui la dezvoltarea lumii în care trăiesc și de a interacționa cu ea este dominată din ce în ce mai mult de eforturile de supraviețuire; în acest fel devine din ce în ce mai greu pentru ei să-și prioritizeze preocupările și să ajungă la cei 20% din populația globului care au acces la 86% din resursele umanității pentru a se face auziți. și în țările fost comuniste, poate cea mai problematică dintre valori este autodeterminarea în sensul acceptării unui anumit grad de responsabilitate în schimbul unui grad echivalent de libertate...

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Note:

- 1 Maria Roth, *Perspective teoretice și practice ale asistenței sociale*, 2003, p.19
- 2 Maria Roth, *idem*, p.24
- 3 Cristian Bocancea, *TAS: Tratat de Asistență Socială*, 2003, p.114-115
- 4 Dumitru Stan, *TAS*, 2003, p. 488
- 5 unii filosofi denumesc „sacralizare” această teologizare. Un banc – pe care l-am auzit anul trecut de la un fenomenolog american – ilustrează foarte bine aceasta sacralizare a teoriilor: „Care e diferența între Dumnezeu și om? Dumnezeu știe că nu este om”.
- 6 credință pentru care mii de oameni și-au dat viața și pentru care persecuțiile continuă și în ziua de astăzi <http://www.timescolumns.typepad.com/gledhill/2006.03/index.html>, accesat în 14 iulie 2006.

7 Shoghi Effendi, *Dumnezeu trece pe lângă noi*, 1994, p.63

8 la un pas de execuție, în 1979 Sattareh se refugiază în SUA, în 1992 publică „*The Daughter of Persia*”, relatează despre condiția femeilor, experiența de asistență socială și învățământ din Persia.

9 relatat de un prieten baha'i care a participat la dezvoltarea acestui proiect

10 și la ora actuală: presiunea ideologiei economice UE fundamentată tot de bărbați/ gândirea patriarhală

11 Mihaela Miroiu, *Societatea Retro*, 1999, p.137 (aș vrea să cunosc femeia neinvadată de gândirea patriarhală... pe Venus sigur nu ajung prea curând, așa că prefer să gândesc emanciparea în termenii dezvoltării)

12 este un alt fel de a spune că prefer să țin distanță față de orice fel de „teologizare” a feminismelor ca răspuns la/ sau asociat cu „teologizarea” lui Marx, liberalismului economic, altor -isme sau radicalisme.

13 feministele cu care am intrat în dialog până acum susțin că bărbații nu pot să fie decât profemiști, indiferent de cât de mult ar empatiza bărbații ori s-ar identifica empatic, mai mult sau mai puțin temporar, cu experiențele specifice femeilor. Probabil se conturează deja și o ontologie a femeilor, și mă întreb, ce facem cu bărbații care solicită serviciile de consiliere pentru lesbiene din Berlin, susținând: „Eu mă simt femeie și iubesc femeile, nu vă uitați la faptul că nu am sâni, uter și vagin” sau la cei care, mai ironic, declară <spun uneori „între noi, femeile”, când am conștiința superiorității intuiției mele, v. Aurel Codoban, în *Amurgul iubirii*, 2004, p. 11>

14 Maria Roth, *idem*, p.27-32

15 David Howe, *Introducere în Asistența Socială*, 2001, p.41-43, 74

16 Howe, *idem*, p.40-42

17 Stepney, *Social Work Models, Methods and Theories*, 2000, p.5

18 la un curs de masterat în studii de gen, Cluj-Napoca 2004, Mihaela Miroiu menționează fenomenul de subminare indirectă a feminismului în vest prin sponsorizarea masivă a studiilor academice care se focalizează pe tema sexualității, ceea ce atrage după sine limitarea drastică a fondurilor pentru proiectele feministe

19 feminist visions for social work, p.71

20 chiar dacă patriarhatul e pe ducă, stați liniștiți domnilor, nu va fi nici un matriarhat – în schimb probabil că ne paște sex-arhatul, o vreme bună de aici încolo...

21 „feminismul nu rezolvă problema, ci înmoaie rigoarea limbajului, printr-o exagerare simetric inversă” susține Aurel Codoban, p.11

22 feminist visions for social work, p.152

23 Lena Dominelli și Eileen McLeod, p. 15-18, 60-61

24 după celebra lui Orwell: „toți oamenii sunt egali, dar unii sunt mai egali decât alții”, experiență bine cunoscută în țările Europei de Est. Egalitatea sub forma egalitarismului se dovedește a fi o himeră și în țările occidentale.

25 feminist visions for social work, *idem*, p.151

26 Lena Dominelli, *Anti-Oppressive Social Work and Practice*, p.17-18, 44-47

27 Maria Roth, *idem*, p.68, 120

28 Maria Roth, *idem*, p.119-138, 216

29 valorile active sunt liber alese și reflectă atitudini și acțiuni considerate demne de „sacrificiul” persoanei în termeni de efort, timp, alte costuri.

30 Maria Roth, *idem*, p. 28

31 de pildă, globalizarea valorilor occidentale (v. cercetările internaționale inițiate de Inglehart care se focalizează pe evoluția valorilor moderne și postmoderne în diferite

părți ale lumii), dialogul între culturi și negocierea între diferite etici (Suheil Bushrui, *The Ethics of Globalisation: A Bahá'í Perspective, Presented at The European Parliament in Brussels*, 2003, http://www.onecountry.org/e151/global_ethics.htm, accesat în 15 iulie 2006), etc.

32 Lena Dominelli, *Anti-Oppressive Social Work and Practice*, p.3

RUXANDRA CESEREANU

An Overview of Political Torture in the Twentieth Century

Abstract:

The present essay focuses on political torture during the twentieth century. It takes a multidisciplinary approach, because it entails insights from history, politics, ideology, anthropology, psychology and literature. The aim of the present essay is to discuss the relation between "Classical" torture (in the past centuries) and "Modern" torture (in the twentieth century), analyzing the phenomena in a comparative perspective and paying attention to the hidden and unconscious motives behind historical facts.

What I am interested in is the mechanism by which, in the twentieth century, torture has been reintroduced particularly for political prisoners - that means torture for ideas and conscience, torture as a technique of power and not merely as a technique of punishment. What torture destroys first is the dignity and privacy of the victim; only then does it destroy the victim's freedom and integrity. For this reason, every torture is an act of rape, even a symbolic one. I mean this in psychological terms, not as a demonstration of feminist vocabulary. Every touching of the victim's body is rape, emphasizing the "virility" of the torturer. First of all, the torturer wants to become a master of his victim's body, and only later, a master of the tortured person's mind. I include imagination in the concept of torture, imagination being one of the tools of the act of torturing. In torture, imagination becomes, in my demonstration, a never-ending weapon.

Torturable v. non-torturable individuals. The twentieth-century breakthrough: brainwashing and electroshocks. The Armenian genocide. The Gulag and the Nazi camps. Experimental torture. Mao, the re-educator. The modern European machine. Fin-de-siecle horror: Chechnya and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Africa: tribal torture and imported torture. South-American "Catholicism." Fidel, the exterminator.

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Key words:

torture, political prisoners, technique of punishment, destruction of freedom, destruction of integrity, destruction of dignity, rape, imagination of the torturer, brainwashing

Arab v. Israeli "lessons." Brainwashing in Korea and Vietnam. The Khmer Rouges and their purification techniques. Common tortures: the "airplane," the falaqa (phalanx), the pau de arara and the picana.

All civilisations are known to have practiced torture. However, it was only during the Middle Ages that its programmatic deployment began. In antiquity, when there existed restrictions regarding the applicability of torture, humans were divided into torturable and non-torturable individuals (Amnesty International 1973, p. 31). In ancient Greece and Rome (the first empires, after the Egyptian one, to have partially systematised torture), slaves were the most likely victims of torture, though in certain cases of "treason," free citizens could also incur such punishment. Furthermore, Roman law permitted the torturing of Christians in public spectacles. In time, the leaders of the empire collapsed all "plebeian" types under the category of torturable humans. Torture was extensively resumed and gradually legalised during the Middle Ages. That in the twelfth century the victim's confession should have served as the "queen of proofs" (*regina probationem*) only further enhanced the legitimacy of torture. The Inquisition frantically used it against "heretics," engendering thus the paradoxical phenomenon of Christian torturers. Since heretics pertained to the category of "infamous" defectors from God, torture could be regulated under criminal law; from the thirteenth century onwards, a certain doctrine of suffering started gaining acceptance. A further essential element emerged in the fourteenth century: the professional, state-authorized accuser, who specialized in exercising physical coercion in order to gather evidence for judicial proceedings. The prosecutor was thus a clog in the wheel of both the penal and the religious systems (Peters, p. 63). Most European countries had abolished torture by the time of the Enlightenment; in the centuries that followed, torture was, nonetheless, far from being completely eradicated, since it continued to be applied, albeit sporadically, in the colonies. The twentieth century managed to compensate, through both concentration and diversity, for the absence of torture in the "enlightened" age: the Armenian massacre, the Gulag and the Holocaust were the most eloquent instances in this respect. The increasing importance granted to the political police was, undeniably, one of the causes that led to the reappearance of torture. In the United States, American policemen who hankered to get confessions from serious felons began practicing torture on a quasi-systematic basis. While officially abolished After WWII, torture uncannily registered an explosive comeback during the latter half of the century, when it was rather consistently employed by the South American Juntas, by the Eastern and African dictatorial regimes, and by Moscow's satellite-countries (which were still caught in the grip of the Gulag).

Daniel P. Mannix considers that it was the Soviets who revolutionized torture in the twentieth century, particularly through their scientifically refined brainwashing techniques. Alec Mellor confirms that torture was reintroduced in the twentieth century primarily because of the emergence of the totalitarian state (with the USSR as its prototype), and because of the development of the National Security services, which relied upon a specific type of interrogation. All torture scholars agree that the history of mankind has been strewn with atrocities. The novelty brought by the twentieth century resided in the hybridisation and refinement of torture techniques. The Nazis' verification of their victims' resilience to torture reached "scientific" precision. In Algeria, the French, with their electrified instruments, were often compared to inquisitors (Mannix, p. 9). Crucifixions have been used since Roman times, while the Assyrians are known

to have practiced impaling. Various cultures have resorted to punitive mutilations. Every type of torture used in the twentieth-century has a precise antecedent in the past. For instance, the rape of humans by specially trained animals was known to the Romans (whose preference, in this respect, was for dogs and horses). Similarly, the practice of "baking" victims in ovens was not confined to some obscure area in South America, since it had also been used in days of yore. With the Inquisition, and then again, with the twentieth century, torture became methodical, being transformed into both an "art" and a "science" (Mannix, p. 45). None of the tortures applied in the twentieth century was new or original: every one of its instruments and techniques had had a long-standing tradition. There were, nonetheless, two exceptions: brainwashing and electric shocks. They only became feasible given the technological and psychological breakthroughs of the twentieth century. Notwithstanding this, torture was practiced both by the so-called non-civilised states and by the civilised, more advanced ones. Atrocities might have been more widespread in the primitive countries, but France, Great Britain and the United States were by no means averse to the practice of torture. Part of the mercenary torturers from South America had, in fact, been trained by British or American masterminds.

The first twentieth-century landmark in the revival of torture practices on a grand scale was, in all likelihood, the Armenian massacre performed by the Turks between 1915 and 1917. Bacry and Ternisien's term of genocidal torture (characteristic of the Holocaust) can also be applied here. What the Turkish authorities undertook amounted to an "ethnic purge", similar to the purification acts carried out by the Nazis (against the Jews, Russians, Poles, and Gypsies), by the Serbs (during the 1992-1995 inter-ethnic war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and between 1997 and 1998 in the Kosovar region), and, once again, by the Turks (against the Kurds). The massive deportation of the Armenians was accompanied by horrendous acts of cruelty: beating of all sorts, eye gouging, nail pulling, food and water deprivation, and genital mutilation.

The second turning point in the twentieth century was marked by the Bolshevik revolution and its gory aftermath. The "red terror", conceived by Lenin and carried out by Stalin, was a prophylactic measure designed to maintain the revolutionary "purity". It was a means of making very clear in whose hands power was concentrated. Insidiously disseminated in the beginning, the "red terror" acquired a rather disciplinary character later on. The emergency tribunals had their own part to play here, and the Cheka (Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage) would accept no higher authority above its own. Lenin had been far from "seraphic": he had been an advocate of mass terror. Torture was applied by the Cheka members on a massive scale, and the district commissions became specialised in various forms of bodily coercion. As this repressive organ underwent several name changes (GPU, NKVD, MVD, KGB), its disciplinary violence became increasingly more accurate and programmatic. It was only well after Stalin's death, perhaps in the post-Khrushchev period, that terror took a more refined turn. The prisons, the concentration camps, the colonies and everything that went on inside them started being replaced with psychiatric establishments that were still part of the punitive regime. The training for this sort of psychic terror, which persistently deployed brainwashing procedures, had been carried out during the infamous mock trials in Moscow. There, through punitive techniques that are still not fully known today, party tycoons had been forced to admit their guilt. For a long time torture had been insistently recommended for obtaining confessions (irrespective of its target). When Iagoda and Iejov were in charge of the repressive organ, terror was blind; Beria, however, introduced the so-called "expert" dictatorship. Although the atmosphere in the Gulag

became more lenient after Stalin's death, terror continued to be exerted to a somewhat blander extent well into the Khrushchev period. The aftermath of the "Thaw" was marked by the onslaught of the trials to which dissidents and alleged "parasites" were subjected. Brezhnev's rule brought about a revival of Stalinist terror (albeit in milder terms): dissenting intellectuals (writers and scientists) were placed under arrest and exposed to various brainwashing processes. Resistance against the Soviet regime was deemed insanity (for this itinerary of terror in the USSR one should see Leggett; Levytsky; Conquest 1998; and Courtois et al.).

The torture practiced by the Bolshevik regime was spectacular at times; even at its most ordinary, Soviet torture was the most widely disseminated, given the many decades during which communism served as a repressive state machine. In its incipient phase and during the great trials, victims were bludgeoned with sand sacks (or with anything else, for that matter), left to hang from their arms (tied at the back), or forced to stand on tiptoes. Very frequent forms of torture included hammering victims with chair legs, sleep deprivation (the conveyor belt), starvation, water denial, blackmail, incarceration in icy-hot cells, and mock executions. There also existed cases of sexual mutilation, nail pulling, slashing, hot-iron burning, skin flaying, eye gouging, rape (mostly perpetrated against "non-Bolshevik" women), maiming by aggressive dogs or rats, submersion into acid tubs, burning one alive. Even nose tickling with a feather was used as a somewhat more "stylish" torment. Torture was tacitly used at the beginning of the Bolshevik regime and gradually acquired legal consistency. Rare were the times when it was provisionally prohibited. Solzhenitsyn has emphasized that since a list containing specific forms of torture was never compiled, it was up to the investigators to make use of whatever techniques they could think of. Solzhenitsyn does enumerate several of these techniques in the first volume of *The Gulag Archipelago*, cataloguing them in terms of their importance and specific paraphernalia. The most degrading form of humiliation (urinating on the victim or into the victim's mouth) was also used. What broke down, however, any resistance from the victim was ceaseless interrogation combined with sleep deprivation. The most efficient techniques for obtaining confessions included severe beating, psychological torments (threats to the victim's family, culminating with recordings of their screams), blinding through continuous exposure to light, ultra salty diets, and water deprivation. In the work camps torture was conceived as slow extermination through exhaustion. No specific torture was necessary in the Siberian area, since the cold added the finishing touch to the victims' suffering. Doctors were sometimes present during interrogation phases. (For various analyses of torture in the USSR, see the works of Leggett; Beck & Godin; Conquest 1990; Medvedev; Courtois et al.) Whereas in the first stages of the repression both physical and psychological torture would have been extremely violent, under the auspices of the KGB there was a certain refinement into psychiatric and pharmacological forms. Dissidents, who were labeled as "schizophrenic", were subjected to strict confinement (interment in psychiatric establishments) and sensory deprivation (their bodies were not violently touched; hence, the apparent absence of torture in their cases). The commissions for psychiatric evaluation comprised KGB-doctors; these hospitals were only apparently run by the Ministry of Health, since they were almost entirely dependent on the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Victims were not tortured as such, but were, together with real psychopaths or common criminals, reduced to a "vegetal" life through medicine-induced brainwashing (Fireside).

The most spectacular - because the most scientific - tortures from the first half of the twentieth century were those practiced by the Nazis. We shall, nevertheless, take a

look at the most common forms of torture first. In the Nazi concentration camps torture almost invariably began with the beatings that accompanied the victims' internment: they would have been slapped, poked with bayonets, forced by the guards to hit one another, and would have had their entire life's beliefs and principles trampled over. No convict who entered these camps would have been exempt from such a treatment, which, lasting for half a day, was meant to traumatize them, by forcing them into all sorts of humiliating or absurd postures. What the Nazis aimed at was depersonalising and transforming the victim's behaviour into that of a perpetually grounded child; furthermore, the convicts would be stockpiled into an amorphous mass, bereft of its future and of any sense of time, for that matter (Bettelheim 1967, pp. 124, 130-131). After this initiation into the concentration-camp routine, the applicability of torture would become more and more individualized. Amongst the ordeals convicts had to go through were the following: the so-called "25-to-the-arse" (the 25 blows could easily turn into 50 or even 100); sole beating; having water dripped down one's ear; physical "exercise" (countless knee bends and broad jumps, endless crawling, somersaulting, racing or boxing, which victims were sometimes forced to practice until they passed out or even died because of sheer exhaustion); "Stalin's crib" (victims would be left to hang on a shaft in a rather uncomfortable position, having their buttocks canned all along); the "bunker" (cells or underground holes with waist- or neck-high water, in which detainees were made to stand for one up to several days); the "tree" (leaving victims to hang, arms tied behind their backs, from a tree: most often than not, this torture killed or permanently crippled victims); hurling inmates down from tall platforms and maiming them in the process. At times, specially trained Alsatian hounds would be used to mutilate prisoners. Although illegal, the beating was applied by guards, by zealous officers or by the *kapo* members. Women were almost as likely to be exposed to torture as men were. Absurd forms of torture were also practiced: genuflecting victims, for instance, had to hold rocks in their hands or to carry boulders from one place to another. Captured escapees and saboteurs "benefited from" special tortures. There were also apparently non-violent tortures, such as the "Saxon salute" (victims would have to stand still, mimicking the salute without flinching, under any weather conditions). Another such torture was "calling the role": checking the convicts' attendance on their return to the camp would last for hours on end. When escape attempts were successful, the prisoners would be "roll-called" for as long as it took to catch the runaways. Quite a few would die from exhaustion, as a rule. (For this infernal inventory, see the works of Lingens-Reiner; Karst; Kogon; Kraus & Kulka.) Generally speaking, the Nazi camps brought about an "end to aesthetic representations of death" (Améry, p. 43): the detainees were terrified not of death itself but of the manner in which they were to incur death.

Intense violence was essential to the Gestapo methods, which comprised electric shocks, hair and nail pulling, snow burial, whipping, brutal maltreatments, the "submarine" (asphyxiation induced by forceful submersion of the victim's head in water), genital injury (immersing the victim's testicles in hot water), chest jumping (breaking the victim's sternum and ribs), the "iron helmet" (basically an instrument known since the times of the Inquisition and adapted by the Gestapo, which consisted in a crown that exerted pressure onto the cranium), hanging by the feet, etc. (Bernadac; Hajsman; Kogon; Saurel). A sort of multiple torture (physical, psychological, and moral), which David Rousset calls "industrial" torture (p. 109), was applied to the victims destined to be gassed in the extermination camps: inhuman transport conditions, thrashing upon arrival at the camp, immediate separation from family members, public undressing, detailed physical exams

meant to deprive victims of their hidden jewels or money, and chasing naked victims to the gas chambers. All these were checkpoints on an infernal itinerary which victims destined to be gassed had to carry out in full (Sereny). The gas chamber had been introduced in the United States in 1924, as a means to enforce the death penalty for serious felonies, but it was the Nazis who gave it such abominable scope. Starvation was universally applied (no wonder that cases of cannibalism existed in the Nazi camps, as well as in the Gulag). When gas chambers were out of order or proved to be insufficiently large, victims were killed by firing squads; any possible survivors were interred alive in common burial pits.

The Nazi regime was also outstanding for the more unusual, experimental tortures it deployed: camp detainees underwent laboratory testing for solutions to prolonging or ending life. In Dachau, Buchewald and Ravensbrück, it was allegedly for "the benefit of science" that Nazi doctors tortured victims of sub-Arian extraction, such as Jews, Russians, Poles, Gypsies, and mental retards. The depressurising chamber tested human resistance to high or low pressure, and the results were then used to improve the performance of German pilots. Human guinea pigs died slowly and in great pain; after their death, their internal organs were sent to laboratories for dissection and examination. Another test entailed the congealment of the human body, but checking blood and skin resistance to the cold was not the end of that experiment: it also had a more perverse touch, since frozen victims (primarily male) were brought back to life with the help of female detainees who had accepted to play the parts of "hot prostitutes." Furthermore, there were convicts who were inoculated with malaria so that vaccines against it could be produced, or who were infected with staphylococci so that adequate anti-bacterial medication could be discovered. There also existed bone- and organ-transplant experiments, meant to assist regeneration research, or experiments with seawater, testing human response to salinity. Typhus experiments did not rank low in this diabolical science laboratory: victims were inoculated against typhus and then exposed to massive typhus infestation. Gruesome sterilization experiments, undertaken with a view to exterminating the "sub-races", were carried out mostly in Auschwitz. They gave vent to myriad sterilizing techniques, which included, for instance, injecting caustic liquid in the genitals, X-raying the victims, or surgically removing testicles and ovaries, which were thereafter studied in laboratories. The irradiation method presupposed that after a certain time, male victims would have their excitability checked either through coerced masturbation, or by having levers inserted into their anuses, which triggered erection. Approximately 200,000 individuals underwent sterilization procedures. Vivisections were also practiced, alongside anatomical experiments on twins and dwarves. In Strasbourg, under the Nazi occupation, one of the eminent German scientists proposed compiling a collection of "Judeo-Bolshevik" skeletons, skulls attached; the collection was supposed to comprise individuals slaughtered in the death camps, whose corpses had been preserved in alcohol and who were destined for scientific investigation. Cases of euthanasia also need mentioning, death by lethal injection being applied to the so-called "degenerates." Euthanasia was also inflicted by starving victims to death: Lifton mentions the example of a Nazi doctor who would go to great lengths to explain this "gentle" euthanasia to his victims, emaciated children whom he gracefully allowed to starve for a few more days (1986, p. 2). It is important to note that one third of the subjects of these experiments died, while the remaining two thirds agonized and were crippled for life (for more information on experiments in the Nazi camps, see Cohen; Feig; Kogon; Lifton 1986; Nyiszli). The German nation would have, however, to pay dearly for the Nazi regime: German

POWs and even ordinary citizens would be interned in the Soviet Gulag, where they would be sentenced to hard labour. Moreover, the people who had suffered under Nazi occupation would wreak revenge on German ethnics after WWII: this is what happened, for instance, to the Sudets in Czechoslovakia (Glaser & Possony, pp. 428-432).

I should like to discuss several more cases of torture from the first half of the twentieth century in Asia. Before the closure of WWII, the Japanese treatment of, especially, American POWs partially resembled the Nazi treatment of victims in the death camps. Immediately after their placement in Japanese custody, American POWs would be beaten, whipped, battered, exposed to extreme weather conditions (sun burns causing them brain disorders), forced to participate in "death marches," and deprived of food, water and sleep (Dyess). Women would have water poured down their throats or up their anuses until their stomachs became bloated, at which point their torturers would pound them until water gushed out. The one psychological torture that was really effective was brainwashing, a technique which the Chinese communist regime used extensively, having borrowed it from the Soviets and refined it to such an extent that many other dictatorial regimes craved it. At the beginnings of communism in China, physical torture was prohibited; what was preferred instead was psychological torment, which was supposed to have a pedagogical effect. It was only in the latter half of the twentieth century that the Chinese authorities resorted to electric shocks (applied to the mouth and the genitals), to physical abuse of all sorts, to searing their victims with boiled water or with cigarettes, to hanging victims by their hands, feet, or arms (the "airplane"), to live burials, needles inserted under one's nails, uncomfortable postures, sleep deprivation, pepper sniffing, etc. Physical violence was really exacerbated on invading Tibet: Tibetan monks and nuns were subjected to genital torture, either through electrification or through the use of specially trained vicious dogs. When cooperation with the USSR was under way, bacteriological experiments were carried out on Chinese political detainees, whose resistance to bullets, bombs and various maladies was also tested (Domenach).

At the outset of Maoism, the Chinese had used a milder form of brainwashing (*his-nao*): the victim had to undergo strict isolation, followed by harassment by other, re-educated fellow convicts. Torture was unhurried and apparently painless. When brainwashing failed, re-education through work (*Wu*) was used. Although imported from the Soviets, brainwashing also had Chinese roots. The *hsiao-tsu* ritual, whereby any social and political deviation could be prevented or critiqued, while purveyors of such anomalies could be recuperated and remedied, dates back to ancient Chinese history. *Hsiao-tsu* is derived from *pao-chia*, rather methodically structured groupings which had proved very effective in enforcing social control. As Martin King Whyte shows, twentieth-century *hsiao-tsu* served to put the "thought reform" into effect. A crucial stage in the rituals of the *hsiao-tsu* (tight-knit social groups comprising farmers, workers, students, family members or convicts) was the voicing of guilt and of the desire to redress it. *Hsiao-tsu* may now seem a less violent form of brainwashing, but it was so insistent on ceremonial self-criticism that it practically degenerated into intoxication. The entire ritual was punctuated by a hierarchy of punishments. Robert J. Lifton considers that another source of brainwashing practices was a perverted brand of Confucianism, grafted on the communist ideology (1989, pp. 388-392, 397). As Lifton maintains, what Chinese re-educators took over from Confucianism, albeit in an altered form, were: an imperious need for the re-educated to be sincere; self-criticism (which for Confucius meant real self-purification and spiritual cleansing); and the progressive rebirth of the purified *qua* re-educated subject. Harmony was to be re-established not between the neophyte and the Earth-

Sky, but between the Pavlovian-conditioned victim and the communist ideology. At the opposite pole from Confucianism was the cult of enthusiasm, which was another prerequisite of brainwashing; this pertained, in all probability, to the new religion which, consciously or not, communism claimed to be. The re-educated were thus enjoined to manifest themselves as zealous "believers." Jean Pasqualini recounts a famous brainwashing case history, which highlights both the instructive and the punitive aspects of re-education (Ruo-Wang & Chelminski). Brainwashing was later on exported into all the major areas of Chinese influence. It was notoriously used against American POWs during the Korean and the Vietnam wars: like the victims of the infamous Moscow trials from the Stalinist period, these Americans would give in to physical and psychological torture and confess. Cambodia also borrowed the brainwashing technique, using it alongside its genocidal backlash against its own citizens.

As far as the latter half of the twentieth century is concerned, I shall proceed with mapping torture into unitary geographical spaces, insisting, where necessary, on a more detailed analysis of certain cases. I shall start with an overview of the European area because of its paradoxical legacy. Although the old continent is credited with being the cradle of human civilization, it has by no means proved immune to the practice of torture. Countries like France (in Algeria), Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey, Great Britain (in Northern Ireland), as well as all of Moscow's satellite countries (where communist regimes and, implicitly, torture existed) are outstanding through having programmatically deployed torture practices. Special cases were those of Bosnia-Herzegovina during the last decade of the twentieth century, and of Chechnya, where, on the very cusp of the third millennium, Russian soldiers indulged in veritable torture frenzy.

The French sent their torturers overseas during the Algerian war of 1954-1962, tremendously diversifying the range of physical violence: "grills" (electric beds), "submarines", cigarette burns, the *gégène* (electric shocks applied anywhere on the victim's body, but with special preference for the victim's genitals), sitting on the mouth of a bottle, various other mutilations. All these were also enforced in the midst of Paris, where the "tested" included Algerian students (*The Gangrene*, 1960). According to certain analysts, the French appear to have used brainwashing exclusively on Algerian intellectuals (Fanon, pp. 287-288). Spain launched torture campaigns against the Basque nationalists (ETA members, in particular). Typical tortures included: the "bag" (having the victim's head inserted inside a plastic bag and leaving the choking sufferer to hover between life and death); the "submarine" or the "bath" (submerging the victim's head in a recipient filled with filthy water, urine or saliva); electric shocks; leaving crouching victims to hang on a shaft, followed by beating their soles; and knee crawling. During the Salazarian dictatorship in Portugal, the police resorted to torture against all political dissenters.

Greece deserves special mention here, since during the Colonels' dictatorship (1967-1973) torture functioned as a foundational gesture for the establishment. The heavy bureaucracy served to protect the torturers; of further assistance was the sympathy exhibited by the United States, subject to obvious manipulation by the Greek officials. It was entirely thanks to the Scandinavian states that the truth about torture in Greece was brought to light. Torture had also been practiced during Metaxa's dictatorship at the turn of the twentieth century, but it only violently broke out when the Colonels' dictatorship began. In the beginning, torture was used for extracting information, but in time, what was aimed at was intimidating the population and terrorising the student movements. Torturers relished applying the *falanga* (sole beating), stern and skull pounding (until victims would vomit blood), electric shocks, blows to the genitals, shov-

ing cloths dipped in excrement down the victims' throats (a kind of "submarine"), hair and nail pulling, cigarette burns, pumping water up the anus, putting washing or chilly powder into the victims' noses, mouths, on their eyes, or forcing them to abuse hallucinogens. When torturers stopped short of making their victims crack, they would attempt to turn them into "lunatics" (Amnesty International, 1977).

After the Armenian massacre, Turkey found another minority on whom to inflict torture: the Kurds (together with any political dissenters to the several successive power regimes). The cruelty of the Ottoman legacy had a great impact in this case. The most frequently used torture was the *falaka* (sole beating); also customary were forms of torture that included: electric shocks, maiming the victims' (male or female) genitalia, rape, cigarette burns, or the insertion of various truncheons (whether electrified or not) into the victims' anuses and vaginas (Cousins; Zana).

When in 1961 Alec Mellor commended the British police for not using torture, he was quite unaware of the milder ordeals (compared with those in use in Greece and Turkey) that the Irish, the IRA members and the alleged orthodox nationalists would soon have to undergo. Facing accusations of sanctioning tough interrogations, the British government initially disavowed its endorsement of physical persecution, only to later engage in heated parliamentary debates on what was permitted or not in torture. Quite significantly, the British authorities' refusal to cooperate with Amnesty International was adamant. The Irish who were tortured by the British police experienced the "wall" method (having to stand still, facing a wall, for hours or even for days on end). Electric shocks were sometimes an option. There were, then, other painful postures: among the most remarkable was the "windmill" (arms stretched out, without moving). Victims would have their stomach and head pummeled, their hair pulled out and their genitals smashed. By far the most common were, however, sleep deprivation and aural torture (Murray). All this was only put an end to by the government when the public opinion started voicing serious protests against torture of any kind, that is, only after the British army in Northern Ireland had declared the legality of the so-called "in-depth interrogation".

As for the end of the twentieth century, Europe's attention was especially drawn by two cases: Bosnia-Herzegovina and Chechnya. In the latter region, Russian soldiers tortured the Chechnyan ethnics through electric shocks, cigarette burns, dogs trained to inflict injuries, and rape, which functioned, like in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as a means of ethnic cleansing. Between 1992 and 1995, the interethnic war from Bosnia-Herzegovina (which was also to break out later on in the Kosovar region, this time between the Serbs and the Albanians) produced a veritable epidemic, or, rather, a routine of torture: in the Serbian concentration camps violent beatings, rapes and emasculations wreaked havoc. Victims would be pounded until mutilated in the, by now, notorious "death camps." Targeting Muslim women, rape became mass torture, hinging on ethnic cleansing. On the other hand, the Soviet Gulag and the Nazi lessons had been learned, and learned well, since victims were tortured slowly, through squalor, starvation and dehydration. Humiliations abounded: the detainees were forced to eat sand or faeces, to sodomise the others or be sodomized (Gutman; Hukanovic). In the same geographical space there were also Croat or Muslim camps in which the Serbs were the victims; however, torture never reached the atrociousness of the Serbian camps, even though excesses were also registered (Marinovic). The Chechnyans' ordeal consisted in violent beating, whipping, genital maiming, electric shocks, and, last but not least, collective rape. The mercenary soldiers who perpetrated such acts were usually under the influence of drugs.

On the African continent, torture was conceived and enforced by the military. Confession was indispensable for conviction; hence, the "justification" of torture. The fact that throughout the course of the twentieth century, Africa was divided by tribal and internecine strife, by *coups d'état*, military putsches and religious discords was also reflected in the way in which various political regimes in those countries resorted or not to torture. African tortures were often imported from elsewhere, but there was also a continental flavour attached, since several of them evinced the heritage of tribal cruelty (particularly those tortures which black people inflicted on other blacks): ritualised cannibalism, for instance, where the item destined for consumption was a live human being. In South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia, where the dominant policy was that of the *apartheid*, torture was rather methodically applied for extensive periods of time. Torture here was an administrative practice, indeed, given that the police received thorough training in administering pain. The most common forms of torture were electric shocks and the "chopper" (hanging the victim, hands spread or tied behind the back). Conceived as a vent for racial hatred, torture functioned in South Africa as a redoubtable system of ordeals. It comes as no surprise that the police here used Gestapo methods (Foster, Davis & Sandler). It was mostly in South Africa, unlike in most other African countries, that torture was turned into an official state policy.

However, this was also partially the case in Algeria and Rwanda. By the end of the twentieth century, Algeria had learned the French "lesson" and enriched it with specifically Arab atrocities. Torture became sexualised, aiming at the utter defilement of the victim: seared genitalia, emasculation, sodomy (with the help of objects), urination onto the victim's face, or lashing the victim's genitals. Besides these, other forms of torture were also commonly practiced: electric shock (rather widespread throughout the entire African continent), whipping, beating in all shapes and forms (with truncheons, cables, or belts), the *falaqa* (sole beating), the "submarine" (immersion of the victim's head in various liquids), the use of dogs trained to rape, burning the victim's flesh or hair (with cigarettes, or welding lamps), the "chair" (tying victims to chairs, and rocking them so as to cause the victims' collapse and face injury), etc. (Adt'Embarek; Comité Algerien des Militants Libres de la Dignité Humaine et des Droits de l'Homme). By the end of the twentieth century in Rwanda, the civil war had veered into genocide and ethnic cleansing, with Hutu militias consistently mutilating their Tutsi victims prior to killing them. Women would have their breasts severed or their wombs pierced with arrows and spears. Mutilation particularly targeted those bodily areas that were markers of Tutsi ethnicity (fingers and noses); sometimes victims would have their arms and feet cut off, being left to bleed to death (Des Forges). Amnesty International statistics show that torture was practiced throughout Africa, with tremendous upsurges of violence (limited, though, in time). During the dictatorship of Idi Amin in Uganda, a torture deemed to be amusing enjoined detainees to crack each others' heads open. Furthermore, a specifically Ugandan torture, named *kandooya*, was widely used here, consisting of tying victims with ropes so as to cause them paralysis. A case where torture was only used for a limited time period was that of Morocco, where prevalent were: the *falaqa* (sole beating); the "airplane" (hanging victims with their arms and feet tied to metallic poles); cigarette burns; *le perroquet* (the "parrot's perch" - a torture which consisted of incessant blows to the victim, who was hanging head down from a metallic beam, hands tied to the legs); the "submarine" (drowning victims in water); and dog rape (Amnesty International, 1986).

America seized the world's attention through a systematic and generalized enforcement of torture during the military dictatorships from the Hispanic areas. In North

America, the United States did raise occasional problems through sporadic cases of racial torture, primarily through the ritualistic lynching of black individuals by the Ku Klux Klan. The abuses perpetrated by the American police also generated substantial concern. Although the electric chair was introduced in the United States in 1889, it was never used here for torture purposes, being restricted solely to enforcing the death penalty for serious felons. What was rather alarming, however, for the United States, was the implication of its military staff in training approximately 57,000 torturers from Latin America (Feitlowitz, p. 9); if there were any torture manuals, they would have been drafted in Spanish. Another source of concern comes from the role played by the US military in provoking political regime changes in the region, through the support given to the local Juntas. By no means negligible was also the North-American export of torture expertise in the Vietnam War (even though the Vietnamese clearly outdid the Americans in terms of the cruelty to which their POWs were subjected).

Torture had been practiced in Latin America during the first half of the twentieth century, but it was only in the latter half that it became an outstandingly violent phenomenon. Most of the countries in this area authorized the use of torture in the name of national security. Several military regimes promoted torture as a state policy despite their never officially endorsing it. The "death squads" (commando groups specialised in abduction, torture and instant execution) were a testimony to the fact that the military Juntas had assimilated not only the Nazi, but also the Soviet "model", despite most of the victims persecuted, tortured and assassinated here having fostered a leftist ideological orientation. The Church was the most vocal protestor against generalized torture, notwithstanding cases of clerical collaboration or passive complicity with the torturers.

Brazil was amongst the first South-American countries to evince a penchant for torture, in the period between 1964 and 1979. The prevalent tortures (sometimes carried out in front of the victim's family) were of a combined mental, physical and sexual, nature. The military would go so far as to include torture as a "scientific method" in their CVs. There even existed torture training sessions, exemplified to the students on guinea pigs such as beggars and political convicts (*Brasil: Nunca Mais* 1985). The one torture that made Brazil famous and was exported into all the major countries in the region, as well as on other continents (Africa, for instance) was the *pau de arara* (the "parrot's perch"). The victim's body would be tied up, wrists firmly joined to the ankles; it would then be hung and twisted around a "perch" (possibly a lever), and left to dangle in this crouched position (suspended between two tables, half a meter above the ground. The victim would then incur head, feet and genital blows and would have to go through electric shocks. It was a method that left no traces and did not automatically cause the victims' death, provided that they were untied every other hour. Torture victims could also undergo electric shocks; they could be left hanging by their feet, or have their bodies seared. Frequent were: chemical or drug torture (the so-called "truth serum"); the "cooler" (isolating the victim in a frozen cell); the "wooden penis" (used for rape and sodomy); and the skull masher (used by the communists and the Nazis, but in actual fact, inherited from the arsenal of the Inquisition).

During General Pinochet's rule of terror (1973-1990) in Chile, torture was introduced as part of the state policy. Military centres were equipped with torture instruments, and stadiums were turned into gigantic concentration camps, with specially designed chambers where electric shocks could be applied. Chilean torturers were trained by their Brazilian "brothers", and were provided with logistic support by American officers. Torture registered many nuances throughout the Chilean territory: acid and ciga-

rette burns (including the searing of the victims' testicles); execution simulacra; mass rape (beating or molesting pregnant women, as well as dog rape); the forced ingestion of excrements; drowning in oil or hot/freezing water (the "submarine"); mutilations (of the nose, tongue, genitalia, or eyes); the *falanga* (sole beating); the "telephone" (the simultaneous hitting of both ears, often to the point of piercing the eardrums); the "grill" or "chicken on a grill" (known as the *parilla* - strapping the victim to metal bedsprings, connected to electric power); the use of spiders and rats (on the victim's body and inside the victim's mouth); the *picana* (the "prick" inflicted with a metallic pole operating on direct current); and, of course, the *pau de arara*. In time, the torture of choice became the electric one, since it was considered to be "classical" and "clean." Juvenile victims were not exempt from any of the above mentioned: they were kidnapped and interned in re-education camps where they had to undergo torture. There were even cases when the male members of one and the same family were forced to beat one another to the point of disfigurement. Torture was usually assisted by doctors (García Villegas).

Argentina (1975-1983) took over the methods of its neighbouring countries, using torture as a priority police technique and state policy. A new species of victims was created: *los desaparecidos* (the disappeared). They could be tortured in all manners possible and executed thereafter, since their arrest was not officially recorded anywhere. Predominantly used were the *picana* (the electric "prick," whose symbolical function was that of *sparagmos* - dismemberment, like in the myths of Dionysus, Orpheus and Osiris - cf. Graziano, pp. 210, 303); the "telephone"; the "submarine" (combined with electrocution); and the *parilla* (the "grill"). There was even an original torture, whereby a victim's hands and feet would be tied to a chopper, which would take off and fly for an approximate period of fifteen to thirty minutes. Less often, one should concede, were the cases of impalement. Torturers would often practice karate on their victims. Political convicts wearing hoods would sometimes be forced to fight among themselves (Paoletti). The bodies of the *desaparecidos* were often mutilated after execution, so as to prevent their being recognized; an alternative was to drug them and hurl their bodies into the sea, so that sharks could devour them.

Incidents of abominable cruelty occurred all over the South-America continent, yet nowhere was torture as systematically enforced as in the above-mentioned countries. Other areas of torture, however, also deserve special mention. In Columbia, torture victims were mainly farmers, who were suspected of collaborating with the guerrillas, or political convicts, against whom torture was used as an interrogation technique. There also existed cases of "social cleansing", targeting mainly homeless children, drug addicts, tramps and prostitutes. In Uruguay, North-American and Brazilian instructors were brought to deliver torture "lessons." Here torture included: "standing guard" (standing still), the "telephone," the "submarine," electric torture in all its forms, the "airplane" (hanging victims from their arms), the "rider" (forcing the naked victim to sit for hours on end on a metallic rod shoved between the legs), live burial, burns, psychiatric torture, and even aggressive dogs (*Uruguay Nunca Más* 1992). The tortures used in Paraguay were: the *picana*, the "bat" (hanging victims by their wrists), the "submarine," and the "foetus" (forcing victims to adopt a crouching position for hours). Bolivia was the scene of beatings, cigarette burning and hot-iron branding, rapes, mock executions, hanging victims by their feet, head down, and sleep deprivation. The *picana* was the prevalent form of electric torture. Sometimes needles were inserted under the victims' nails.

In Central America three countries stood out through the sheer fanaticism with which they adopted torture as an instrument of state policy. In Guatemala, it was both

the official army and the guerrillas that practiced extremely violent forms of torture: burning, castration, mutilation, skinning, mass rape, and electric shocks. All these were usually performed in front of an audience, since the desired effect was a spectacular one: this explains the incidence of those horrific ceremonies (crucifixions, burnings at the stake, slitting the bellies of pregnant women open and extracting their foetuses). Mutilated corpses were thrown into the sea, into abysses or volcano craters (*Guatemala Nunca Más*, 1998-1999). The customary tortures in Salvador involved scalping, acid burning, castration, rape, evisceration, live burial and burning at the stake. Death, as well as the torture that preceded it, was conceived as an abominable spectacle, and the victims' carcasses were also disposed of into the sea or volcano craters. In Nicaragua, it was not only the Somozists (rightist fanatics) who committed horrendous acts of torture; the Sandinists (leftist fanatics) also resorted to torture, even though to a slighter degree and not in the exalted, savage manner of Somoza's clique. In the last decade of the twentieth century, Mexico waged torture campaigns against real or imaginary Zapatists, who would have to suffer from beatings of all sorts, electric shocks and rape.

In so far as the Caribbean areas are concerned, Haiti under Duvalier's rule stood out through the treatment it enforced upon its political convicts: they were incarcerated in underground cells, where the *tontons macoutes* militias practiced the *pau de arara*, mutilation, or sodomisation(sodomy) (the insertion of a hot iron rod into the victim's anus). Castrist Cuba systematically resorted to torture; a certain kinship between Cuban and South American torturers can be noted here, although Fidel Castro's acolytes were communists, while the latter clearly espoused rightist principles. Torture had also been practiced, though in much milder forms, during Batista's dictatorship. Despite being communists, the Castrist torturers gladly adopted several "classical" Gestapo methods, such as: the "bell" (the victim's head was placed inside a bell that tolled continuously); the "coffin" (confining and leaving the victim to suffocate inside a coffin-size space); electric shocks; starvation; the use of dogs that had been specially trained to maim. Since the country was rife with concentration camps, those who tried to escape by sea were massacred on board the refugee boats, either through shelling or shooting (*El presidio político en Cuba comunista* 1982). Daytime beating orgies became a routine, while summoning detainees to the torture pavilions went according to strict schedules. Also practiced were drug torture, psychiatric abuse and brainwashing (fairly similar to the Chinese method), as part of a re-education, or rather, rehabilitation, program (Calzón; Valladares).

In the Near East, torture was used for extracting confessions; all the countries in that region resorted to more or less systematic uses of torture against primarily, though not exclusively, political detainees. During the Shah's reign in Iran, common forms of torture included: the *falaqa* (sole beating), the electric grill, or sodomy with electric rods. At the time of the Islamic Republic, the authorities aimed to convert the prisons into rehabilitation and re-education schools: here, the convicts were forced to study the fundamentalist religious doctrine, to repent and convert themselves so as to be accommodated by the new society. It was only thus that they could regain the status of human beings (*Adam*). Under duress, re-educated Iranians gave interviews that were broadcast on national television. Repentance was obtained only through long-term torture (Abrahamian). Iraq waged torture campaigns particularly against the Kurds: electric shocks, the *falaqa*, cigarette burning or hot-iron branding, nail pulling, sprinkling salt onto the victim's eyes, ear, nose and eye maiming, and castration. Sometimes detainees were obliged to strike blows at one another (*Saddam's Republic is the Republic of Horror* 1991). In Saudi-Arabia, American counselor for torture were used; torturers resorted

mainly to electric shocks, mutilation, whipping, and, occasionally, a forceps-like instrument for skull squashing. Syria favoured the use of electric shocks (mostly to the genitals), sexual abuse, nail pulling, mutilation, burning, and hanging. Libya also had an affinity for electric shocks (to the genitals or to head areas), as well as for the *falaqa*.

Whereas Arab methods were notorious for their viciousness, an astonishing case in the region, given its systematic deployment of tough interrogation techniques against the Palestinians, was that of Israel. Israel officially sanctioned and legally authorised (through the Landau Report) the use of "moderate" torture - a clear misnomer, given its excessive violence (Human Rights Watch 1994; Gordon & Marton). The legal status of modern torture in Israel was dependent on its acceptance as an administrative practice. The moment torture gained official endorsement, it witnessed a tremendous diversification of techniques, each with its own name or nickname. After the act of torture was completed, both the torturer and the tortured victim had to fill out forms; in other words, Israel's promotion of torture was by the book. Accomplices to torture were not only the police, but also the doctors who assisted with the application of electric shocks to the victims' genitals, with inflicting burns and with seeing to the wounds wrought by attack dogs. The most common technique was *Shabeth*, a combination of ceaseless sleep deprivation with uncomfortable body postures (the "banana" position, for instance). Finally, the Supreme Court (having in view the intervention of the Public Committee against Torture) officially prohibited torture against Palestinians political prisoners (decision no. 5100/94). In the Occupied Territories, the Palestinian fundamentalists tortured, in their turn, the alleged collaborators with the Israeli authorities, copycatting the methods they themselves had experienced at the hands of the Israelis.

As for the Asian continent, we have already mentioned the cases of Japan (during WWII) and China (outstanding for its brainwashing, as well as for its later, more violent, techniques). Torture was temporarily practiced by all the Asian states, but it was in limited areas that aggressiveness acquired a programmatic character: Korea, Vietnam, India and Cambodia. Both South and Northern Korea made use of electric shocks to the genitals, burning, and brainwashing. In Northern Vietnam, American pilots captured during the war were most often made to suffer from excruciating body suspensions, whippings, sleep deprivation, beatings, gangrene-inducing handcuffs, paralysis caused by tight body wrappings, and, of course, brainwashing (for which, like in Korea, a more advanced method was used than in the case of the witness-assisted Chinese re-education). Authorities in Southern Vietnam practiced different methods: the "airplane" (hanging victims by their arms), sole beating, electric shocks, rape, burning, skin piercing with needles (left to fester for days on end), the "submarine", the forced ingestion of salty water and liquid soap until they would be absorbed into the lungs and stomach (followed by heavily pummeling those organs). Political convicts were crammed inside the so-called "tiger kennels". The Indian police used beating, electric shocks, rape (there were even extreme cases, such as those of an eighty-year-old woman or of a one-year-old infant), cigarette, acid and candle burnings, chilli powder introduced into the victim's rectum, nostrils or eyes, whippings, pouring hot wax inside one's ears, faeces and urine swallowing, the "foetus" and the "Z" postures, jumping on the victim's chest and back, the "airplane" and the "telephone" (Amnesty International 1992; Akhtar).

The case of Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge regime (1975-1979) was tragic. At first, the newly empowered radical communist regime practiced torture in an indirect manner (through starvation, forced exodus, and exhaustion of the population); then torture was deliberately inflicted to obtain confessions. In the ostensibly non-violent stage,

the Maoist brand of brainwashing was prevalently applied in order to "purify" victims of their former creed. In the beginning, the Khmer Rouges can be said to have avoided torture proper, preferring executions and genocidal actions instead. In actual fact, the atrocities occurred at such a rapid pace that they could not be assimilated with torture, at least not from a temporal point of view, since executions were carried out rather summarily. The simplest form of torture and extermination at the same time was deportation: the population had become emaciated and skeletal, their bodies were sore with pustules, some went insane, others committed suicide, invalids would be executed and cadavers were left to rot since they were considered to be fertilising the ground! Minors (aged six and above) were constrained to work in concentration camps, very much like slaves; young girls were made to marry illiterate males (a sort of social-political marriage); forced labour camps proved to be extermination camps. All in all, torture became in Cambodia a new form of slavery. Incessant beatings were frequently applied to anyone, anywhere. Amongst the prevailing torture techniques, nail pulling, the "submarine", eye gouging, evisceration, the "airplane" and the "Chinese drop" were customary (Heng & Demeure).

At the end of this long (geographical) catalogue of torture, I should probably outline several techniques shared by the countries and political regimes which practiced torture throughout the twentieth century. Several factors influenced the manner in which certain torture recipes were either transferred or inherited from one country to another (or even from one continent to another): specialised equipment (purchasable or not), and the availability of torture instruction and training. The most frequently applied forms of torture (apart from electric shocks, which were practiced worldwide) were: the "airplane" (with all its variants: the "tree", the "chopper", the "bat", the "dove"); the *falaqa* or *falan-ga* (sole beating); the "submarine"; the *pau de arara* (in all its versions); and brainwashing (in the USSR, in China, Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Algeria and Iran). The distribution and dissemination of torture techniques was not haphazard, through paradoxes did occur. For instance, the "airplane" was used by both the Nazis and the South Africans (and their neighbouring countries), as well as in Vietnam, Cambodia and India (and in all the countries entering their sphere of influence). This torture originated in the medieval *strappado*, considered to be the "queen of torture"; its origins, however, also point to its historical usage in Japan, for instance, where it was known under the name of *Gomon*. The *pau de arara* was widely used on the South American continent; outside it, it is known to have been applied in Africa (under the name of *le perroquet*) or, in adapted forms, in Asia. The "submarine" or the "bath" (including their dry version, the "bag") was widely disseminated: a method initially used by the Gestapo, it was later on used by the French in Algeria, as well as by the Greeks, the Turks, or by South-American torturers, reaching as far as the Asian continent (Vietnam and Cambodia). The "Chinese drop" was known in Argentina as "the torture of Tantalus." The "iron helmet," taken over by the Nazis from the torturers of the Inquisition, was later on adapted by the Brazilians and by the torturers in the Near East. Dogs that had been specially trained to maim (or to rape, in certain cases) were used by the Nazis, the Algerians, by South Americans, and by the Israelis. Sodomy and castration were specific not only to the Arab areas, but also to Hispanic America. The "bell" (introducing the victim's head inside a metal container which was hit continuously until deafness installed) and the "telephone" (the twin blow, as it was known in Haiti) were most familiar to South American torturers. Sleep deprivation was particularly favoured by the Soviets and the British. The "grill, a.k.a. "chicken on a grill" or the "crowbar", was used by several African countries, but it also reached

Asia, in the so-called "Buddha's wheel" version" (in Sri Lanka). The Vietnamese, the Ugandans and the authoritarian regimes in the Arab area resorted to a rather peculiar way of tying victims up and causing them paralysis or gangrene. Forced exodus and "death marches" were also typical of Ukraine and Siberia, as well as of Nazi Germany, or Cambodia. Torture and re-education were practices to which minors were subjected in as diverse areas as China, Cambodia or South America. At various times, certain countries, such as the USSR, China, Great Britain or Portugal regarded psychological torture to be the most conducive to the individual's destruction.

That similarities between these torture regimes were more blatant than their differences is rather obvious, irrespective of whether physical suffering, tough interrogation or more moderate torments were the torture technique of choice (for other terms of comparison as to the various forms of torture practiced throughout the twentieth century, see Ackroyd, Margolis, Rosenhead & Shallice; Amnesty International 1973, 1984). It is essential to acknowledge the existence of a certain pattern in torture (as well as of a tradition or, rather, a *Weltanschauung*, as I have maliciously referred to it); nevertheless, creativity in this field seems to be without limits. The jargon used for the various forms of torture is likely to bring, at a simultaneously official and underground level, another, parallel world into being - a world to which "ordinary" human beings (unless they themselves should become victims of torture) are barred access. Whether instantiated in South America as the *parilla* (the "grill" or the electric bed), or in the French colonies as *le petit déjeuner* (the forced ingestion of one's own urine), torture represents an act of deliberate violence, carried out against alleged dissidents by the representatives of a certain power regime. Furthermore, although it is the context that engenders one's turning victim or torturer, individuals nevertheless do have a choice in becoming one, rather than the other.

Degrees of torture: "black" (physical) torture. "white" (psychological) torture. Various blends. Recent breakthroughs in the field. The stages of brainwashing. "Circles" of torture: blood, waste, and madness.

Certain torture scholars appear to go to extreme lengths when attempting to classify torture into twelve categories: inquisitorial (aiming at extracting information); vengeful; intimidating; terrorist; exterminating; indoctrinating (seeking to recuperate "heretics"); therapeutic (purportedly meant to heal the "sick"); ritualistic (designed to meet traditional needs); ludic-sadistic; domestic-didactic (reforming the victim's consciousness); instrumental-didactic (serving as training practice for torturers); demonstrative-instrumental (witnessed by other potential victims, playing the part of spectators); and experimental-scientific (*Domination et torture*, p. 42). For the sake of avoiding such conked-out terminological claptrap, most of the analysts have resorted solely to the two major types of torture: physical and psychological (inclusive of the moral component as well). Physical torture appears to be the most widely practiced, for no other reason than the scarcity of torturers who would be "sophisticated" enough to apply psychological instruments of torture. Michel Foucault tersely calls these "anatomies of punishment" (1977, p. 101). Irrespective of how many differences there might be between physical and psychological torture, their aims coincide: namely, torture should be carried out thoroughly. In the specialists' jargon, psychological torture is sometimes called "white" torture. This is not supposed to refer to its non-violent nature, but to its more astute dissimula-

tion techniques as compared to "black" torture. Psychological torment eschews the so-called liquids of pain, foremost amongst which ranks blood. Kate Millet (p. 92) conceives of psychological torture as part of physical torture, since one's mind and will are supposedly subordinated to the body's capacity to endure pain; conversely, besides flesh injuries, physical torture also includes the components of psychological torture.

Frequently practiced physical torments include: beating (with all its degrees: slapping, pounding, whipping, etc.); electric shocks (applied in whatever manner); difficult postures; sleep and water deprivation (whether after salty meals or not); malnutrition; hot/cold alternation; the "submarine"; burnings; nail, hair and teeth pulling; castration; rape; inserting various objects into wounds; sand or snow burials, etc. The most widely practiced psychological forms of torture are: isolation (against a noise background of pain screams); verbal abuse; mock executions; ceaseless interrogation; denuding victims in front of their torturers; rape threats or menacing victims with the use of aggressive animals; forcing victims to witness the torture of other victims (sometimes members of their own families); making victims consume their own urine and faeces; and, last but not least, brainwashing. It is on this last item in the list that I shall dwell in more detail.

In its incipient form, brainwashing was introduced during the great Stalinist trials staged in the USSR. The method itself was a hybrid between Czarist Ohrane procedures and communist ideology. It envisaged the victims' reaching a stage where they would be at a loss as to their own identity, doubt themselves, and produce genuine confessions, becoming, in a few words, "dead souls" (Lauret & Laserra, pp. 25, 42). The Maoist brand of brainwashing was differently inflected: it was subsumed to the idea of revering a political leader whom the others had to obey unconditionally, since he was the only one capable of convening eternal order. The prerequisites of this order were total obedience and absolute discipline. Re-educated individuals were bereft of their personality, reduced to the level of zombies, to be then recreated as automata deprived of their will (Glaser & Possony, p. 498). Stalin himself endeavoured to achieve this; however, despite his personality cult and grandomania megalomania, he actually failed to keep up with his Chinese neighbours. Edward Hunter suggests that an alternative term might be applied to the Chinese method, distinguishing between brainwashing proper and brain-changing. Whereas the former represented ritualistic indoctrination, the latter was far more dangerous, insistent as it was on transforming and reshaping the victim's personality in accordance with the torturer's aim and intent. What brainwashing stands for today is in fact brain-changing, given that exalted indoctrination was indiscriminately applied to the Chinese, but it was only those victims who underwent re-education in prisons and in camps that experienced personality changing. It is nevertheless true that prison-universities did exist, where re-education was "voluntary," and that all the Chinese theatre plays and films purveyed the notion that re-education was a model to be followed by the entire population. Some of the re-educators would go so far as to boast that the Chinese method could successfully brainwash even God Himself (Hunter, pp. 10, 38, 131-134).

During the Khmer Rouge reign of terror, when informed about brainwashing, Cambodian farmers presumed that they would be knocked dead in the head. Brainwashing was actually understood as annihilation of the self (Sethi, p. 33). The Chinese method though was based on a perverted metaphysical mechanism. Whether known as brainwashing or "thought reform," it entailed the victim's symbolic "death" and "resurrection" via confession. Resurrection could only occur after the stage of confession and the detailed analysis of the victim's "sins." Victims were forced to assess their entire lives, as a sort of recap before death; only then were they allowed to be "reborn." In actu-

al fact, however, by relinquishing their former selves through conversion, victims experienced real psychic "death." Prison wall gazettes illustrated the two paths that the soul of the re-educated could take: the "light" path and the "dark" path; both cases evinced the subtle eschatological maneuvers that re-educators resorted to. The latter were the "priests" taking "confessions" from their victims. All in all, re-education amounted to psychic lobotomy, aiming to eternalise the "gymnastics of obedience" (Domenach, pp. 164, 185, 186). A detailed re-education case-history is recounted by Bao Ruo-Wang, also known by the name of Jean Pasqualini. In his opinion, the aim of the Chinese method was to transform the victim into an android, programmed not only to disavow, but also to forget his past. Prevalent techniques to this end were indoctrination and violent harassment. The detainee was incarcerated together with other, re-educated, prisoners, who would incessantly reprimand and discipline him. Days and, sometimes, nights on end were spent learning the communist ideology by rote, practicing self-criticism and staging exposure sessions. The more advanced, re-educated inmates verbally abused the victim according to well-defined rituals. Subject-detainees had to fabricate monstrous deeds that they had purportedly committed, and to be willing to confess to virtually anything, for that matter. This, which represented the most difficult stage in the re-education process, was called the Trial: those who refused to undergo it or failed to pass it risked going insane.

Psychic torture was prevalently used in the post-Stalinist period. In the USSR, convicts with a conscience were committed to psychiatric asylums and subjected to abusive treatments, by virtue of the disease which was fabricated for them and which was termed "atypical schizophrenia." No longer avowing the notion of political detainees, the Soviet state preferred to consign its dissenters to psychiatric establishments, on the account that "madmen" had to be calmed down. This explains why many psychiatric hospitals in the USSR hosted exclusively dissidents; such asylums were annexes of the KGB, where "socially dangerous individuals" were confined. An infamous case is that of the Serbski Institute in Moscow, where Professor Lunz, whose tasks included diagnosing recalcitrant "patients," was actually a KGB colonel (Lauret & Laserra, pp. 146-147). In other areas such as in Moscow's satellite countries, psychic torture took other forms. For instance, in ordinary prisons, victims were often celled together with truly sick detainees (such as lepers, psychopaths, etc.) The "Russian roulette" was practised both in Vietnam and in South America. In the latter area, victims were forced to watch comedies or films featuring scenes of torture without being allowed to show any facial or emotional reaction (like smiles, laughter, frowning or crying); any breach of this injunction brought about corporal punishment. As Weschler maintains (p. 137), a similar prohibition forbade victims to draw, for instance, flowers (seen as a symbol of defiance against the torturers' callousness), fish (emblematic of the first Christians' resistance), or pregnant women (the torturers saw this as the dissenter's planting the "seed" of revolt inside the woman's womb). Torturers throughout the world are known to have relished torturing members of the same family in front of one another, as well as having them mutually torture each other (the psychological effect targeted both the "spectator" victims and the tortured themselves).

Despite certain differences between them, physical and psychic torture are not always clearly separated, since both involve elements specific to the other (as stated by Amnesty International, the organisation that has most thoroughly studied this phenomenon). The term itself, *tormentum*, has been interpreted as deriving from *torquens mentem*, which means the twisting of the mind (Peters, p. 55); hence, physical torture and psychic torture constitute a bi-cephalic body. I shall resort to the examples of sleep

deprivation and ceaseless interrogation, which are generally considered to be forms of torture that leave no traces. However, the victims' skulls became their torturers' arenas and megaphones: though they were never physically touched, these victims experienced physical and mental torment, including hallucinations. Torture may have been invisible in the case of strict isolation, but it often transformed victims into the "living dead." A rather absurd form of torture was practiced in South Africa: the victim was supposed to picture himself sitting on an imaginary chair: this painful bodily posture was meant as a reminder that his mind and his body underwent simultaneous agony. At other times, psychological tactics supplement physical agony: while having water poured into his nostrils, a victim was told that should one single drop of water reach his brain, he would go insane. Terrorised at this prospect, which went beyond physical suffering, the victim broke down and accepted to make a false confession (Chadha, p. 5). In the case of mock live burials, one question that may arise concerns which side prevails, the physical or the psychological? Real suffocation or psychic terror? "Death marches" were considered to be a subtle form of torture, since the victim's body was not directly touched or tortured, leaving this on the sun, the cold, on famish and thirst to accomplish. What about the "macabre symphonies"? These were staged both by the communists and by the Nazis, then used in South America, and at the end of the twentieth century in the Serbian camps from Bosnia-Herzegovina, where victims were forced to sing incessantly, for half a day, until the "concert" inevitably ended in an uproar of screams, wails, cries, moans and babbles. The "Chinese drop" (applied to the forehead, to the shaven skull or inside the ear) was one of the most consummate combinations of mind-body torture. On the one hand, the body was afflicted and the headache proved to be atrocious (similar to the one inflicted by electric shocks); on the other, the victim risked going insane.

Technological advancement and scientific discoveries made possible a diversification of ostensibly non-violent torture practices. In the case of chemical torture, "drugs" or the "truth serum" were used by the Nazis, the Soviets, as well as by the South Americans or the Vietnamese. Psycho-surgical procedures included lobotomies practiced especially on common-law prisoners. Cases of experimental brain-implants with micro-electrodes (in the United States, for example) have been recorded. Psycho-physiological torture, based on the study of Pavlovianism and behaviourism, appealed extensively to the Machiavellian minds of repressive regimes all over the world. Various punitive systems eagerly exchanged their coercive methods. Analysts have noticed, in this respect, strange cases of synchronism and paradoxical influence. The group psychotherapy practiced in the US prisons, for instance, resembled brainwashing techniques; the so-called "attack therapy", whereby exorcism and liberation were achieved at the cost of harassing the prisoners bore strong resemblances to the Chinese Trial (Lauret & Laserra, pp. 267-268). All this evidence points to the dissemination of torture (in its most sophisticated and camouflaged forms) in all the regimes and institutions bent on the idea of correcting or "healing" the individual (prisons, hospitals, universities and schools with punitive systems).

Torture victims occasionally made reference to the "circles" or "bolgias" of suffering, suggesting the existence of a certain hierarchy of torments, whereby torturers programmatically conceived of various degrees of pain. Electric shocks could be applied from the outset, but they could also follow in a long line of ordeals that the victim had to endure. Rape, for instance, was never used from the very beginning unless it was envisaged as a shock therapy. During the Shah's reign in Iran, there were no less than six stages of torture, as follows: beating, leaving the victim to hang in mid-air, rape, electric

shocks, nail and teeth pulling, and mouth and tongue branding with a hot iron (Baraheni, p. 15). Torturers deliberately planned the cycle of torture, so as to make their victims aware of hovering between life and death. In Uruguay a torture formula known as "1-2-3" entailed forcing the victim to adopt several painful postures, each combined in its turn with other ordeals (*Uruguay Nunca Más*, p. 88).

The clearest example of the "bolgias" is brainwashing. Analysts who have examined this phenomenon mention several tiers of re-education, based on the central idea of the death and rebirth of personality. These would amount to twelve, as follows: 1. the siege against the victim's personality (forcing the victim to adopt the persona of a child being rebuked by adults); 2. compelling the victim to assume a complex of guilt; 3. the victim's self-betrayal; 4. reaching the breaking point when the victim begins to fear self-annihilation; 5. the apparent weakening of the harassment, meant to cause the victim to give in; 6. extracting the self-blaming confession; 7. channeling the victim's guilt; 8. dishonouring the victim, who is shown that he is not what he thinks he is; 9. accommodating the victim with this situation; 10. the final confession; 11. the victim's rebirth and identification with the aggressor; and 12. liberating the re-educated victim (cf. Lifton 1989, pp. 66-85). The most likely stage for the victim to be attacked in was that of confusion, when, through a paroxysmic stimulation of guilt, the victim became incapable of deciding between fact and fiction. The accusers would not rush the victim but adapt to the rhythm in which the latter built on his guilt, up to the point of accepting the birth of the "new man". However, if there was any hesitation on the victim's part, the solution resided in the so-called "fight sessions," during which the detainee was contrapuntally assaulted by various aggressors. "Thought reform" also depended on the creativity of the re-educator (Griffin, pp. 128-134). This, in broad lines, is the story of brainwashing, to which I would nevertheless add a sequel: victims who seemed to be excessively re-educated appeared as suspect to the interrogators. Hence, they had to prove their "enmity" through fabricated deeds, meant to provoke those around to expose them.

Although there is extreme variance in pain-inducement hierarchies, three stages of "circles" seem to rank foremost, irrespective of the repressive regimes adopting them. The first "circle" is that of blood, given that torture usually began with massive physical aggression. This stage of relentless violence lasted for as long as the victim resisted pain. After the victim's physical breakdown, the second "circle" targeted something entirely different, namely, the humiliation, debasement and disparagement of the victim. This was the "circle" of dejection, where prevalent were either a shock excremental attack (constraining the victim to ingest urine or faeces or to defile another victim), preventing the victim from attending to bodily necessities, or leaving the victim in maculated, pestilential conditions. While the first circle was primarily physical and the second was mainly moral, the third "circle" of madness targeted the mental level. Whether genuinely or temporarily losing their sanity of mind, all victims experienced madness (*aboulia*) that was born out of confusion, shame, helplessness and pain. It was only thus that torture could be deemed as accomplished and that persecutors could envisage themselves as "masters" of pain.

Translated into English by Carmen Borbely

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TEODOR DIMA

Întâlniri electiv - Lucian Blaga și Constantin Noica

Elective meetings - Lucian Blaga and Constantin Noica

Abstract

Of all the Romanian thinkers, Constantin Noica was almost exclusively attracted to Lucian Blaga. In most of his writings, whenever he felt the imperious need to prove his ideas, he turned to the philosopher of "luciferic knowledge". Thus, Noica offered solutions for the understanding of the expression "strengthen the mystery through the ecstatic intellect". Also, if Lucian Blaga built a metaphysic of genius, Constantin Noica particularized the idea of genius, taking Eminescu as an example, regarding him as "the complete man of the Romanian culture".

Pe 5 mai 1987, primea *bun de tipar*, la Editura Cartea Românească, volumul *Lucian Blaga - cunoaștere și creație*, coordonat de Dumitru Ghișe, Angela Botez și Victor Botez, în care Constantin Noica scria poate ultimele cuvinte despre Lucian Blaga¹, cu care se întâlne de multe ori în scrierile sale, simțindu-și „ființa” în „pulsatie” ideatică față de „determinațiile” care au individualizat creațiile blagiene. Într-un studiu de aproape patru pagini², realizat desigur la cererea coordonatorilor volumului, și probabil fără să aibă la Păltiniș scrierile lui Blaga, Constantin Noica își compara neîncrederea în veacul ce urma să vină cu capacitatea lui Blaga de „convertire a negativului în pozitiv”.

Cu alte cuvinte, spuneam noi³, Blaga s-a adresat istoriei culturale a omenirii, constatând că *diferența specifică* a omului (*determinațiile*, ar fi spus Noica), prin care acesta a devenit ființă istorică, deosebindu-se astfel de toate celelalte ființe, este capacitatea sa creatoare; pe aceasta, omul nu o poate depăși pentru că ea este sublimul, este absolutul spre care tind reprezentanții geniali ai umanității. Omul este o ființă creatoare, care își depășește mereu creația, dar care, tocmai de aceea, nu-și poate depăși condiția de creator.

Omul este, prin urmare, o *ființă dogmatică* și trebuie să aibă în stăpânire o metodă dogmatică, izvorâtă din condiția și din destinul său de a fi creator⁴. Intitulându-și primul

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Key words:

knowledge, Romanian culture,
Lucian Blaga, Constantin Noica,
genius, creation

studiu din *Trilogia cunoașterii*, *Eonul dogmatic*, Blaga sugera că, în filosofie, „se deschide o perioadă istorică în care gândirea va institui precumpănitor dogme”⁵. De asemenea, analizând primele cristalizări ale unui mod „dogmatic” de gândire, Blaga constata că acestea erau *antinomice* în sine, intrând în dezacord cu înțelegerea rațională, fie printr-o *transcendere* a logicii, fie printr-o *transfigurare* a ei.

Cu alte cuvinte, omul este înzestrat cu un intelect structurat logic, cu ajutorul căruia ordonează cognitiv mediul natural în care se află. Dar, pentru a crea, pentru a fi demiurgul culturii, omul trebuie să iasă din „orizontul concret”, *paradisial*, al realității cognoscibile și să intre într-un „orizont al necunoscutului”: „Orizontul necunoscutului, ca o dimensiune specifică a ambianței umane, devine principalul factor ce-l stimulează pe om la cele mai fertile încercări de a-și releva sieși ceea ce este încă ascuns”⁶. Orizontul necunoscutului (al misterelor) are darul de a „desmărgini” orizontul concret, pentru ca omul să-și realizeze continuu dimensiunea creatoare. „Ca o consecință a structurilor și formelor sale, obținute prin succesive mutațiuni verticale, omul se afirmă într-o ambianță desmărginită până dincolo de lumea concretă în orizontul necunoscutului. Această enormă desmărginire este una dintre condițiile esențiale prin care omul devine ceea ce este: ființă creatoare de cultură, prin excelență”⁷.

Starea normală a intelectului, când acumulează cunoscutul (ceea ce a fost descoperit și inventat), este o *stare enstatică*, dar sunt impulsuri covârșitoare din partea obiectelor, ceea ce determină intelectul să intre în sfera necunoscutului și, pentru aceasta, el face un salt în *antinomie*. Omul este provocat să cunoască și, de aceea, atacă necunoscutul cu „arme” neobișnuite, care sfidează logica obișnuită a rațiunii. Îngădit de tiparele unei logici care îl apără de eroare, omul de geniu, pentru a-și îndeplini destinul de creator, sparge tiparele și sare dincolo de cerc în lumea misterelor pentru a le spori.

Interesat de filosofia lui Blaga, așa cum vom arăta mai jos, Constantin Noica a decriptat sensul expresiei „*potențarea misterului de către intelectul ecstatic în domeniul minus-cunoașterii*”: „Blaga are curajul să spună: de vreme ce nu putem dezvălui misterul, să-l potențăm. Este aproape ce se întâmplă astăzi în matematici, pe care Blaga le invocă adesea și poate în chip întemeiat: nimeni nu pare a putea da măsura logosului matematic; dar, pentru că nu-i pătrunde «misterul», matematicianul adevărat îl sporește, creând noi geometrii”⁸.

Noi considerăm că Noica are numai parțial dreptate, căci Blaga nu spune: „de vreme ce nu putem dezvălui misterul, să-l potențăm”; el spune: „de vreme ce am deschis un mister, prin revelarea cripticului, îl potențăm”⁹; abia acum urmează interpretarea lui Noica și ea este într-adevăr dătătoare de sensuri: necunoscutul, odată atins, el sporește numărul solicitărilor; de asemenea, sunt cu adevărat demne de intelectul ecstatic, de intelectul care nesocotește canoanele logicii pentru a revela noutatea, numai acele mistere care permit propria lor potențare.

La nivelul cunoștințelor acumulate de fizica anilor 1930, Blaga a dat un exemplu edificator pentru înțelegerea potențării misterului deschis, datorită direcționării sale spre necunoscut, spre „minus-cunoaștere”. Fizica, scria Blaga, interpretând fenomenele luminii, a ajuns, prin teoria cuantelor și mecanica ondulatorie, să *releveze cripticul* fenomenelor de lumină și să-l exprime *antinomic*: lumina este ondulatorie și corpusculară. Revelarea cripticului se efectuează aici în direcția „minus”. *Misterul deschis* al luminii este revelat în latră sa criptică, dar, prin revelare, misterul deschis nu este calitativ atenuat, ci *potențat*, în special datorită intervenției imaginației creatoare. Deschizând misterul cuantelor, fizica a pătruns într-un domeniu nelimitat al misterelor, constituindu-se noi teorii științifice, cu aplicații, anterior nebanuite, impulsionând tehnica și alte cercetări științifice.

Dezvoltarea fizicii, dar și a altor științe, a dovedit că Lucian Blaga a construit o gnoseologie explicativă, dar și anticipatoare. În termeni metafizici noi, ea a explicat modul cum se desfășoară procesul decriptării misterelor în știința modernă, dar mai ales cum se va petrece acest proces în știința viitorului, Blaga intuind în special necesitatea acțiunii unui intelect neobișnuit dotat pentru a putea descoperi și crea lucrări neobișnuite. Numai un intelect neobișnuit, ecstetic, poate să înainteze spre minus-cunoaștere.

Minus-cunoașterea evidențiază plenar aportul paradoxiei, al metodei instituite de Blaga în *Eonul dogmatic*. Minus-cunoașterea necesită formulări antinomice ale tezelor; acestea întetesc, potențează și radicalizează misterul deschis. Dar o teză antinomică nu se poate susține decât dacă, spunea Blaga, se potențează o *sinteză*. Însă un intelect obișnuit, enstatic, și chiar intuiția, refuză sinteza din termeni antinomici; în schimb, intelectul ecstetic poate să înțeleagă că sinteza antinomică este o *expresie a unui mister potențat*, încât ea apare ca *sinteză postulată* și chiar impusă de misterul deschis, de obiectul despăcat în fanic și criptic. Cu alte cuvinte, Blaga susținea că intelectul nu impune formele antinomice lumii, ci numai le revelează pe cele existente, cu condiția să fie un intelect dotat. „Ca expresie conceptuală, sinteza antinomică revelează «cripticul» unui mister deschis, dar, prin felul revelării, misterul îndură o întetire, o adâncire, o reliefare, o radicalizare”¹⁰.

Astfel că logica discursului natural al cunoașterii paradisiace, determinată din exterior, se transfigurează, silind scindarea unor termeni învățați să trăiască solidari din punct de vedere logic. „Antinomia transfigurată devine principala formă de manifestare a minus-cunoașterii”¹¹. „Suspendarea logosului, prin actele minus-cunoașterii, nu înseamnă anularea definitivă a logicii umane. Ea înseamnă numai scoaterea din rigoare a legilor logosului pentru anume *rezultate* ale cunoașterii înțelegătoare, și aceasta nu întâmplător și în chip capricios, ci pe baza logicii însăși, pe baza proceselor imanente ale cunoașterii luciferice și, nu în mică măsură, pe baza materialului fanic al misterelor deschise”¹². Deși logica se transfigurează pentru ca intelectul să ajungă la ceea ce este ascuns, rezultatul acestui salt în necunoscut, în momentul în care este formulat („fixat într-o formulă”), „el se supune, sub raportul posibilităților de a opera cu el, tuturor regulilor logice”¹³.

Prin urmare, minus-cunoașterea este un sector al îndrăzelii, al aventurii cognitive, al desmărginirii, când acționează intelectul ecstetic, propulsat de propriile-i năzuințe și de natura criptică a obiectelor cărora li se aplică. De aceea, preciza Blaga, intelectul ecstetic nu poate fi o stare permanentă a intelectului, ci numai o stare temporară, provocată de ceea ce este ascuns în mister.

Lucian Blaga, de la primele semne ale capacității sale de autoapreciere, a constatat că este o „ființă eminamente metafizică”¹⁴ și că predilecția sa o constituie teoria cunoașterii. Dar Blaga teoretizează cunoașterea realizată de geniu, de acela care are „*darul de a trăi cu deosebită intensitate în orizontul misterului, și mai ales are darul de a converti misterele în metafore revelatorii și de tipare abisale*”¹⁵. Astfel, geniul obține „prestigiul de suprem reprezentant al destinului uman”, nu numai în artă, dar și în toate ramurile de cultură (filosofie, știință, tehnică etc.), în măsura în care sunt produse „acte revelatorii”.

În „rostirea filosofică românească”, pe Constantin Noica l-a atras, aproape în exclusivitate, Lucian Blaga. În marea majoritate a scrierilor sale, atunci când simțea imperioasă nevoie să-și sprijine părerile, se îndrepta spre filosoful „paradoxiilor transfigurate”. Așa s-a întâmplat și când, răscolit de fenomenul Eminescu, a vrut să-i evidențieze genialitatea. Considerând că „Individul genial e uneori un posedat și își are puterile grupate și concentrate, până la demonism, în slujba unui orizont al misterului și pe făgașul actelor revelatorii”¹⁶, Lucian Blaga construia o *metafizică a geniului*; Constantin Noica, în schimb,

a particularizat ideea de geniu, întruchipând-o eminescian, considerându-l pe Eminescu „o conștiință de *cultură* de dindărătul nostru – de la folclor și până la științele pozitive – devenind astfel conștiința noastră mai bună, sau poate mustrarea de conștiință a oricărui intelectual, care-i vede necuprinsul...”¹⁷.

Creatorul de geniu, considera Blaga, nu se întreabă niciodată de ce creează și nici nu resimte oboseala muncii. El creează întrucât aceasta este vocația sa, modul său de a fi în lume, și fiindcă altfel nu poate și nu înțelege să trăiască. Eminescu și-a exprimat neobositul freamăt în 44 caiete; acestea formează un „spectacol extraordinar pe care ți-l dă o conștiință de cultură deschisă către tot”¹⁸. Spre deosebire de alți creatori de geniu (Shelley, Hölderlin, Leonardo, Goethe ș.a.), care au întocmit jurnale cu gândul ascuns că vor fi găsite și citite, Eminescu a adunat în caietele sale tot ceea ce credea că-i va fi de folos pentru desăvârșirea operei sale, care să-l „*redea ființei*”, care să-i „realizeze continuu dimensiunea creatoare”, cum se exprima Blaga în *Aspecte antropologice*.

Caietele reflectă complementaritatea celor două stări, *enstatică* și *ecstatică*, a intellectului eminescian, descrise de Blaga. Sunt note de studiu și lectură, traduceri, teme de gramatică latină, ciorne, exerciții de matematică (care aparțin *paradisiacului*) și versuri din *marea poezie*, gânduri scilpitoare, fragmente de teatru și proză (elemente ale creației *luciferice*). Însuși Eminescu avea imaginea celor două feluri de cunoaștere, anticipându-l parcă pe Lucian Blaga: „Oamenii învățați dar fără talent propriu, adică purtătorii științei moarte, mi-i închipuiesc ca o sală întunecată cu o ușă de intrare și una de ieșire. Ideile streine intră printr-o ușă, trec prin întunericul sălii și ies prin cealaltă, indiferente, singure și reci... Capul unui om de talent e ca o sală iluminată, cu pereți și oglinzi. De afară vin ideile într-adevăr reci și indiferente – dar ce societate, ce petrecere găsesc !”¹⁹.

În cadrul unei conferințe ținute la Botoșani, în 1938, și publicată în revista „Cuget clar”, anul III, 1938-1939, Nicolae Iorga descria cum, de fapt, Eminescu se autocaracteriza în însemnarea de mai sus, căci: „El a fost omul tuturor cercetărilor vechi și noi ale literaturii românești; acela care a dus către literatura românească inspirațiile cele mai deosebite, de la vechea literatură sanscrită și elenică până la cea franceză din timpurile noastre, cu o străbateră a literaturii germane care însă nu i-a fost inspiratoare exclusivă... el este exemplul spiritului care neconținut se întoarce asupra lui, pentru a se completa, și completarea aceasta o caută în toate izvoarele de viață care se găsesc în jurul lui”²⁰.

Așa cum Blaga considera că geniul este un „dar într-o anume rânduială ontologică. Un dar admirat pentru roadele sale, la care aspiră modul de existență specific uman”²¹, Constantin Noica, particularizând, se întreba retoric despre Eminescu: „Nu știm cărei națiuni i s-a făcut darul de-a avea în sânul ei un om complet... După o sută de ani, poetul acesta îndărătul căruia stătea un om de cultură complet, încins de toate pasiunile spiritului și deschis către toate formele de cunoaștere, nu încetează să ne apară drept un om complet”²².

Scriam mai sus că, dintre gânditorii și poeții noștri, Constantin Noica nu s-a despărțit până la sfârșitul vieții de Eminescu, căruia, am văzut, i-a dedicat o carte, impresionat mai ales de *Caiete*, și de Lucian Blaga. În continuare vom da câteva exemple pentru argumentarea acestei păreri personale.

Particularizând expresia greacă *kalokagathie* (frumusețe fizică și morală) la semnificații ale limbii populare, Noica ridică expresii precum „bade” și „mândră” la demnitatea semnificațiilor vechi, îl cita pe Hașdeu, care, în *Magnum Etymologicum*, nota că „Femeia sau fata mândră înseamnă frumoasă nu numai fizicește ci și moralmente”, și își amintea versuri dintr-o postumă a lui Blaga, în care „mândra poate uneori îndemna pe un altul să greșească („Număr pietre peste care / mândra trece vadul / și păcate pentru care / mă

va arde iadul”)23.

Interesat de „ispita gândului de a se înființa” pentru a ieși la lumină, dornic „să-și facă lucrarea, fapta, creația”, Constantin Noica dădea exemple de realizări ale gândului în matematica și fizica secolului al XX-lea, așa cum Lucian Blaga prezentase potențarea misterului în aceste domenii. De asemenea, referindu-se la ispitele tinereții lui Goethe, el amintea descrierea lui Blaga a „timpului-havuz”24, în care ar trebui să intre dezirabile ispite: bucurie, sănătate, înțelepciune, productivitate, nemurire. Întrebându-se cu ce s-ar putea înlocui acest univers corespunzător tinereții fără bătrânețe în care Goethe și-a construit nemurirea, Noica ajungea mai întâi la un nivel folcloric, aici aflându-se dragostele întâlnite pe drum, noroacele din târguri, dorul și curțile lui, „așa cum sunt răspândite pe unde își găsește gândul ispitele”. (*Ibidem*). Vor rămâne aceste ispite, îmbrăcate în hainele lingvistice, moștenite din străbuni (dragoste, noroace, doruri)? Răspunde autorul „rostrii românești”: „Nu poți s-o știi și nici măcar s-o dorești, la lumina zilei și a veacului. Dar undeva, pe ascuns, îți spui, cu Goethe (și cu Blaga – adăugăm noi) și cu omul acela tânăr: «Doamne-ajută cui sărută»” (*Ibidem*).

Într-un eseu *Despre trei iscusiri*, din cartea la care încă ne mai referim, de o neostoită ispitire, Noica apela la exemplul dat de anticul Antiphon, pentru a face, mai întâi deosebire între formă și esență (între „fanic” și „criptic”, cum spusese Blaga) și pentru a ajunge apoi la rolul *metaforei* în cultură, gândul ducându-l din nou la ispititorul Blaga.

Antiphon propunea o experiență: dintr-un pat de lemn îngropat în pământ va răsări un alt pat ? Nu, cel mult un mugur sau un vlăstar. Deci forma „pat” este ceva adăugat, esența fiind lemnul. Cu alte cuvinte, comenta Noica, independent de rezultatele și de natura experimentului, în exemplul dat se află *iscusirea gândirii științifice*: să îngroape lucrurile pe pământul adevăririi lor, adică să le mute în laborator, să le pună la încercare, spre a vedea ce sunt cu adevărat ele (*Ibidem*, p. 60). Există și *iscusirea gândirii speculative*: dacă îngropi patul într-o amintire sau într-o nevoie umană, dacă îl îngropi (ca idee) în conștiința unui dulgher sau a unui pictor, atunci „vor crește” alte paturi, sau *Patul*, ca *model sau paradigmă*, utilizabil universal sau ca *Rostire*. În sfârșit, există *iscusirea gândului poetic*. Și aici Noica se adresează creației care izvorăște din sensibilitatea funciară a rostirii, din creația populară:

„Măi bădiță, Onule,
Semăna-ți-aș numele
Prin toate grădinile,
Să zboare miroasele
La toate frumoasele,
Să răzbească și la mine,...”,

cu alte cuvinte, prin creație, numele trece dintr-o stare în alta spre a redeveni, tot prin cuvânt, o alinare. Iscusirea gândului poetic este realizarea, măcar pentru o clipă, a *imposibilului*, scria Noica și își amintea din nou de Blaga, care, „prin *geneza metaforei*”, a refăcut sensul culturii25. Generalizând metaforicul la întreaga creație culturală, Blaga descria două tipuri de metafore: plasticizantă și revelatorie; totodată, el revenea la destinul omului creator. Prin funcțiile pe care le îndeplinește, metafora rotunjește destinul creator al omului, ea fiind *o dimensiune specială a aces-tui destin*. De aceea, metaforicul este trăsătură fundamentală a oricărei creații culturale (filosofice, metafizice, științifice, mitice, artistice, religioase, magice etc), împreună cu trăsătura stilistică.

În intervenția publică în 1987, Constantin Noica completa viziunea metafizică pe care Blaga o avea față de creație: limbajul său, pare uneori teologic, deși el este „riguros

filosofic”²⁶. Prima operă, de exemplu, este intitulată *Eonul dogmatic*, arătând că se deschide o perioadă istorică în care gândirea va institui precumpănitor dogme. Blaga, scria Noica, putea să spună: „Eonul axiomatic”, și atunci opera s-ar fi impus de la început ca o extraordinară anticipație confirmată de veac. Dar, desprinzând dogma de orice sens religios și dându-i o funcție metodologică, autorul a preferat să spună „dogmă”, chiar dacă era conștient că pune în joc un termen compromis și dacă presimțea că dogma poate lua și forme tiranice.

De ce Constantin Noica și Lucian Blaga își potrivesc atât de bine „iscusirile” în „rostirea filosofică românească”? Pentru că, răspundem noi, au crezut în ea și au slujit-o cu propriile lor creații.

Note:

1. Constantin Noica și-a început „devenirea într-o devenire” pe 4 decembrie a aceluiași an.

2. Constantin Noica, *Viziunea metafizică a lui Lucian Blaga și veacul al XX-lea*, în Dumitru Ghișe, Angela Botez, Victor Botez (coord.), *Lucian Blaga - cunoaștere și creație. Culegere de studii*, Editura Cartea Românească, București, 1987, pp. 23-27.

3. Teodor Dima, *Comentarii la „Cunoașterea luciferică”*, în *Analele științifice ale Universității «Al. I. Cuza» Iași*, 1992.

4. Idem, *Posibile semnificații ale „Eonului dogmatic”*, în D. Ghișe, A. Botez, V. Botez (coord.), *op. cit.*, p. 83.

5. C. Noica, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

6. Lucian Blaga, *Aspecte antropologice*, lucrare scrisă după încheierea celui de al doilea război mondial, litografiată în 1948, tipărită în 1976, Editura „Facla”, Timișoara, p. 119.

7. *Ibidem*.

8. C. Noica, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

9. Lucian Blaga, *Cunoașterea luciferică*, în *Trilogia cunoașterii*, Fundația regală pentru literatură și artă, București, 1943, p. 258.

10. *Ibidem*, p. 259.

11. *Ibidem*.

12. *Ibidem*, p. 265.

13. *Ibidem*, p. 269.

14. L. Blaga, *Hronicul și cântecul vârstelor*, Editura Tineretului, București, 1965, p. 139.

15. Idem, *Artă și valoare*, în *Trilogia valorilor*, Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă, București, 1946, p. 561.

16. *Ibidem*, p. 562.

17. Constantin Noica, *Eminescu sau gânduri despre omul deplin al culturii românești*, Editura Eminescu, București, 1975, p. 18.

18. *Ibidem*, p. 21.

19. Mihai Eminescu, *Manuscrisul 2289*, fila 15, cf. *Ibidem*, p. 30.

20. Citat în *ibidem*, p. 75.

21. Lucian Blaga, *op. cit.*, p. 561.

22. C. Noica, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

23. Idem, *Creație și frumos în rostirea românească*, Editura Eminescu, București,

1973, p. 20.

24 *Ibidem*, pp. 48-49.

25 Lucian Blaga, *Geneza metaforei și sensul culturii* (1937) în *Trilogia culturii*, Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă, București, 1944. Noi folosim ediția din 1969, apărută la Editura pentru Literatură Universală.

26 Constantin Noica, *Viziunea metafizică a lui Lucian Blaga și veacul al XX-lea*, în D. Ghișe, Angela Botez, Victor Botez (coord.), *Lucian Blaga - cunoaștere și creație*, Editura Cartea Românească, București, 1987, pp. 26-27.

AUREL CODOBAN

From persuasion to manipulation and seduction. (A very short history of global communication)

Abstract:

This text will focus on the transformations of the practices and ideas of communication in recent history and in the context of the globalization. The lecture will examine first persuasion and then manipulation and seduction. These second issues are explained through the fact that in the context of the rise of mass as historical subject, conscience, and thus persuasion become obsolete. The approach examines the theoretical model of communication in this two historical contexts and concludes that a partial sector of communication, "therapeutic communication", tends to model nowadays the process of communication as such. Based on the new practices and theoretical models of communication a new type of ideology appears, an ostensive one.

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Key words:

communication, persuasion, manipulation, seduction, ideology

I

I. A. Richards, an English literary critique and author, had offered in 1928 one of the first and, maybe the best definitions of human verbal communication¹: "Communication takes place when one mind so acts upon its environment that another mind is influenced, and in that other mind an experience occurs which is like the experience in the first mind and is caused in part by that experience."²

I. A. Richards was speaking about a certain sense of communication, about human verbal communication. Certainly, generally speaking there is communication in the animal world, especially among social animals and, as it is well known, man is a social animal. The first human communities were similar to some animal groups: they had a pyramidal structure of submission, reflecting the internal rapports of power, and the power effectively had by every member of the community. In this context we can't speak about real human communication, for here there isn't conviction. One's attitudes and behavior are affected by other factors: threats, physical coercion, but not conviction. Only the reduction of group pressure and the extension of the autonomy of the individual make conviction – influencing through language – necessary. Persuasion is the process by which a person's attitudes or behaviors are, without duress, influenced by other people through communication. Certainly, not all communication is intended to be persua-

sive; it can be also informing or entertaining. But communication in a peculiar human sense means influencing other minds through language!

The ancient Greeks were the first to be interested in influencing convictions, attitudes and actions or human behavior through communication. In the ancient Athenian society, power and power relationships began to be negotiated through communication. This means that through communication, convictions and attitudes, and, as a consequence, decisions, actions and behaviors, were influenced more or less explicitly, but consciously. This is what is called persuasion: the modification of convictions and attitudes through communication, with the purpose of influencing decisions, actions and behaviors corresponding to the intentions or interest of the persuading speaker – but only with the participation of consciousness, that is by assuming freely and consciously the responsibility. Ancient Greek persuasion is a kind of communication based on the presence of consciousness, on reasoning and logical argument: the persuaded person pays attention to what is communicated and comprehends it, including the basic conclusion being urged and perhaps also the evidence offered in its support. In order to obtain effective persuasion, the individual must agree with the point being made and, must retain this new position long enough to act on it. Thus, persuasive communication implies consciousness.

These types of influential practices, in which the Greek and Roman orators have excelled, were theorized in the rhetorical model of communication. Aristotle defined rhetoric as “the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion.”³ And these means were: *ethos* (presentation of the character of the speaker as trustworthy), *pathos* (the emotions of the audience as aroused by the speaker), and *logos* (rational argument). The problem of explaining the following evolution of persuasion and of the rhetorical model of influencing communication appears in connection with these peculiar means of persuasion. For a good understanding of this problem let us remember two of Paul Watzlawick’s contemporary axioms. The first tells us that every act of communication has two levels: the relation and the content, in such a way that the first includes the second and as a consequence it is meta-communication. The second axiom indicates that man uses two forms of communication, digital (verbal) and analog (non-verbal, or bodily language); digital language has a very complex and comfortable syntax but does not have a suitable semantic for relation. On the other hand, analog language has a semantic but not a syntax suitable for relation.

If we compare the “*ethos*” and „*pathos*” on the one hand, and the “*logos*”, on the other hand, the distinction between relation and content in communication, and that between analog and digital language becomes the distinction between “*enunciation*” (“speech act” or “utterance act”) and “*utterance*”. In oratory, the “*utterances*” are determined or strongly conditioned by the “*enunciation*” (“speech act” or “utterance act”) and this is the case of “*ethos*” and “*pathos*” by comparison with “*logos*”. In Aristotle’s rhetoric the “*ethos*” and “*pathos*” namely “*enunciation*” (“speech act” or “utterance act”) overwhelms in a certain measure the “*logos*”, namely the “*utterance*”. In this overwhelming we can see the dominance of the speaker – a king, a chieftain, a holy man, a wise man – above their audience. This is the expression of a relation of power and in general, according to Watzlawick’s first axiom, the manifestation of relation in communication. In writing, utterance is, as such, autonomous because it is based on reasoning, on logic – the latter is the “*logos*” as means of persuasion in Aristotle’s rhetoric. The content of communication belongs to the “*logos*”.

This aspect was emphasized with the diffusion of writing. Plato noted that writing destroys oratory, which was the privilege of the king and of the father, because it separates the “utterance” from the “enunciation” (“utterance act”). And Plato was right. The diffusion of writing after the invention of the printing press in modern times has brought persuasion from the external, relationary aspect of discourse (“ethos” and “pathos” in Aristotle’s rhetoric) to the internal, logic or poetic aspect. In modernity, reasoning and logical argument on one hand, and imagery and rhetorical figures on the other, have become important. And because modernity emphasizes knowledge, it establishes a sort of similarity between education and persuasion: modern persuasion closely resembles the teaching of new information through informative communication: it focuses on the content of communication.

II

One day Benjamin Franklin needed an important law book. He knew that another congressman has this book, but that man was a political enemy who often argued against Franklin ideas. In spite of this situation, Franklin wrote a polite letter and asked his adversary to borrow the book. After a few days he returned the book followed by a thankful letter. Then, Franklin was astonished to notice that the man ceased to argue against him with the same conviction and rage. In a normal way, reciprocity obliges us to return a favor to those who had made us a favor before. In this case not only the congressman did a favor against his initial hostile attitude, but he didn’t wait for a similar favor and yet did another. Why did the opponent congressman act in this way? Why did he, against his first hostile attitude, grant a favor after another?

This anecdote sends to yet another way of influencing communication: manipulation. I think all of us have knowledge of rhetorical procedures, but I am not so sure if all of us know something about manipulation techniques. Therefore I will give some examples, which illustrate different type of techniques of manipulation, their rules or mechanisms.

Do you know what a “free sample” is? A good place for free samples is the supermarket, where customers are frequently provided with small cubes of a certain variety of cheese or meat to taste. After that, many people buy the product, even if they might not have liked it especially well. A “free sample”, is a sort of a gift and, as such, can engage the rule of reciprocity. (Maybe, this example has become so well known that doesn’t work any more.)

A friend asks you for an amount of money that you think he will not be able to return, and you refuse. Then, the friend reduces drastically his demand and you lend him the money. That is “the door-in-the-face” technique: ask for something too big, and then get the thing you wanted. Also here the rule of reciprocity seems to be in act: because the other became rational in his demand and made a concession, you feel the obligation to make a similar concession.

A psycho-sociological experiment showed us that if one asks us on the street “what time is it?” and we answer him, and then he asks for change to make a phone-call, we are inclined to give him the money with an increase probability than in the case he hadn’t asked about time and/or we hadn’t answered. That is “the foot-in-the-door” technique: you ask for something meaningless, and get something important. Here the mechanism of consistency is at work: most peoples have the tendency to be and look consistent within their own words, beliefs, attitudes, and deeds. The best explanation for these

phenomena is offered by Leon Festinger's book *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Row, Peterson and Co., Evanston, White Plains, 1957).

When a colleague is collecting money for another colleague's anniversary, he is frequently asked: "How much the others have given?" If he is honest, he will tell the real average sum. If he is manipulative, he will tell us the biggest sum, making us to give a bigger sum than we wanted. In this case the principle of social proof is in act; it states that one important means people use for deciding what to believe or how to act is to look at what the others believe or do.

Even if persuasion often appeals to other resources, such as emotions, it is mainly based on a logical address to consciousness: its content is primarily conscious. Manipulation appeals to the cultural programming of the individual, to the basis of the stereotypes of thinking, frames and schemes, to what could be called a prior encoding of the individual. According Alfred North Whitehead, civilization advances by extending the number of operations we can perform without thinking about them. And manipulation is, according to Robert B. Cialdini, "the ability to produce a distinct kind of automatic, mindless compliance from people, that is, a willingness to say yes without thinking first. The evidence suggests that the ever-accelerating pace and informational crush of modern life will make this particular form of unthinking compliance more and more prevalent in the future"⁴ The experiments he undertook, have led Freud to the conclusion that the hypnotic order is justified by consciousness, during or after the execution, without the acknowledging of any immixture. In manipulation precisely the reverse is the case: the justification is inscribed in our consciousness from the very beginning by education, culture, religion, and the order is hypnotically executed as soon as the manipulator triggers its program. Liberty as a prerequisite, the lack of constraint in manipulation, solves the problem of the well functioning of this programming. It is true, our liberty is the one which triggers, in accordance with our education, the responsibility and coherence of our actions.

The cause-effect reaction, the statistical necessity, appearing in manipulation due to the accessing of the programming of the human being through education, shows us that the manipulating subject passes over beyond the field of consciousness of the manipulated, that he treats him like an object. This is the main fault of manipulation: giving up persuasion brings about a transformation of the relationship between two subjects in a subject-object relationship. The difference is that in manipulation there is no need for a hierarchy conferring superiority to the speaker, of the manipulator over the receptor as in persuasion. Again, as different from persuasion and seduction, manipulation cannot be confessed because this would bring the action of the subject from the programming level to the conscious level. Manipulation is a technique because it inflicts behaviors using programming language procedures, just like in computer programming. Manipulation uses the discourse as a simple action.

The other communication procedure used instead of persuasion is seduction. Manipulation is effective in political communication and in marketing, seduction, on the other hand, in advertising. Seduction was often examined before, but almost all the time from a moral and religious perspective. Baudrillard was the one who imposed a new view, from the perspective of communication. Post-modern seduction is apparently the reverse of manipulation: in this case the subject offers himself /herself as an object, but as an object - secret, miraculous, strange - that is missing to the other in order for him/her to be "entire/whole". The object of seduction, the object that seduces, is the object of desire. Baudrillard observes that "the subject can only desire, the object seduces": "the

seducer cannot be what he/she is only if he/she is nobody", only if his/her subjectivity is annulated. Its charm is "an opening, liberty, void effect, a modality for making place for kairos, occasion"; in seduction no one acts: we could talk only about simulation and appearance. Seduction is closer to persuasion than to manipulation, because it is a praxis, as it focuses on a subject, even if the seducer becomes an object. If manipulation uses nature to communicate, seduction, while annulling the subject, naturalizes the sign. In the naturalization of the sign, in transforming the possible or virtual world of signs in reality the action of signs is at work for the profit of seduction. Seduction lives from communication and in communication, and its reality is only a communicational one.

Seduction is based on the promise of happiness or pleasure that results from the naturalization of the sign, from the inversion of the semiotic genesis, which went in the first movement from nature to culture. The installation of arbitrary signs (Saussure) or symbols (Peirce) is undertaken through the process of taking distance from reality, a process measured by the double articulation of sign. It is an upward movement: from index, symptoms, signals, symbols, through iconic signs (analogy) towards arbitrary signs and symbols. This movement is the one with which begins religion, culture, civilization, and human liberty have begun. It has only a virtual reality, meaning that the terms used are the result of re-signification in the play of signs; it is just a virtual world, a world of the possible. In certain conditions, defined by psychology, a naturalization of signs takes place and it transforms the signs, the significations as realm of the possible - as illusion - in reality for the subject. Therefore the seduction inverts the movement that formed Peirce's semiotic pyramid, (which resulted from distancing movements of signs from nature). From the point of view of psychoanalysis, the effect is a substitution of the principle of reality with the principle of pleasure or a transformation of the secondary process in a primary one (Freud). Seduction promises something that it cannot give: an entire, total happiness, without discontinuity and tiredness; just like in movies, or in commercials!

The postmodern seduction is a phenomena focused on masses, because it is interested in quantity, just like manipulation, and in its difference from persuasion which is individualized. In the context of the rise of the masses as a historical subject, conscience, and thus persuasion, becomes obsolete. The modern masses (Elias Canetti) are no longer a community of autonomous conscious individuals, but a crowd of individuals with rather unconscious reactions. Moreover, in post-modernity it is linked, with the rising of advertising and the practices of promotion, to a new age in the evolution of the masses: the apparition of the mass of netertainment, composed by isolated individuals. Postmodern seduction addresses to the masses of entertainment (Peter Sloterdijk).

A final observation comes from the Eric Berne's "Transactional Analysis", which illustrates very well the slogan that if two people talk, there are six persons who exchange messages. Berne's theory argued that at any given moment each individual (in a social context) will exhibit a Parental, Adult or Child ego state and that individuals can shift from one state to another. Transactional analysis is concerned with diagnosing which ego state implements the message and which one receives the message in communication. Manipulation and seduction can be very well understood from the point of view of "transactional analysis": Manipulation is a Parent-Child transaction and seduction a Child-Parent transaction. But Eric Berne's "Transactional Analysis" is a psychology of human relationship and in this way it emphasizes the relational aspect in communication.

III

We have started with the Aristotle's rhetorical model in which both aspects of communication - enunciation (utterance act) and utterance, or in general: relationship and content - were in a relative equilibrium (with the dominance of relation, however). From antiquity until the nineteenth century, rhetoric, as a general theory of communication (a theory on how to convince an audience), was one of the basic liberal arts that had to be mastered by any educated man and one of the most important subjects taught in Western educational institutions. But during the last three centuries it has changed remarkably. In parallel with the dissemination of written communication since the invention of the printing press it was gradually transformed from the art of "winning men's minds by words" into an art of writing. Corresponding to the change in the general communicative situation, the increased flow of information and an important increment of the quantity of knowledge, it concentrated on the logical means of persuasion and somehow left aside the others. As a consequence of evolution, the content of communication was emphasized.

During the first half of the twentieth century Harold D. Lasswell, Paul Lazarsfeld and Kurt Lewin have been singled out as the founding fathers of the new field of research on persuasive communication. When, at the end of Second World War, persuasion and rhetoric rose again, it did so in the form of two distinct and distant branches:

New Rhetoric (Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca, and Toulmin), interested in logical argumentation, in reasoning, and Poetics (Gerard Genette, Groupe m) interested in the rhetorical figures as figures of poetical discourse.

But both branches were interested in the aspects of the content, even if this content was considered to be language itself.

Behind this final triumph of the content of communication in modern times a new theory was created and promoted by psychiatrists like Milton Erickson, Leon Festinger, and Eric Berne and later, by their followers - Paul Watzlawick, Richard Bandler, and John Grinder. They preferred another concept for the effects of communication, a concept broader than persuasion - influence - a concept that included manipulation and seduction and emphasized the relational aspect of communication. The Encyclopedias, the standardized storage of knowledge, have recorded quite lately this silent evolution. Until the seventies the encyclopedias contained only the term persuasion. Since the eighties, manipulation is frequently included, and after Baudrillard's *De la seduction*, published in 1979 and translated in English in 1990 this term was introduced too.

After postmodernism and in the context of globalization this new model of communication became more than visible, became bright and radiant, and this because globalization, through mass-media and the new technologies, has pushed further the implementation of manipulation and the techniques and procedures of seduction in political communication and advertising. The new theoretical model of communication and the new practical skills of communication, which emphasize both the relational aspect of communication, come together.

What conclusion can we draw on the turn from information to relation in the theory and practices of communication? This change is a very important one and indicates a change of paradigm, according to Kuhn's theory, or, maybe, a change of episteme according to Foucault's ideas. Let's us summarize and outline the main characteristics of the new paradigm or episteme:

With regards to the theoretical aspect, it can be noted that the theoretical model is rather therapeutic, than rhetorical, or informational. A partial communication sector, "therapeutic communication", tends to adjust, in general, to the process of communication.

Regarding communication, it can be noted that its essential concept, judging from its effects, is that of relation and not of content. We are moving from communication as information, or informational transfer, toward communication as relationship, and from the structuralist model of sign as unmotivated to the model of communicative situation.

For these theories the point of departure of communication isn't the soul (consciousness), but the body. The change is meaningful because in this way communication is granted to animals too and does not denominate solely a human behavior.

In the theoretical model of communication we can detect a displacement from text to image and, in general, from the digital, unmotivated sign to the analogical, motivated sign (emoticons, figures instead of words: "4" = "for"). This is obvious in mass media communication and the visible consequences are the passage from knowledge to spectacle and from a textual ideology to an ostensive⁵ - denotative, directly or manifestly demonstrative - ideology, the shift from invocation through words to showing through images. But our civilization was built against the charm or seduction of images - that was the case of Plato -, or against idolatry - that was the case of Jewish prophets (Vilém Flusser).

In the theoretical model, communication appears a passage from the reductive approach to otherness toward the acceptance of a plural alterities. This is also valid for the relation with the ego, for everyone's relationship with his self, which becomes plural, and even for the old, Socratic adagio regarding this ego: „Know thyself” becomes „Communicate good with thyself”.

It is obvious now that this new episteme is based more on analogy than on unmotivated, differential or digital signs, as Foucault has said. Maybe the sign was considerate unmotivated, differential or digital only because it was understood from the point of view of information, of the content of communication, from the viewpoint of modernity, generated by the conflict between reform and counter-reform (as Ioan Petru Culianu, a Romanian scholar has argued). But this episteme of communication, which emphasizes the relational aspect of communication, isn't merely a return to the analogies of the Renaissance, for the images of our culture are produced electronically, being created by digital programs.

In the end, a final question remains: what are we to do with the new, ostensive ideology? I think our mission is to provide a critique of pure and practical communication so as to avoid the charming of our minds by our means of communication.

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Notes:

1 Research for this article was supported in whole by Central European University
("CEU") Special and Extension Programs. The opinions expressed herein are the author's
own and do not necessarily express the views of CEU.

2 I. A. Richard, *Principles of Literary Criticism*, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner:
London, 1928, p. 17

3 Aristotle, Rhetoric, 1355b[25] in *The Works of Aristotle*, Vol. II, *Encyclopaedia
Britannica INC.*, Edited by W. D. Ross, p. 595

4 Robert B. Cialdini, *Influence, Science and Practice*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston,
London, 2001 4th edition, p. X.

5 ostension = the action of showing, exhibiting, or making manifest; exhibition,
display, manifestation; an instance of this (Oxford English Dictionary)

THEODORA-ELIZA
VĂCĂRESCU

Mihaela Miroiu &
Mircea Miclea, *R'Estul și
Vestul* (The R'E(a)st and
the West)

Polirom Publishing House,
Iași, 2005, 367 pages

I read *R'Estul și Vestul* slowly, not devouring the pages, more like some sort of a psychotherapy that you want to benefit from as long as possible, to feel every word and every fiber of thought. So far this has been the second book that had such a heavy influence upon me. The other one is Slavenka Drakulic's *How We Survived Communism and Even Laughed*. Discursively shaped as we all are, it seems that sometimes experiences mold and produce us more than discourses do, or the two are so profoundly interwoven that it's becoming more and more difficult to clearly distinguish between them.

R'Estul și Vestul is a collection of electronic messages between two intellectuals troubled by their 'eastern' and 'western' experiences, curious and critical, and especially exigent with themselves and with the world(s) they inhabit. Their stories are tremendously personal and honest, they talk about their first encounters with the 'west', they talk about their expectations and hopes, anxieties and wonders, torments and dreams. Mihaela Miroiu's two fragments of diaries that complete the book are two related experiences on two continents: Europe (United Kingdom) and North America (United States) and the process of intellectual creation.

R'Estul is a book of everyday-life anthropology, at the intersection of two feelings: acute shame and intense bewilderment, feelings that do not always overlap the two systems (may they be political, cultural, feelings or values systems etc.) that the title might allude to. It is an assumed and conscious anthropology, so very sincere that it amounts to complete denudation. In *R'Estul* I found myself as well as my mother; my gynomorphoses (as one of the authors traced her life-herstory somewhere else) contributing and painfully elucidating my indirect, mediated experiences.

I have somehow come to believe that shame is not such a negative feeling after all; sometimes it can be productive, healing, liberating and, maybe more importantly,

Mihaela Miroiu • Mircea Miclea



R'ESTUL ȘI VESTUL



Mihaela Miroiu • Mircea Miclea

POLIROM

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Mihaela Miroiu, Mircea Miclea, correspondence, feminism, transition, post-communism, Romania

clarifying... I was so terribly ashamed while reading *R'Estul*. Not too long ago I used to be so angry when hearing old people - or not so old indeed - saying that life was better and easier during communism. I used to be so revolted, I used to consider them traitors, ingrates, people for whom the evaluation of a good life goes through their stomachs (quite a masculine revolt, I came to think, see the 'elitist' male discourse virtually everywhere around us). But I was so wrong. I was actually thinking from the position of a 'westerner' who does not understand what is going on, who evaluates the experiences of the others through her own - not even experiences, but theorizations.

There is a profoundly revealing moment in *R'Estul*: at a feminist philosophy conference in Boston, Mihaela Miroiu presented a paper on the analogy between totalitarianism and patriarchy with a case-study on Romania. At the end of the session, an American researcher came to her, cried and apologized. She had presented in another earlier session a paper on the right to kill with a case-study also on Romania, more particularly on the execution of Ceaușescu, her conclusion being that what happened in Romania was immoral, the 'the rule of law' having been broken. But she had considered everything from a theoretical point of view, from an abstract perspective, with an abstract dictatorship, people's lives having been rendered abstract and thus intelligible to outsiders. Mihaela Miroiu spoke about her feeling of guilt and shame because of not having murdered the 'Comrade' herself, about the absolute evil that Ceaușescu embodied. This is the 'view from inside' that as much as one tries to convey, to explain, to theorize, one cannot render but partially understood, and this applies to virtually all the dimensions of the 'eastern' life.

Moreover, also until not long ago I did not use to consider myself substantially different from 'westerners': I did part of my studies in a 'western-like university', my grades were higher than those of some of the 'westerners', I published in 'western' journals, I organized - in the good post-socialist and pre-integration style - workshops and seminars with 'western' money. Although I am concerned with the differences between the 'east' and the 'west' (cultured note and in the spirit of *R'Estul*: see the volume *Gender and the (Post) 'East'/'West' Divide* that Mihaela Frunză and I edited), I had not realized my 'eastern-ness'. Only a feeling of inadequacy here and there when I had to pay for a dinner in a fancy (though 'eastern') restaurant or to buy a book from the 'west'. But these could also be dealt with 'western' money from small grants or scholarships. And this is when the trouble surfaced. Actually the very famous 'form without content' was acutely and painfully actualized. We are 'westerners' here and there, or at least so we like to think, and we really do think so until we are proved wrong, a thing that generally we carefully try to avoid for fear it might crush down an entire value system. And ultimately, since we are people who function with value fuel (some sort of oil, only more difficult to refill when exhausted), not to be crushed down ourselves. I do not think I was crushed down by this book, for if I had been, I would not be sitting here writing this text, instead I would do something to change things. But I was shaken a bit, I asked myself some questions, maybe I will eventually succeed in changing my direction.

Essentially, this is what *R'Estul* does: helps you comprehend yourself, makes you aware of discourses and experiences you had not yet figured out entirely. And it does not do it tenderly or smoothly - for this would not be consistent with the feelings so openly exposed - but disturbingly and crushingly. Disturbances and crushes that we seem to be in need for.

THEODORA-ELIZA
VĂCĂRESCU

Mihaela Miroiu,
Neprețuitele femei.
Publicistică feministă
(Priceless Women. Feminist
Newspaper Writings)

Iași, Polirom, 2006, 271 pp.

Motto:

Before the universal truth 'All people are mortal', there is another one 'all people are born'.

A few months ago I wrote *Feminist and not ashamed* on my t-shirt and wore it at a round table about women, equal opportunities and feminism. I felt good to have a statement, at least a little bit of activism (in the sense of second wave feminism), even if only within supposedly feminism aware (I do not say feminist!) groups. Yet, as I was reading Mihaela Miroiu's collection of articles *Priceless Women. Feminist Newspaper Writings*, I realized that my political statement - however brave and subversive I wanted it to be -, through the ideological orientation it is related to, remains within the reductionist and exclusivist paradigm it attempts to counteract. It would have been much more courageous and fair to wear a t-shirt with the inscription, outright shocking at first, saying *Woman and not ashamed*.

Mihaela Miroiu's book is full of people. Women-as-people and men-as-people from various geographical, temporal, cultural, political, economical, social backgrounds. Many of these people have several things in common, from affiliations and filiations to fights, theories and convictions. But a feature common to all of them is the fact that they are born of women-as-people. This is a striking observation even more so for its seeming banality. The universal truth 'all people are mortal' is a likewise banal truth, but one that has a philosophical value repeated throughout the curriculum and culture. Put differently, it has a history, it can no longer amaze us. But it is amazing that the truth of all humanity being born of women, rather than being a commonplace basis for common and elite wisdom, is not taught in schools. You see the difference: all people are mortal; but all people - both women-as-people and men-as-people - are born of women-as-people.



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discrimination, Romania

Priceless women. Feminist Newspaper Writings is a collection of articles published in cultural and academic Romanian publications such as *Revista 22*, *Observator Cultural*, *Dilema*, *Contrapunct*, *AnALize*, *Sfera Politicii*, *Curentul*. As the subtitle suggests, the articles are written from a position of declared feminism. This is an extremely rare occurrence in Romanian culture, if not to say a unique publishing choice - collections of newspaper articles on feminist themes certainly exist, but not one that I know of from a single author. Mihaela Miroiu is the most well-known feminist in Romania. She has even been labeled the 'feminist on duty' - for the fact that for over a decade she has often been the single clear voice publicly responding to the cacophony of misogynist, sexist and anti-feminist comments. And these comments certainly have not been few. Likewise, neither the answers have been few, or gentle. The volume *Priceless women* is not gentle. If each of the articles produced anti-feminist irritations, I imagine that this collection of articles will further irritate many more readers. This is not necessarily a negative effect in itself - it is sad, but not negative. And I think that the distinctly positive effects are greater in number and importance.

Priceless women is a book that will be useful to both women-as-people and to men-as-people. As a history of a woman's be-coming, in the sense of her gynomorphoses, of the formative-existential imprints left by women in a woman's life, the book has an effect that I would call, if I did not have a certain reserve towards the term, initiating. This is a contribution to the creation - or rather the recognition - of a feeling of 'sisterhood'. No, we do not have this term ranking beside the much lauded brotherhood of man, but the emotion nevertheless exists. And naming the sentiment, mapping its formation and dividends in private experiences, writing its history, is a vital step towards valuing the function of sisterhood.

From another perspective, Mihaela Miroiu's volume can be read as a text for students and as a self-reflective critique. The reader finds here elements of the history of women and of women's movements of the world and of Romania, of Romanian feminism and anti-feminism which is predominantly located in the postsocialist period, but not only. Many amongst these articles are responses to attitudes and arguments in which stereotypes of and discriminatory behaviors against women and feminism are interrogated and dismantled. There are also articles in which Miroiu tells the stories that constitute her own experiences, alongside interviews and introspective dialogues, feminist political analyses and reflections of feminist philosophy. The common denominator of all these scholarly, political, journalistic, personal writings is the priceless and *trivial* female experience. But why priceless and why *trivial*?

Priceless can be read in the dual sense of both holding an inestimably high value, and referring to 'that which is not valued'. Somewhere else, Miroiu cites an extremely telling anecdote: two men meet, and one says to the other: 'My woman is an angel,' to which the other replies: 'Mine isn't a human being either.' I believe the title of the volume needs to be read from this perspective, in which 'priceless' encompasses both meanings: the priceless women about which Miroiu speaks are valued as anything else other than human beings. Moreover, Miroiu shows how women's value, roles and symbols - I purposely avoid to use feminine in this context - are stolen, misused and despised, the example being Trivia. Trivia is the mythological tree of life, a feminine divinity, and yet the profound value of it, of procreation which IS creation above anything else, has been stolen and transformed into a triviality which does not deserve attention. I think that all of us, as women-as-people and as men-as-people, need to contribute to the recovering of women's experiences as valuable, at least through the simple fact of being proud that we all originate in and exist owing to women. For, despite all the sexist socio-cultural constructions which we choose, reject and live through, 'women are the *Trivialities* common to us all' (Mihaela Miroiu).

CĂTĂLIN VASILE BOBB

Elvira Groza, Fenomenalizarea timpului în concepția lui Mircea Eliade

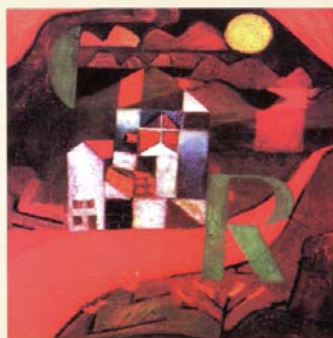
Fenomenalization of Time in the Work of Mircea Eliade

Editura Provopress, Cluj-Napoca, 2006

Cartea Elvirei Groza merge în răspărul tradiției recente și publicisticii de la noi, practicând un demers cu totul diferit. Cartea nu analizează situația politică a lui Mircea Eliade, nu este una de interviuri, nici una de întâlniri, nici una de dezbateri, nici una de "interpretare" a nu știu cărui fragment ocult din opera marelui autor, nici nu răspunde vreunei acuze aduse "misticului legionar", ci este una de analiză științifică.

Analiza pe care Elvira Groza o desfășoară este una exhaustivă: de la integrarea concepției lui Eliade asupra timpului în filosofia românească până la racordarea acestora la analizelor occidentale contemporane, de la scrierile timpuri, marcate de perioada indigenă, până la scrierile de maturitate, de la opera literară până la opera științifică. Problema timpului apare, indiscutabil, ca fiind centrală în opera filozofului religiilor. Surprinderea acestui filon este realizată de către Elvira Groza într-o manieră asupra căreia merită să ne oprim atenția. Marca distinctă pe care Elvira Groza o adoptă, destul de conștient am spune, este aceea a unei perspective *esențialiste*. Astfel, întreaga fenomenologizare a timpului, nu vrea să spună nimic altceva decât că încearcă să surprindă actele, efectele, vizibilul, ceea ce se arată, a ceea ce, în general se ascunde. O poziție similară este și cea pe care Aurel Codoban o adoptă în "Filosofia ca gen literar", p. 113, unde într-o notă de subsol îl situează pe Mircea Eliade între intelectuali "codați" de cultura greacă, așezați pe "poziția esenței, împotriva devenirii". În același timp, nu credem că Elvira Groza a fost influențată de această "notă târzie" a lui Aurel Codoban, întrucât "nota" cu pricina apare abia în reeditarea cărții în 2005). Adică, este vorba despre instanțierile Timpului Sacru, etern, invizibil, de dincolo, în Timpul Profan, trecător, vizibil, de aici, care se pliază asupra unei conștiințe (conștiința omului religios) marcată de situarea întru *esență*. "Lumea de dincolo împlinește lumea de aici, lucrurile nevăzute sunt ca și cele văzute, iar uneori lucrurile văzute sunt date în timp, pentru că existența ca totalitate depășește *locul* și *vremea* în care sunt așezate lucrurile din lume de aici" (p. 35).

Elvira Groza



FENOMENALIZAREA
TIMPULUI ÎN CONCEPȚIA
LUI MIRCEA ELIADE

PROVOPRESS

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Key words:

Mircea Eliade, phenomenology,
sacred time, Romanian Philosophy,
Elvira Groza

"Spargerea acoperișului lumii", asupra căreia Elvira Groza, prin intermediul lui Mircea Eliade, ne avertizează mereu, devine o necesitate de împlinit pentru fiecare om, fie el religios sau nereligios. A adopta o asemenea poziție, aceea a esenței ("omul religios crede că esențialul precede existența" p. 60), justifică întregul demers al Elvirei Groza, și o determină să alunece spre o situație în perspectiva tradiției creștine, pe care uneori o adoptă prea insistent.

În același timp, putem sesiza în scriitura Elvirei Groza o anumită tristețe, o anumită nemulțumire în raport cu omul atât de modern/contemporan, aproape postmodern: "Omul modern nu mai sparge acoperișul lumii, nu mai caută ferestre spre dincolo, ci refugii inconsistente care să-l sustragă din viteza cu care se desfășoară lucrurile" (p. 9). Aici, însă va trebui să o contrazicem prin propria-i poziție: "Căderea în istorie" nu anulează *esența*, ci doar o diversifică, împrăstie, multiplică, dizolvă etc, până în momentul unei posibile reamintiri, rememorări. Iar dacă teza *esenței* poate fi susținută, așa cum Elvira Groza o face, nu vedem nici un motiv pentru a ne îngrijora în față omului modern. Partea a II-a a lucrării pare, din acest punct de vedere, cea mai importantă. Acolo aflăm, vorbind despre dialectica sacru profan, că "religiozitatea este structura ultimă a conștiinței și nu depinde de nenumăratele opoziții dintre sacru și profan întâlnite în cursul istoriei (p. 192)". Tentati să-i dăm dreptate nu ne rămâne decât să întrebăm, oarecum retoric, dacă nu cumva nu este vorba decât de un efect natural al istoriei, în care orice nouă formă de manifestare la nivelul conștiinței (vezi distrațiile de tot felul) poate fi redusă la o arhetipică manifestare religioasă.

Dincolo de aceste considerații, trebuie să sesizăm structura academică pe care cartea de față o are. Nici un aspect al valorizării timpului în concepția lui Mircea Eliade nu este lăsat deoparte. Sub demersul pe care îl ridicăm la gradul de miză al întregii construcții, acela al esenței, poate fi cadrată întreaga analiză a Elvirei Groza. Numai într-o perspectivă esențialistă, *coincidentia oppositorum* poate funcționa. Numai acolo timpul istoric își așteaptă împlinirea, numai acolo devenirea nu e decât momentul unei posibile reîntoarceri, numai acolo diferitul e instanțierea Aceluiași, numai acolo secularizarea apare ca mască, numai acolo sacrul se manifestă peste tot în profan.

Cartea Elvirei Groza invită la o lectură atentă, cu un ochi de specialist, asupra unei probleme fundamentale, cea a timpului în întreaga construcție a filozofiei lui Mircea Eliade. În fapt, după cum bine sesizează autoarea, tema timpului, în sensul recuperării a atât de pierdutului *illo tempore*, funcționează la Eliade ca scăpare, salvare, eshatologie prezentă, în fața a ceea ce numim într-un mod într-un totu banal: prezența răului. Nimic nu este mai actual astăzi, decât fenomenologizarea actelor sacrului, pare a ne spune Elvira Groza. Nimic nu este mai urgent decât recunoașterea acestor acte, am putea spune noi, după lectura acestei cărți.

Aurel Codoban, *Filosofia ca gen literar* (Philosophy as a literary genre)

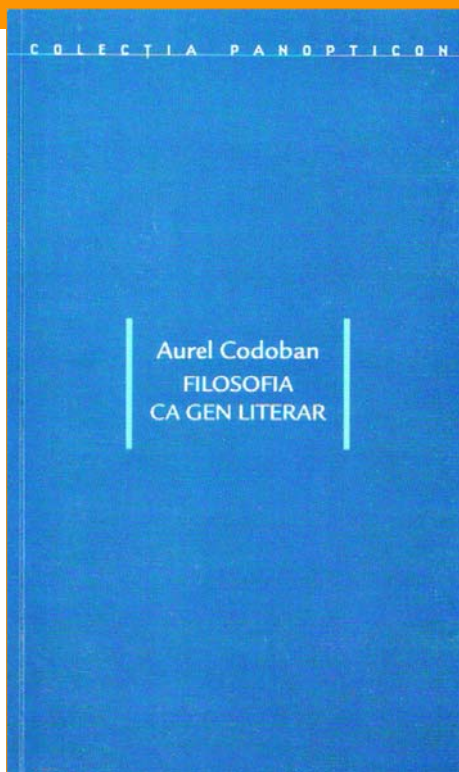
Ed. Idea Design&Print, Cluj-Napoca, 2006

During the twentieth century, the expression “the death of...” has been frequently employed.¹ The death of art, of the author, of metaphysics and philosophy in general has been proclaimed. Nowadays, we have been told that nation-states, politics, religion, ideologies have died too, just as well as local cultures did under the highest commands of globalization, or rather under the strong impact of had by the media in this process. Such an obsession of the end has lead to various inquiries, but the most adequate were those bringing to light the dynamic structures who define the historically different areas of human living and creation.

The importance of these reserches rests mostly on the inter- and meta-disciplinary use of methods and significations, in which the context, the metatext and the subtext uphold an open interpretative horizon. Such an interpretative horizon assumes that the understanding and the explanation are not being reduced to static historical principles, but they admit the open structures with various permutations among the elements and the relations, in quality as in quantity. The book of Professor Aurel Codoban “Philosophy as a literary genre” follows this direction. The book it’s a work of meta-philosophy and not a history of philosophy in the traditional sense. Precisely for this reason the reprinting adds two new chapters illustrating the dynamics of the previous version and the lack of an intervention in the fundamental structure of the book.

The book was due to appear in 1984, but being intercepted by the communist censorship it appeared only in 1992 at Dacia Publishing House in Cluj-Napoca, comprising, because of financial difficulties, just three chapters of the present edition.

The fourth chapter of the new edition, “Notes for a phenomenology of philosophy as literary genre in the romanian culture”, has initially been published as a collection of articles in different Romanian literary journals. The last chapter, “Philosopher and



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hension, Aurel Codoban

journalist, the synthesis of an ostensive ideology”, although written after long after the book was finished, still gains a place in the book because of open structure. As I already pointed out, this chapter is the confirmation that the interpretation system proposed by the author a few years ago is still functional, despite the many changes taking place in our culture.

The interaction with the whimsical moments of history did emphasized the book's value, and not the number of the sold copies; nor the reviews of the first edition did establish the value of this book, but the open inquiry explaining the philosophical discourse in the changing cultural field.

First of all, I would like to remark some phrases in which the author addresses the reader, as explanatory instances of the relation between the author, his work and the reader. These instances can be understood only in relation to the other works of the author and in the context of the author's academic and everyday discourse.

“Philosophy as a Literary Genre” rests greatly on irony. The ironic sentences map a network in which the author is always reversing the literally meaning into a new one, in order to unveil the reader's naïveté by introducing the philosophical speech as literary genre, speech that is neither mythology, religion, literature, science of nature, nor human science nor the science of the absolute. “The irony is co-originary with the philosophical discourse, which represents, through its nature, a reciprocal critique of both logic and meaning, but never taken to the limit. The irony plays the role of the conscience, the only true ironical instance, because the irony stands out for the world as well as for itself” (85). This is why the sentence “our inquiry into metaphilosophy and philosophy of culture will probably not satisfy many readers, without completely pleasing at least one of them” (11) is written to focus our attention on the fact that the lack of satisfaction or lack of fulfillment derives from the reader's expectation for the author to prescribe “the obligation for the philosopher to write poetical or novelistic, to use metaphors rather than concepts”(11). In fact, the author supposes that the naïveté of the reader and his lack of understanding mislead him into believing that philosophy is mere literature, ignoring the fact that “barely recognizing, in principle, the quality of both philosophy and contemporary literature as literary genre, we will discover that in fact their pragmatics and signifying types are quite different”. The lack of fulfillment and the reading's lack of satisfaction derive from the reader's inability to abandon the old classical customs of philosophical discourse, as well as the horizon of the “ontological naïveté” in which he is kept, in other words, the reader's inability to comprehend that the signified (*le signifié*) can easily slide down under the signifier's layer (*le signifiant*), at the level of the cultural background.

The reader's lack of satisfaction and frustration are not the consequences of the author's way of writing, but they are to be found in a dysfunction of the interpretive system of the reader as such, by ignoring the fact that philosophy is a process, a continuous way, a search for truth, wisdom and meaning and not a reduction to principles, neither an absolute or a scientific research, nor a literary phantasma. The expression “the philosopher as journalist” is only an ironical way of saying that, if the visibility itself is possible by entering the mass-media system, then the philosopher appears to be a journalist. The “philosopher as journalist” is not using already-made persuasion formulas, but rather unveils the means by which the ritualized and imagined mythologies are generated. “The philosopher as journalist” is not a media agent, but the one who interrogates the world of communication and, by making a statement on the digital side against the traditional analogical side, “is able to provide the critics of seductive and manipulative images”.

We can find in this book many sentences on the major thematizations in philosophy, a topic which the author has already developed in his Ph. D. thesis.² The author takes into consideration three major thematizations in the history of philosophy: the thematization of “what is”, of the *thing itself*, dominating Antiquity and the Middle Ages; the thematization of *knowledge*, that is of the idea, in the Modern Times, and the third, the thematization of the *communication*, of language, underlining our contemporary era. The image of these three thematizations forms the daimon of the text, each theme giving place for the understanding of a philosophical age, on the limit between mythology and rituals, in a way in which the philosophy still remains philosophy, “as literary genre”, without becoming literature.

The meta-philosophical inquiry is structured by focusing on the expression “...as literary genre”, as the main standpoint in the author’s philosophical speech. Although the fact that the expression has a frequent use in the book, the signified does not allow us to think the philosophical text as being a literary fragment, and the meanings of the expression are involved in different areas of the cultural general discourse, as well in the history of the culture. The comprehension of the philosophical discourse as “literary genre” gains more consistency through the analysis made in the first three chapters, where we can determine step-by step the importance of the philosophical discourse among the other cultural discourses in the history, the inner process through which philosophical discourse is brought to reality, as “a deeper comprehension of a meaningful praxis”, and the condition and the exercise of philosophy in the postmodernity. The complexity of the book shows a juxtaposed architecture of elements in which the philosopher, his discourse, the communicational environment and the cultural background, all along with the constitutive events, project a deep texture where we can trace in the cultural history the complete itinerary of the philosophy as literary genre. The author defines a differential identity for philosophy, revisiting its cultural past in the cultural general discourse. The identity of the philosophical discourse does not evolve through a perpetual actualization of a same structure or philosophical inner image, but from the differentiation movement the philosophy effectuates in the culture’s dynamics, and so its general speech appears in different periods of time and from various reasons as being of literary genre. The recurrence of the signifier as “literary genre” does not imply a reiteration of the same and unique signified, because the signified liberally slides under the signifier, and the signifier reconstructs itself over and over in different cultural areas, by a differential process, engaging a signifying praxis at the limit between a multiplicity of significations and a single meaning, between the sacred and the profane, scientific knowledge and literary creativeness, reference and self-reference. With no intention of practicing a “literary” discourse, the philosopher proposes such a discourse, in order to build his own identity through differential movements, difference who plays with the unique meaning of the scientific speech and the multiplicity of meanings in literature. The philosophy operates by reducing the multiplicity of literature’s meanings and, in the same time, by enriching the meanings of the scientific discourse. The differentiation takes place in the context of the three thematizations in philosophy and within the dynamics of the other cultural discourses. We assume that the first characteristic of this book is to point out the *cultural situs of philosophy*, in the history of culture. The philosophy’s place in the sphere of culture draws an itinerary populated with significant marks, placed under the signifier of “philosophy as literary genre”.

The final chapter should be probably considered the first one, because without being conclusive, it shows how the reality does appear as an actualization of the virtual

potentialities, showing the path from where we were left yesterday, in the horizon of the media, on the way to the effectiveness of the present day. The book reminds us that philosophy has yet a meaning, even through the digital era, and in a participative critical manner to the language-machine who ritualizes the mythology and image manipulative seduction, inside the organized field of visibility. The author initiates us in the philosophy “as literary genre”, translating in a very elegant manner, into the universe of the possibilities of the virtual world, the fact that philosophy means a continuous process, a reductive method to the proliferation of images, and at the same time a growing of the simple meaning of the computational logic. The philosopher seems to be an action oriented person, like an artist and a performer, going back and forward between the mythology of late modernity and the ritual of mass-media communication, avoiding any kind of theoretical fixation or already-made interpretation. The philosopher exists always in an interstitial, vector-oriented, paradoxical and differential position, immersed in the digital environment in which it can generate “a communicative image of life”. “The philosopher will have to make from his own life a performance, even more than the artist who works with his own body, and from the events of his life he will have to create a happening” (147). He will have to act like this, because he always did this, “because the philosophy as philosophy can be only a common work of meaning and logic, of word and gesture” (105). We see that in each thematization philosophy works as philosophy, when we are able to identify “the possibility of a meaning as the highest category of the rationality”, when philosophy finds resources for an autonomy of its discourse, in comparison with the other cultural voices, when “philosophy only joins the human on the path from Gods to Being. Speaking between the silence of the Gods and the silence of the Being, the philosophical discourse belongs neither to gods, nor to Being”. (106)

After finishing the reading of this book, you may ask yourself if the book is not only a simple semiotic reading of the history of philosophy, and if the lack of explanatory notes does not cover a massive takeover of full developed ideas and researches, but this would be futile once you have discovered that philosophy could only have an ever-changing appearance that can not be dismantled through annotations and bibliography, or through static analyses. And if you are able to realize that the author did succeed in convincing you about the metamorphic reality of both philosophy and philosopher, metamorphose realized with the play of differences and not repetition, then it's up to your ability to reach for new crystallizations or dissolutions inside the structures of philosophy, in a critical open work. Or simpler, you can just plug yourself to the media universe in order to map and analyze the interstice where the mythologies and rituals of late modernity deposited their digital capital. Whatever you will be doing, you may always rediscover the non-sacred way of initiation through philosophy, in which “only the philosophy regains the human for him, by introducing him to the being”.

Notes:

1 Book Review translated into english by Răzvan Țabrea

2 Published as “Structura semiologica a structuralismului” (The Semiological Structure of Structuralism), by Dacia Publishing House, Cluj, 1984.

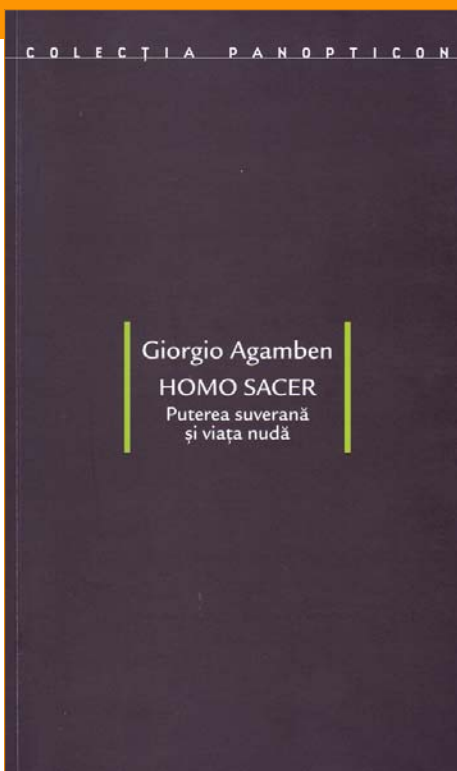
Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer. Puterea suverană și viața nudă* (*Homo Sacer. Sovereign power and the naked life*)

Ed. Idea Design&Print, Cluj-Napoca, 2006

Afirmația intransigentă a lui Sollers că o recenzie ar trebui să dea seama de o carte ca lectură posibilă (la fel cum orice filosof al zilelor noastre trebuie să dea seama de probleme ca lecturi posibile), nu are nimic trivial. Cititorul nu mimează niciodată vreo reacție, deci nu ar trebui încurajat la conformisme. Efectuarea dublă a unei lecturi, ca recenzent, presupune însă o deteritorializare spre public și o regroupare asupra cărții, în forma unei disimulări a satisfacțiilor și insatisfacțiilor. Lectura devine aproape imposibilă, istovitoare - cu atât mai mult cu cât e mai generoasă ori mai impertinentă problema, provocarea pe care o oferă. Aceasta ar trebui să fie deja o punere în gardă suficientă în privința travaliului pe care îl solicită, probabil, lectura oricărui text de filosofie contemporană. Cititorul de filosofie e ineluctabil un recenzent, care trebuie, dacă nu să disimuleze, măcar să amîne (sau să stăruie în) dez-amăgirile sale: să se cenzureze, să păstreze sobrietatea în fața unor idei, problematizări, sau afirmații adesea greu digerabile.

Aceasta ar fi caracterizarea cea mai potrivită a operei deja impresionante a lui Giorgio Agamben cu care publicul românesc intră acum pentru întâia oară în contact. Notorietatea filosofului italian se datorează în mare măsură caracterului provocator și incomod al gândirii sale. Între filosofie și politică, însă nici ca filosofie politică și nici ca o jurizare filosofică a actului politic, reflecția sa găsește un "prag de indiscernabilitate" pe care se așează, așa încât orice ar vrea să treacă în orice direcție acest prag trebuie să se împiedice.

Homo sacer reprezintă primul fruct al preocupării lui Agamben de a descrie politicul ca relație complexă între putere și viață. Acest efort, început în 1995 cu această carte nu s-a încheiat, lucrarea din 2003, *Starea de excepție*, apărută aproape simultan în italiană și franceză, fiind anunțată doar ca o primă secțiune a celei de-a doua părți din acest



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Key words:

Homo Sacer, Giorgio Agamben,
Foucault, modern politics, biopolitics

proiect. Ne aflăm așadar în fața unui efort teoretic încă în curs, care ne pune în fața unui personaj conceptual înșelător: *homo sacer*.

Intervenția acestui personaj (căci e realmente vorba nu de un concept, ci de ceea ce Deleuze numea personaj conceptual) e suscitată de explicitarea tezei prime a cărții: lagărul e *nomos*-ul politicii moderne, ca figură politică esențială a acesteia. Această intuiție descrie și proiectul teoretic al cărții, ea fiind rezultatul încercării de a gândi laolaltă biopolitica foucauldiană și analizele asupra fenomenului totalitar datorate Hannei Arendt, pentru a "da un răspuns singeroasei mistificări a noii ordini planetare" (p.15). Pentru Foucault, pe de o parte, așa cum îl citește Agamben, modernitatea este caracterizată de fenomenul biopoliticii: omul modern ca animal în a cărui politică viața sa de ființă vie este pusă în discuție. Genealogia instituțiilor și a tehnologiilor de obiectivare a vieții umane și a tehnicilor de subiectivare care pun în relație viața umană și puterea e lipsită însă în cazul său de orice analiză privind "locul prin excelență al biopoliticii moderne: politica marilor state totalitare ale secolului al XX-lea" (p. 9). De cealaltă parte, pentru Arendt, descrierea structurii statelor totalitare, care evidențiază relația de esență dintre statul totalitar și organizarea vieții a cărei formă paradigmatică este lagărul e lipsită de orice referință biopolitică. Așadar, dacă Foucault oferă mecanismul de explicitare a structurii și funcționării comunităților etatice moderne (biopolitica), el nu tratează fenomenul ei cel mai grăitor, adică statul totalitar (lagărul e mai mult decât o "închidere", pp. 22-23); iar Arendt, care indică atât de acut acest fenomen central al modernității politice, nu oferă nici un răspuns neliniștitoare întrebări "cum au fost toate acestea cu puțință?" - căci acestea nu sunt de ordinul unei fatalități oarbe.

"Viața nudă", sau "viața sacră" e punctul prin care Agamben încearcă să facă să converge aceste două puncte de vedere, pornind de la extinderea asupra tuturor formelor etatico-juridice moderne și precizarea sensului definiției statului totalitar ca "politizare a vieții".

Prea superficial și provizoriu se pot relua aici reconstrucția figurii lui *homo sacer*, sau evaluările pe care le oferă autorul asupra lumii și realităților politice ale zilelor noastre (merită remarcate reflecțiile cu privire la defecțiunea congenitală a conceptului de cetățenie și a intervenției acesteia în problema drepturilor omului). Vulgarizînd la maxim, osatura argumentației o constituie legătura dintre actul politic eminent, adică decizia asupra excepției care e atributul suveranului, și sfera exercitării acestei decizii, viața nudă. În acest act se exprimă paradoxul legăturii suveranului cu ordinea juridică, căreia îi este exterior și interior totodată. De aici, rezultă că esența politicului nu constă în normă, ci în instituirea unei normativități asupra a ceva care nu devine decât subsecvent corpului politic. Forma acestei normativități este dreptul de moarte. Faptul că biopolitica este tanatopolitică obligă la a renunța la determinarea obiectului de exercitare a puterii ca fiind viața individuală a supușilor: ea este o viață calificabilă paradoxal ca cea a lui *homo sacer*: pasibil de a fi ucis dar care nu poate fi sacrificat (p. 72). Protejarea vieții ca atare și dreptul de a o distruge ca viață determinată face din cele două registre ale vieții, *zoe* și *bios*, zona de indistinție a oricărui exercițiu politic, primul spațiu politic, înainte de orice formă determinabilă istoric a distincției public - privat.

Ceea ce face înșelătoare și problematică în cel mai înalt grad viața nudă e obscuritatea în care se plasează de fiecare dată. Figura inițială, *homo sacer*, devine locul geometric al culturii occidentale, în care filosofia și politica, structurile etatico-juridice și religiosul în aspectele lor teoretice și practice își află punctul de convergență și miza secretă. Agamben renunță la orice reconstrucție istorică a evoluției comunităților umane și la orice precauție și scrupul epistemologic și se plasează programatic în acest punct orb al

reflecției (p. 10) ca speculum al condiției umane, încercînd să facă din descrierile inevitabil obscure pe care le ia ca puncte de plecare o descriere a obscurităților, din care să reiasă, luminată spectral, o realitate care nu poate fi decît supusă, măsluită, deformată pînă și de o simplă indicare: "excluderea inclusivă (exceptio) a zoe în *polis*" (p. 11).

Nimic mai plin de învățăminte cu privire la tribulațiile gîndirii azi decît această temă a vieții nude, de necuprins de către gîndire, mereu apropiată de aceeași gîndire, care vorbește despre rușinea asumată de a face din efortul destinat stabilirii unor relații ferme, clare și discernabile între idei (care era cîndva filosofia) o rețea densă de indistinții. Dacă actul suveran al gîndirii și al politicii se regăsesc reunite în tăierea nodului gordian, nu ne putem împiedica să nu ne amintim cinismul care îl însoțește.