MUSLIMS IN THE ROMANIAN MEDIA, AFTER 2011
A FRAME FROM INSIDE OF A REVOLUTION

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Abstract: This paper aims to analyze how the Romanian press, after 2011, reflects several major events in the Muslim World, events with worldwide impact. Also, it is an analysis of the correct/incorrect use in the written online press of terms such as Islam, political Islam, fundamentalism, terrorism, revolution, democracy.
After the events in MENA countries (Middle East and North Africa) in late 2010, the beginning of 2011, the Romanian press has become more active and more attentive on this area. For a large part of the Romanian media and then, public opinion, the Muslim world is reduced, obviously wrong, to Arab world. The press was tributary to the image of "terrorist community of Muslims" after the attacks on the WTC in 2001, so the Muslims were considered from now on as possible terrorist threat vectors. This and other stereotypical images present in the Western world also prevails in articles in Romania journals. For example, the lack of knowledge about a Muslim lifestyle makes many non-Muslims to consider him not only a deeply religious man, but a fundamentalist one and, moreover, many are puting the sign of equal between fundamentalism and terrorism.
Most of the stories in Romanian print media about the events that have swept Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria etc., subsumed to the phenomenon called the Arab Spring are incomplete, often show lack of knowledge about history, geography, ethnic or religious composition of those countries, as part of the Muslim world. The paper consider the cultural and sociological, political perspectives, on how the image of the Muslim World is formed in the Romanian written press, with his update form online, but the areas are bounded in space and time: I refer to the countries of North Africa and Middle East, after 2011.

Keywords: press, image, religion, terrorism, democracy.

The Role of Print / Online Media in Building the Image of a Community

Print media or electronic media with the online version? What would be their share in forming the image of a community, in the public eye? Firstly, broadcast media[1] (television and radio) are creating a lot of emotion. I excluded, however, from this analysis the audiovisual media because would have required ample space and the analysis of many items: starting with the message, the image analysis, explaining how the story was built, how they were combined the „off” voices with the music, the tone adopted for news telling, elements that were not only intended to inform, but also to create an emotional response. Secondly, I refer to the written media because „*newspapers were one of the factors that favored the emergence and progress of public opinion*"[2] and the paper wants to highlight what the Romanian written press had chosen to reflect from the Arab-Muslim world. I have not included in this analysis those specialized foreign policy magazines – as *Foreign Policy, Revista 22* - but I have chosen the ordinary newspapers, daily papers, which Romanians usually read, less the tabloids. Moreover, because the Romanian newspapers followed the global trend, which is to build themselves online also, I analyzed the online version of the main Romanian journals: they contain all the items that appear in printed form, plus the

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[1] According to Rhodes University, http://www.ru.ac.za/static/library/infolit/media.html
[2] Gabriel Tarde, *apud* Remy Rieffel, *Sociologia mass-media,* Polirom Publishing House, Iasi, Bucharest, 2008.

updates in real time. Online journalism allows joining to the basic news of photo galleries, videos, links to other materials and sources, posting comments and opinions from readers.

The temptation to give particular attention to online media is explained by Ignacio Ramonet[3]: finance, media, the explosion of new technologies have created a new type of economic empires that do not respect any borders, no state or culture. Moreover, political leaders lose influence and readers' choices reflect that. In a poll conducted by *The Times[4]* in early 2014, Bill Gates is ahead of Barack Obama and Vladimir Putin, and Pope Francis is ranked fourth among the most admired figures in the world. Communication facilitated by technology is reshaping people's response to any event - for example, social networks and satellite television played an important role in launching messages, calls to involvement into the Arab revolutions, in 2010-2011. The idea of online versions of Romanian newspapers to be the first in „bringing the news"/ making updates, has become so tempting, that sometimes they just do not add relevant news. Online journals rather prefer to add news signed by agencies, already classified as reliable, verified, one after another, update after update, similar to an avalanche.

Representing the Muslim World

Romanian press and also some foreign journals, have created a representation of the Muslim world - according to the social representation's definition, mentioned by the social psychology - most often distorted. „*Individual or social representations make the world to be what we think it is or what should be"[5]*. Firstly, to remember that the Muslim world is not confined to the Arab area: „*The Arab world is an important part of the Islamic world - even its center. But it is only a part of it and, judging by the numbers, even a small part of it"[6]*. If at the time when Fareed Zakaria made this claim were 1.2 billion Muslims, of which only 260 million lived in Arab countries, in 2012 there were already 1.6 billion Muslims in the world[7]. This paper will refer to Arab-Muslim space, ie MENA[8] countries.

Even before 2001, when the attacks on the Twin Towers in New York occurred, attacks attributed to Al Qaeda, the Western world manifested a trend that became widespread: Islamophobia. Researchers have concluded that, whatever definition of this term, it can be translated as „*An exaggerated fear, hatred, and hostility toward Islam and Muslims that is perpetuated by negative stereotypes resulting in bias, discrimination, and the marginalization*

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[3] Ignacio Ramonet, *Geopolitica haosului,* Doina Publishing House, Bucharest, 1998, p.71.
[4] quoted by Amos News, *Bill Gates, Barack Obama şi Vladimir Putin, printre cele mai admirate personalităţi din lume,* January 19, 2014, available at: http://www.amosnews.ro/bill-gates-barack-obama-si-vladimir-putin-printre-cele-mai-admirate-personalitati-din-lume-2014-01-1, accessed on October 2014.
[5] Serge Moscovici, *Psihologia socială sau Maşina de fabricat zei,* Polirom Publishing House, Iasi, 1997, p. 45.
[6] Fareed Zakaria, *Viitorul Libertăţii - Democraţia Neliberală în Statele Unite ale Americii şi în lume,* Polirom Publishing House, Iasi, 2009, p.112.
[7] According to Drew Desilver, *World's Muslim Population More Widespread than You Might Think,* June 7, 2013, in <u>Global Religious Landscape,</u> report by Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life, available at: http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/06/07/worlds-muslim-population-more-widespread-than-you-might-think/, accessed on September 2014.
[8] MENA is the term for the Middle East and North Africa (see World Bank definition at: http://www.worldbank.org/en/region/mena/overview#1), an acronym used in academia, military planning, economic literature. The countries included in MENA are, in alphabetical order: Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, UAE, Jordan, Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, Yemen.

and exclusion of Muslims from social, political, and civic life"[9]. Thus, Islam, political Islam, fundamentalism or French version of this term, *integrism*[10], have become synonymous with terror, in much of the national and international press. Whether we are talking about a clash of civilizations[11], whether we are still caught up in stereotypes, most of the non-Muslim world often believes the Muslim is incapable of modernization, but not in terms of technology or way of life, but how the Muslim imagines the society and in terms of political ideas. The Muslim who prays under the precepts of Islam five times in 24 hours, and lives according to the Quran, is automatically and obviously wrong seen as a fundamentalist[12], a man with inflexible ideas, unable to accept otherness nor modernity.

The Frame of Arab Spring

Most often, the events that occurred in the Arab-Muslim space, after 2011, are assigned in Romanian media to „*a different world*", which we can not yet understand. The wave of revolutions that have swept North Africa after 2010-2011, generically named Arab Spring, was reflected in the written press in Romania, with the online version, rather as a world engulfed by collective madness and **chaos**. Very few articles refer, except the assessments of specialists in international relations, at the dawn of democracy and political modernization. Four authoritarian regimes have fallen with the revolutionary wave: Ben Ali's in Tunisia (17 December 2010), of Hosni Mubarak in Egypt (11 February 2011), Gaddafi, Libya (August 23, 2011) and Saleh, Yemen (23 November 2011). Some researchers[13] already see as imminent the collapse of the Syrian regime, while Syria faces a war between government forces and what the generic is called rebel forces of the opposition. Syria also faces the tendency of territorial division, encouraged as well by Western powers which support the arming the Kurdish minority to respond to ISIL, ISIS, or, in short, Islamic State.

It is very interesting the Romanian journalists' approach to any situation that seems, for a moment, out of control. *Chaos* settles the main headlines of the newspapers, on any issues: a street, an institution („***HAOS total în PNL. Preşedintele partidului, Klaus Iohannis, contestat la Tribunal. Când află sentinţa***"[14], „***HAOS LA TAROM. Angajaţii nu mai vor să zboare, iar ministrul Transporturilor trimite Corpul de Control***"[15]*),* the country (*Ţară în*

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[9] *Islamophobia: Understanding Anti-Muslim Sentiment in the West,* a Gallup study, published after 2011, available at: http://www.gallup.com/poll/157082/islamophobia-understanding-anti-muslim-sentiment-west.aspx#4, accessed on September 2014.

[10] Term used by Olivier Roy in „*L'Islam mondialise",* Edition du Seuil, Paris, 2004.

[11] Samuel P. Huntington, *Ciocnirea civilizaţiilor şi refacerea ordinii mondiale,* Antet Publishing House, Bucharest, 1997.

[12] Fundamentalism belongs rather to a cultural area, not to a religious or political area, and it means a certain conservatism, a return to origins. In Islam, it has more shades, like the Wahhabism, ie the return to the origins of a lost Islam, the conservatism of ulama, or the source of radical reformism, according to Mihaela Matei, *Islamul politic şi democraţia – Între reformă, interpretare şi jihad,* RAO Publishing House, Bucharest, 2011, p.71.

[13] David W.Lesch, *Syria- The Fall of the House of Assad,* Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2012.

[14] Larisa Ciută, *HAOS total în PNL. Preşedintele partidului, Klaus Iohannis, contestat la Tribunal. Când află sentinţa,* Evenimentul Zilei, September 5, 2014, available at: http://www.evz.ro/haos-total-in-pnl-presedintele-partidului-klaus-iohannis-contestat-la-tribunal-cand-afla-sentinta.html, accesed on September 2014.

[15] Alina Oprea, *HAOS LA TAROM. Angajaţii nu mai vor să zboare, iar ministrul Transporturilor trimite Corpul de Control,* Puterea, September 16, 2014, available at: http://www.puterea.ro/economie/haos-la-tarom-angajatii-nu-mai-vor-sa-zboare-iar-ministrul-transporturilor-trimite-corpul-de-control-100114.html, accessed on September 2014.

haos, şcoală la pământ, olimpicii rezistă: România, prima din Europa la Olimpiada Internaţională de Fizică, unde a obţinut cinci medalii)[16] and eventually the world seems engulfed of general chaos („*Un atentat aerian aruncă planeta în haos"*[17]). The resulting image is that of a country ungovernable, of dysfunctional institutions, of a general disorder.

In the Romanian press, the MENA revolutions of 2010-2011, are the reflection of the chaos. One by one, each country is connected, in the headlines, to chaos, until the entire Middle East and North Africa are declared within the chaos: „***Tunisia, o ţară în haos"***[18]; „***Haos în Egipt. Protestatarii au incendiat clădiri publice"***[19]; „***HAOS ÎN LIBIA. Guvernul libian a PIERDUT controlul majorităţii ministerelor din Tripoli"***[20]; *Serghei Lavrov: "Haosul" va continua în Siria în lipsa unei soluţii negociate"*[21].

Seriously speaking, the term ***chaos*** should get our attention: there is even a geopolitics science of chaos and researchers who wonder whether we are heading for a „***civilization of chaos"***[22]. Chaos could be due to the fact that states have no longer appropriate responses to the large number of global threats that may take the form of demographic explosion, the spread of diseases, viruses, Islamic fundamentalism, economic crisis, threats which have not solutions, locally. There are researchers who share conspiracy theories, such as constructive chaos theory[23], that means, in order to create, you have to tear down the old order and create a new territorial division of the Middle East.

Arab Spring meant also an „Islamic awakening", but as well an aspiration to dignity and social justice after decades of authoritarianism, and even aspiration to democracy. The image of revolutions in MENA, such as the Romanian press have reported, is one of the unruly masses, the image of the protesters who assaulted journalists, the image of sexual assaults on women participating in protests (see case study).

Regarding the Syrian Spring, the Romanian newspapers have paid attention mainly to humanitarian crisis, with emphasis on the plight of children. ***„SIRIA: Cel puţin 42 de morţi,***

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[16] E.M., *Ţară în haos, şcoală la pământ, olimpicii rezistă: România, prima din Europa la Olimpiada Internaţională de Fizică, unde a obţinut cinci medalii,* Puterea, July 21, 2014, available at: http://www.expresmagazin.ro/tara-in-haos-scoala-la-pamant-olimpicii-rezista-romania-prima-din-europa-la-olimpiada-internationala-de-fizica-unde-a-obtinut-cinci-medalii/ accessed on September 2014.

[17] Stan Petrescu, *Un atentat aerian aruncă planeta în haos*, Ziua Veche, July 21, 2014, available at: http://www.ziuaveche.ro/opinie/un-atentat-aerian-arunca-planeta-in-haos-240835.html/, accessed on September 2014.

[18] Claudiu Berbece, *Tunisia, o ţară în haos,* România Liberă, January 16, 2011, available at: http://www.romanialibera.ro/actualitate/international/tunisia--o-tara-in-haos-213322, accessed on September 2014.

[19] Andra Dumitru, *Haos în Egipt. Protestatarii au incendiat clădiri publice,* România Liberă, January 28, 2011, available at: http://www.romanialibera.ro/actualitate/international/haos-in-egipt--protestatarii-au-incendiat-cladiri-publice---video-214964, accessed on September 2014.

[20] Simona Mătieş, *HAOS ÎN LIBIA. Guvernul libian a PIERDUT controlul majorităţii ministerelor din Tripoli,* Evenimentul Zilei, September 1, 2014, available at: http://www.evz.ro/haos-in-libia-guvernul-libian-a-pierdut-controlul-majoritatii-ministerelor-din-tripoli.html, accessed on September 2014.

[21] ***, *Serghei Lavrov: "Haosul" va continua în Siria în lipsa unei soluţii negociate,* România Liberă, December 27, 2012, available at: http://www.romanialibera.ro/actualitate/international/serghei-lavrov---haosul--va-continua-in-siria-in-lipsa-unei-solutii-negociate-288562, accessed on September 2014.

[22] Ignacio Ramonet, *op.cit*.

[23] Liana Macovei, *Teoria haosului constructiv: SUA şi Noul Orient Mijlociu,* available at: http://geopolitics.ro/teoria-haosului-constructiv-sua-si-noul-orient-mijlociu/, accessed on October 2014.

între care 16 copii, în urma unor raiduri ale regimului Assad"[24], *„Siria: Nouă copii au fost uciși într-un raid aerian"*[25], *„OMS: O eroare umană, în spatele morții celor 15 copii vaccinați împotriva rujeolei în Siria"*[26].

The Rise of Political Islam

Because the Arab Spring meant an "Islamic awakening", I consider necessary to define the concept of political Islam or Islamism. The term refers to the fact that the former opposition forces, latent, repressed during the dictatorships of MENA countries, reaffirms after former authoritarian regimes are removed. Religion is translated into policy, and like any „-ism" becomes a doctrine. *„Allah is our goal, the Prophet is our model; Our Constitution and Law is the Qur'an, the holy war is the path we go, and martyrdom is our deepest desire",* are the principles on which it was founded doctrine of the Muslim Brotherhood[27], regarded as the first manifestation of political Islam. In some countries, the coming to power of an Islamist party, after 2011, occurs naturally as a result of electoral processes (such as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt), while in other countries they act violently, such as the Salafi[28] in Tunisia (en Nahda) or present Islamic State in Iraq and Syria.

Asserting the political forces that found in Islam the source of legitimacy of power „scares" the world, and the Romanian media reflects these fears. Arab Spring becomes in the Romanian press titles, *the Islamist Winter*: *„După Primăvara Arabă, vine iarna islamistă"*[29], *„Falimentul Primăverii Arabe. Egipt şi Siria, între dictatură militară şi „Iarna Islamică". Pandora şi Occidentul"*[30]. Most Romanian journalists apparently fail to understand that a democratic process can provide as well an Islamist regime, due to the perpetual controversy democracy -Islam. *„For Islamic fundamentalists, democracy is obviously an irrelevance (...) They are, however, willing to demand and exploit the opportunities that a self-proclaimed democratic system by its own logic is bound to offer them. At the same time they make no secret of their intention to govern by Islamic rules if they gain power[31]".* Discussions range

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[24] Paul Filimon, *SIRIA: Cel puţin 42 de morţi, între care 16 copii, în urma unor raiduri ale regimului Assad*, România Liberă, September 22, 2014, available at: http://www.romanialibera.ro/actualitate/international/siria--cel-putin-42-de-morti--intre-care-16-copii--in-urma-unor-raiduri-ale-regimului-assad-350615. accessed on October 2014.

[25] ***, *Siria: Nouă copii au fost uciși într-un raid aerian,* Cotidianul, June 18, 2014, available at: http://www.cotidianul.ro/siria-noua-copii-au-fost-ucisi-intr-un-raid-aerian-241629/, accessed on October 2014.

[26] ***, *OMS: O eroare umană, în spatele morții celor 15 copii vaccinați împotriva rujeolei în Siria,* Jurnalul.ro, September 19, 2014, available at: http://jurnalul.ro/stiri/externe/oms-o-eroare-umana-in-spatele-mortii-celor-15-copii-vaccinati-impotriva-rujeolei-in-siria-677911.html, accessed on October 2014.

[27] According to Dumitru Chican, *Mic lexicon al Orientului Mijlociu –Istorie, conflicte, politică, religii, valori şi concepte,* Proema Publishing House, Baia-Mare, 2011, p. 148.

[28] Salafi means predecessor, *„Salafi movement assumes that only those who were with the Prophet and learned directly from him are true Muslims, who ensures the purity and truth of religion",* according to Mihaela Matei, *op.cit*., p. 91.

[29] ***, *După Primăvara Arabă, vine iarna islamistă,* Adevărul, September 6, 2011, available at: http://adevarul.ro/international/in-lume/dupa-primavara-araba-vine-iarna-islamista-1_50b9fb787c42d5a663add08c/index.html, accessed on October 2014.

[30] Apollon Cristodulo, *Falimentul Primăverii Arabe. Egipt şi Siria, între dictatură militară şi „Iarna Islamică". Pandora şi Occidentul,* Ziua, May 10, 2014, available at : http://www.ziuanews.ro/dezvaluiri-investigatii/falimentul-primaverii-arabe-egipt-si-siria-intre-dictatura-militara-si-iarna-islamica-pandora-si-occidentul-121246, accessed on October 2014.

[31] Bernard Lewis, *Faith and Power, Religion and Politics in the Middle East",* Oxford University Press, New York, 2010, pp. 59-60.

from total incompatibility democracy-Islam, from the fact that Muslim dogma is an obstacle to secularization and laicism[32], to the very democratic nature of writings in the Qu'ran - *Muslims are all brothers and equal before Allah*. Eventually, democracy has many definitions, according to which we can make assessments on the regimes in MENA, after the revolutions of 2010- 2011. The simplest definition of democracy is „*political order and a working style of a political system in which is realised the people's right to govern itself*"[33].

The end of the Cold War in the late 80s, early 90s meant a concern for the Arab-Muslim world's leaders, when they felt threatened by possible democratization movements. The answer was for some the attempt to adopt reforms (Syria, Egypt) without sacrificing the bankruptcy and corrupt system, built over the decades of dictatorship: „*After 1989, the liberal democracy quickly became the only legitimate political ideology (...) Democracy has become a global aspiration, regardless of religion, culture and level of development*"[34].

Romanian press articles toward a democratic possible path, after 2011, of the Arab-Muslim world, are few. For example, out of 123 newspaper titles published and promoted by **Gândul**, with the online version of **gandul.info** on Egyptian Spring, only 6 contain the term „*democracy*" (see case study). Obviously, there are differences from one publication to another, depending on the target-audience, and the assumed mission. **Gândul**, for example, is part of a larger press company, Mediapro, and as a result it uses Mediafax news, which in turn quotes foreign news agencies. For the articles on MENA region, the predominant source is AFP – Agence France-Presse. **Gândul.info** has as its motto the phrase „*breaking news online and the latest news*", which tells us that his mission is, firstly, to keep us abreast of latest events. *România Liberă* defines its mission under the motto „*news coming out of print*" („ştiri ieşte din tipar"*)*, a pun referring to the fact that they are printed news, but also news that are „*different*". Regarding the international news, *România Liberă* does not tell us anything „out of the box", given that it uses also international news agencies, most often the same as **Gândul,** namely AFP. Also, the publishers of **Jurnalul Naţional**, with the **Jurnalul.ro** variant, are using AFP, when they present international news. As I said, this analysis does not refer to those more specialized magazines which have a more thorough approach to the subject. For example, **Revista 22**, which tells about itself that „*the magazine staff are prestigious names in the country, but also abroad*" has addressed more serious topics, invited specialists in international relations, political scientists or eyewitnesses of events, in order to write about the Arab Spring and the Middle East[35]. Analysis, even superficial about Romanian media, with online version, after 2011, shows the preference of press for international news agencies, to the detriment of sending special correspondents in „hot" zones of the world, only a few names being known to Romanians: Adelin Petrişor, Laurenţiu Rădulescu, Carmen Avram, Carmen Gavrilă, etc., but they belong to the audiovisual media.

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[32] According to Oliver Roy, *Islamul şi secularizarea,* in *Religia în democraţie - O dilemă a modernităţii*, Camil Ungureanu (coord), Polirom Publishing House, Iasi, 2011, p.235.

[33] According to Sergiu Tămaş, *Dicţionar politic-instituţiile democraţiei şi cultura civică*, Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 1993, p. 72.

[34] Jean Grugel, *Democratizarea - O introducere critică*, Polirom Publishing House, Iasi, 2008, p. 16.

[35] Laura Sitaru, *Egiptul, la doi ani de la revoluţie,* Revista 22, February 21, 2013, available at: http://www.revista22.ro/egiptul-la-doi-ani-de-la-revolutie-22274.html#.URWBEkIGWo4.facebook, accessed on September 2014.

ISIS Brought Terrorism Back on the Headlines

Current events bring attention to the phenomenon of terrorism, jihadi terrorism, theme exploited at political / international rubric, in Romanian print media. ***Jihad***[36] would mean holy war, fighting on the path of faith, self-purification effort to achieve perfection. It witnessed a „political" transformation and has become synonymous with terrorism on religious base. Obviously, ***terrorism*** has many definitions, ranging from a security doctrine to another, and is „*a deliberate form of recourse to force and violence against persons aiming to intimidate or coerce the authorities, in order to reach a political or social objective*"[37]. As we have seen, since 2001, terrorism is being related, most often, with the Muslim world. ***Islamic terrorism*** „*is a geostrategic tool of various countries, and the religion has become a rather effective weapon to mobilize followers*"[38]. Most often, violent events related to terror have been related to Al Qaeda, ignoring the fact that „*Al Qaeda's recruiting map does not correspond to the conflicts in the Middle East, because on this map we can find young European Muslims, from second generation*"[39]. Narrowly, at the beginning of 2014, after Russia invaded Crimea, so a new challenge arises in Europe, namely the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, the term terrorism begins to appear in relation to other area than the Arab-Muslim one. However, the occurrence of ISIS brings attention to the Arab-Muslim world as one of intolerance and beheadings. While we are rather watchful on the suffering of Christians in the area, we ignore that violent actions are targeting foremost the people in countries on whose territories ISIS acts. „*The duty of jihad, usually rendered as „holy war" is incumbent upon all Muslims, but the first task is to destroy the tyrant at home and thus make possible the restoration of a truly Islamic society governed by Islamic law*"[40].

Case Study
Coverage of Events in Egypt, after 2011, in Online Edition of *Gândul*

I am mentioning at the outset that this analysis is limited in time and space, but also according to other criteria, namely: period is 2011-2014; I refer to the online edition of ***Gândul*** or ***gandul.info***, articles are selected using search engine within the site according to the keywords ***Tahrir Square***, which is the heart of the unfolding events in Cairo, Egypt respectively. The search generated 123 titles.

The method used is that of ***content analysis***[41]. The ***recording unit*** is the ***title*** of the articles. I chose this unit precisely because „*the title is the hardest part of journalism.*

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[36] Dumitru Chican, *op.cit.,* p. 160.
[37] Mark Burges, *Problematica definirii terorismului* in Terorismul azi, *vol. IV-VI,* October-December 2006, Cluj Napoca.
[38] Vasile Simileanu, *Geopolitica spaţiului islamic*, Vol.4., *Crizele şi conflictele spaţiului islamic*, Top Form Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009, p. 14.
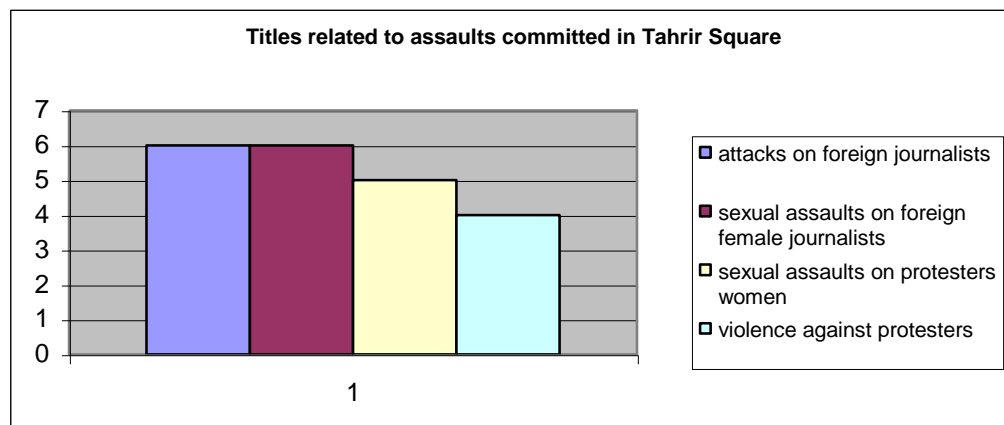[39] Olivier Roy, *Semiluna şi haosul*, Nemira Pubkishing House, Bucharest, 2010, p. 45.
[40] Bernard Lewis, *Islam in History- Ideas, People and Events in the Middle East,* New Edition, Revised and Explained, Open Court Publishing Company, Ilinois, 2002, p. 379.
[41] According to *Dicţionar de Sociologie,* Cătălin Zamfir, Lazăr Vlăsceanu (coord.), Babel Publishing House, Bucharest, 1993, p. 26, „*content analysis is a set of quantitative/qualitative research techniques, of verbal - non verbal communication, consisting of objective and systematic identification and description of manifest/latent content of communication, in order to formulate scientific findings on personality of those who communicate, and communicating itself as social interaction*".

Nowhere else are gathered together so many problems in so few words[42]". The reader often choose an article title because it captures his attention. I also took into account the highlighting of the primary sources quoted, and names of the authors who have especially treated this subject. Given the phenomena to which it refers, I determined the frequency of keywords in the titles of analyzed articles: *democracy, uprising, revolution, chaos, protests, violence, „thousands of ...", reforms.*

The first story, according to the mentioned criteria, is signed by Bogdan Munteanu, in January 26, 2011, the day after the outbreak of the Egyptian revolution (January 25, 2011): *„Egiptul, tot mai aproape de o „revoluţie" stimulată de Twitter şi Facebook"* (*„Egypt closer to a „revolution", stimulated by Twitter and Facebook")[43]*. One day „delay" is matter-of-course, given that the newspaper is written today to be distributed tomorrow. The author continued to write in the first days of the revolution on the subject, sometimes from several sources - foreign news agencies, even if he does not quote all of them. He also tends to use **summary - titles**, ie very long titles, in an attempt to include as much information, but he loses the synthetic character that the titles would have to have: *„REVOLUŢIA" a început şi în Egipt. Luptele de stradă continuă. Bilanţul: 48 de morţi. Guvernul a fost demis. Şeful serviciilor de informaţii, numit vicepreşedinte"[44]* (*„Revolution" began also in Egypt. Street fightings continue. Total: 48 dead. Government was dismissed. Intelligence chief named vice president"*. Of the 123 articles, 6 titles refer to the aggressions committed by protesters or police present in Tahrir Square, on *foreign journalists*. Other 5 articles refer to sexual assaults committed against *women* taking part in protests, while other 6 articles deal with sexual assaults against *journalists women*. Only 4 articles cover police *violence against protesters*.

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[42] Ilie Rad, *Titlul jurnalistic,* in Mihai Coman (coord.) *Manual de jurnalism - Tehnici fundamentale de redactare* (the first volume), Second, Revised Edition, Polirom Publishing House, 2005, Iasi, Bucharest, p. 147.

[43] Available at: http://www.gandul.info/international/egiptul-tot-mai-aproape-de-o-revolutie-stimulata-de-twitter-si-facebook-7922491, accessed on September 2014.

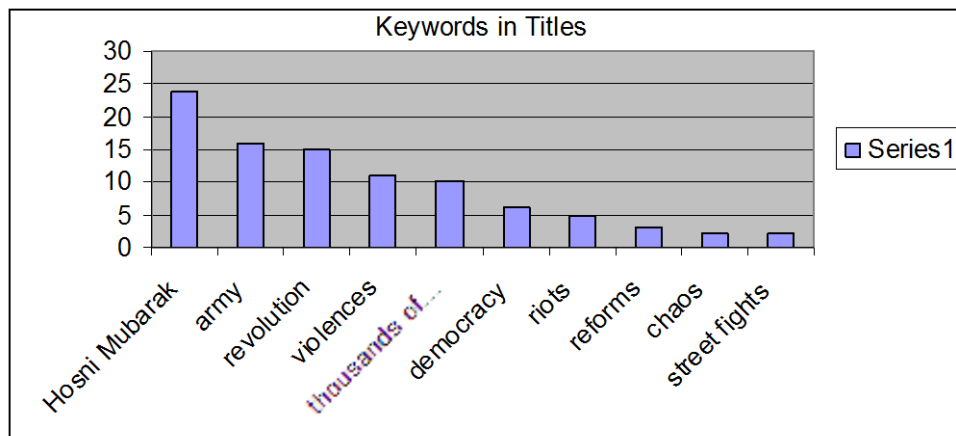[44] Available at: http://www.gandul.info/international/revolutia-a-inceput-si-in-egipt-luptele-de-strada-continua-bilantul-48-de-morti-guvernul-a-fost-demis-seful-serviciilor-de-informatii-numit-vicepresedinte-7928904, accessed on September 2014.

The number of titles containing the word „*riot*"[45] are 5, while those containing the term „*revolution*", 15. Sometimes, even the latter is put in quotation marks, fact which virtually abolishes the idea of revolution. Events are classified as *fights* or *street brawls* (2 items), *protests* (contained within 8 titles), *chaos* (2) or *violence* (11 items). These compose a frame of violent events, difficult to classify.

There are 24 articles containing in title the name of dictator *Hosni Mubarak*, given that this is the villain character: starting with his first reactions, to his removal, then his trial. Gradually, as the *army* claims power, until the assertion, following the elections, of Mohammad Morsi (2012) and even after, given the continue dispute for power, it (the army) will appear in the titles of 16 articles.

Another favorite phrase of the authors of the articles is „*thousands of ...*". 10 titles begin with this words and wants to highlight the size of events. There are masses of people who claim, protest or enjoy. The crowd, according to Gabriel Tarde[46], is unstable, „*subservient to the forces of nature, reacts impulsively and emotionally (...) is often intolerant and even violent, subordinated to bias and passionate impulses*". However, we should bear in mind that a crowd, as was the one in Tahrir Square, had a clear objective: the removal of Hosni Mubarak's corrupt regime.
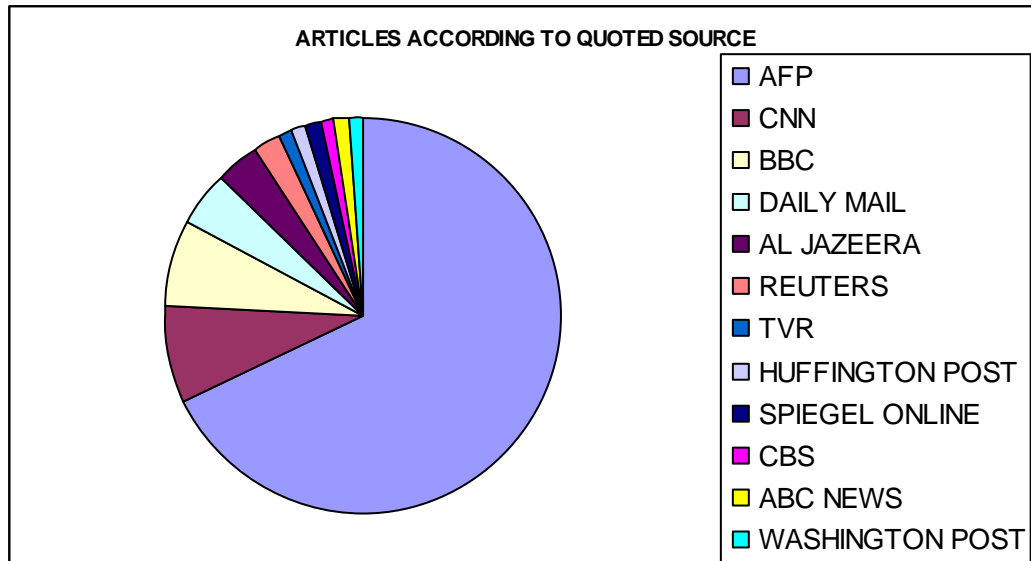
Only 3 titles are related to *reforms* and only 6 to *democracy*.

Regarding the sources, of the 123 articles analyzed, 59 used AFP (Agence France Presse), quoted sometimes directly, sometimes through Mediafax.

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[45] The first news have mentioned the term „riots", not revolution. Riots are „*spontaneous uprisings, unorganized; seditions, rebellions*", according to the Romanian Explanatory Dictionary (DEX). Revolution „*involves making fundamental changes in the structures and institutions of a society* " according to Sergiu Tamas, *op.cit.*, p. 233.

[46] *apud* Remy Rieffel, *op.cit.*, p.42.

ARTICLES ACCORDING TO QUOTED SOURCE

- AFP
- CNN
- BBC
- DAILY MAIL
- AL JAZEERA
- REUTERS
- TVR
- HUFFINGTON POST
- SPIEGEL ONLINE
- CBS
- ABC NEWS
- WASHINGTON POST

In accordance with specified search conditions, there were been identified 13 editorials, with the surtitle *Puterea Gândului (The Power of Thought).* The first editorial after the outbreak of the Egyptian Revolution is signed by Lelia Munteanu*, „Cine pândeşte în spatele revoltei din Egipt"[47] („Who lurks behind the uprising in Egypt")* on January 31, 2011. She „sprinkles" her articles with words in Arabic, with international phonetic transcription, to highlight, most probably, an appropriate understanding of the realities of the Arab-Muslim world. Lelia Munteanu has signed 11 such editorials: there are mentioned names and dates from Egyptian history, comparisons, assessments on the evolution of events in the Middle East. The editorial[48] is, nevertheless, a species of opinion journalism, that realizes the connections between the facts and a broader context. The author assumes that the reader is already familiar with the history, politics in Egypt and has a good knowledge of Islam.

The last editorial, according to search criteria, is signed by Alina Matiş: ***Greaţa[49]***, (*The Nausea)* on June 11, 2014. The article's theme is another case of sexual assault on a young woman by „*a group of males in Tahrir Square in Cairo, during the events that celebrate the election of a new president"* (El Sisi). Is concluded, in this way, a circle, an image outlined already in the early days of the Egyptian Revolution: that of a wild and outraged crowd, with great disrespect for women. The message is much deeper. In so doing, in fact, the Egyptians not meet nor what is supposed to govern their life: moral norms imposed by Islam.

Without denying cases of aggression, we must remember the papers that speak of women's participation in the revolution, testimonies of those who were in Tahrir Square and who have spoken about „*deleting any gender differences"* [50]: „*During the eighteen days of protest, a condition of near-communitas prevailed on the streets and squares where people had congregated. Sharing sleeping space and food, men and women bracketed their old*

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[47] Available at: http://www.gandul.info/puterea-gandului/cine-pandeste-in-spatele-revoltei-din-egipt-7937215, accesed on October 2014.

[48] According to Reuben Maury, Karl G. Pfeiffer, *Effective editorial writing,* W.C. Brown Co. Dubuque, Iowa,1960, available at: http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001901525, accesed on October 2014.

[49] Available at: http://www.gandul.info/puterea-gandului/greata-12736907, accesed on October 2014.

[50] Hania Sholkamy, *Women are also Part of this Revolution,* în *Arab Spring in Egypt- Revolution and Beyond,* Baghat Korany, Rabab El-Mahdi (coord.), The American University in Cairo Press, Cairo, New York, 2012, pp.153-174.

gender norms, as evinced, for example, by total abscence of sexual harassment and the acceptance of women as equals in the face of the autocracy that was about to be ruptured and decimated".

Conclusions

Much of the written press in Romania to which I referred, after 2010, reflected events in the MENA region, mainly using the news of some Romanian and foreign news agencies. There were no reporters in the field, as eyewitnesses, excepting audiovisual media. The perspective on the Arab-Muslim world is that of a world in disarray, dominated by tyrants and fueling Islamist terrorism. Even if accurate assessments were made about some moments, references to the positive aspects of Arab Spring are few, and are made rather in specialized journals, which were not the subject of this analysis.

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