STRUCTURING OF THE POLITICAL IDENTITIES BY MEANS OF MASS MEDIA

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CONCLUSIONS

The present paper on the theme "Political identities and the role of mass media in their structuring" is structured into six chapters each of them approaching an essential aspect of our scientific demarche.

In our opinion, political identities are structuring depending on the ones that are part of the two great classes of political agents: the class of the social political agents and the one of the institutional ones – as they were presented in chapters II and III of the present paper. Each political agent has known a special evolution along the history, an evolution to which different factors brought their contribution.

Mass media has an important role in structuring the political identities. As some authors showed, mass media is very important in any democracy[1]; its presence in the social life can determine changes in the cultural values of the public life, both at the level of the attitudes and to the level of the behaviours.

The fist chapter entitled "The theory of identification" approaches identification through the angle of the theories elaborated by: S. Freud, G.H. Mead, Erik Erikson, T. Parsons, J. Habermas and L.-P. Zăpârțan. One of the works we used for our analysis is the one written by William Bloom – "Personal identity, national identity and international relations". The author presents in his work different theories of identification elaborated by the authors recalled above. He starts from the two major contemporary schools of psychology whose "theoretical patrons" were Freud and Mead – the introspective or the analytical school and the behaviourist school – schools that even though they are substantially different from the point of view of the approached areas, they find a common ground in the theory of identification. E. Erikson is important according to W. Bloom because in his works he placed identity at the centre of the individual health and he brought into the contemporary debate two key concepts of the social theory: identity and the crisis of identity[2].

Starting from the idea that identification is both a social act and a private psychological one, W. Bloom also makes reference to T. Parsons and J. Habermas whose major concern were the individuals and the way they build society. The nature of

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[1] James Miller, „Retelling the News in Central Europe: Western Journalism as Democratic Discourse", in vol. Jan Herman Brinks, Stella Rock, Edward Timms (edit.), Nationalist Myths and Modern Media – Contested Identities in the Age of Globalization, Tauris Academic Studies, London, 2006, pp. 39-40.
[2] William Bloom, Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations, Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, (1990) 1993, pp. 23-25.

identification represented a very important element for the creation of a general theory meant to contribute to the understanding of the human social action. According to both authors, the identification theory explains both the structure and the dynamic of the psychological common link created through a common national identity, and also the pattern of the social and political circumstances which could determine the creation of this link and the triggering the instinct to strengthen and protect associated to it[3].

At the end of the chapter we approached the theory of identification through the angle of the Romanian research literature dedicated to this subject. Liviu-Petru Zăpârțan refers mainly to aspects that concern the identification and the differentiation of the human communities, showing that man – "a social being by excellence (…) specifies his characteristics in relation to others, from family to humanity, developing complex relationships within the scope of some more and more diversified actions". The relationships of man with his kind allow him not only the identification to himself but also the differentiation from the others which represents the starting point for the individual identification and for the identification of the human groups[4].

We share the opinion expressed by Liviu-Petru Zăpârțan according to which the process of identification can be observed all along the history of a community and that it presents many similarities to the development of the individual being. The importance of identification consists especially in the fact that it is the ground of the individual and collective actions and also the "core for the understanding of the entire edifice" of a society. Collective identity is built starting from the individual identities and along with the assertion of the collective identity there are tacking shape the means for its protection, conservation and consolidation. The author makes reference to two types of collective identification: civic and ethnic[5].

Urs Altermath uses the statement of "primordialists of identity" for showing that identity is essential for the understanding of the human condition, which is defined through the common origin, through the culture of the group and through its biological characteristics[6].

In the paper recalled above, W. Bloom also makes reference to the national identification and to the manner in which it can be manipulated. This is why the author also

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[3] Ibid., pp. 25-26.
[4] Liviu-Petru Zăpârțan, Relațiile internaționale, Ed. Studia, Cluj-Napoca, 2001, pp. 177-184.
[5] Ibid., pp. 177-178.
[6] Urs Altermath, Previziunile de la Sarajevo. Etnonaționalismul în Europa, Ed. Polirom, Iași, 2000.

approaches aspects concerning the dynamic of the national identity which take the shape of the potential of action of the ones who share the same national identification[7].

The second chapter of our paper is dedicated to the analysis of the social political agents: individual agents, elites, masses and crowds, social classes, peoples and nations and ethnic minorities.

Individual agents are, as Liviu-Petru Zăpârţan shows in a paper written in 1992, "real, concrete humans, (…) persons whom represent biological – psychological and social – cultural entities[8]. From the point of view of their importance, T. Herseni considered that individuals as political agents "exist only within the society, and the society exists only through the individuals"[9]. With respect to the individual agents we considered that we must also make reference to aspects as the ones regarding: their place and role in the political life – aspects that were analysed, among others, by Liviu-Petru Zăpârţan, M. Duverger and T. Adorno. Referring to these aspects Liviu-Petru Zăpârţan showed that the problem of the place and of the role of individuals in the political life was approached in the research literature form different theoretical perspectives as, for example: liberalism, conservatism and the psychoanalytical school. The conclusion we reached as a result of the undertaken analysis is that the problem of the individual was a central theme of the research literature especially after the modernization of the society. The liberals were the ones who promoted the individual development and well-being, recognizing him as a rational being capable of expressing his political options within an organized, constitutional framework meant to respect his rights and liberties that are defining for any modern democratic political system. In turn, conservatism promoted elitism[10].

Elites are individuals with special characteristics. In analysing elites as social political actors we started from the opinions expressed concerning the elite theories, making reference to the definition of the term elite in the research literature, to the ethnological origin of the term, to the criteria used for differentiating these social groups, to the types of elite (closed, opened), and also to elites as agents of the change and to their transformative capacities. In our demarche we approached especially the papers of L.-P. Zăpârţan[11], Harold D. Lasswell, Daniel Lerner and C. Easton Rothwell[12], D. Lane[13].

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[7] W. Bloom, op. cit., pp. 52-53.
[8] Liviu-Petru Zăpârţan, Repere în ştiinţa politicii, Ed. Fundaţiei „Chemarea", Iaşi, 1992, p. 19.
[9] T. Herseni, Sociologie, Ed. Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, Bucureşti, 1982, p. 515.
[10] Liviu-Petru Zăpârţan, op. cit., 1992, pp. 26-27.
[11] Liviu-Petru Zăpârţan, Contribuţii la critica teoriilor elitare, Ed. Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 1979.
[12] Harold D. Lasswell, Daniel Lerner, C. Easton Rothwell, „The Elite Concept", in vol. Political Elites in a Democracy, Peter Bachrach (edit.), Transaction Publishers, New Jersey, 2010.

Masses and crowds are the third category of the social political agents and it consists of groups of people created in relation to some special situations. In our paper we approached especially aspects concerning the structure of the masses (their structure can be spontaneous or as a consequence of the institutional, party, media, leaders or trade unions' stimulation).

Social classes represent another category of the social political agents to whom we dedicated a special attention, approaching them through the angle of the theories elaborated starting with the 19th century by thinkers as, for example: Th. Hobbes, J. Locke, J.J. Rousseau, K. Marx, and Max Weber. Within this context, we approached aspects concerning the history of the concept of social classes, the types of social classes identified in the modern society, the criteria for the classification of the social classes, and their political role.

The races were approached without entering into details concerning the problems that rose over time regarding aspects as, for example: the superiority of the races, the conflict between races, and racism. In exchange, we referred to the fact that starting with the events from the 9/11 September 2001 the analysis of the racial relationships amplified, but also to the fact that one of the states that has the broadest experience in the field of races is U.S.A.

Peoples and nations are a category of social political agents that have a decisive role in the political life. The two concepts express – as Liviu-Petru Zăpârţan shows – "the same generic reality"[14]. We referred especially to the process of nation building, to the pattern of the relationship between the mass of the citizens and the state, to the problem of nationalism and to the concerns of the Romanian philosophy from the inter-war period for determining the specific of the Romanian people.

Finally, the problem of the ethnic minorities was approached through the angle of some aspects concerning the impact of the dispersion of capitalism over the creation of new forms of ethnicity. Starting with the definition of the concept, we also approached aspects referring to the ethnic variation, to the modern strategies used in the relations with the minorities, and to the attitudes that the ethnic minorities can adopt in their relationships with the states.

In the third chapter of the paper entitled "Institutional political agents" we consecrated to the analysis of the: state, political parties and groups of interest.

State as an institutional agent was approached through the angle of different analysis which can be found in the research literature. To this effect we started from the analysis of the

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[13] D. Lane, Elites and Classes in the Transformation of State Socialism, Transaction Publishers, New Jersey, 2011.
[14] Liviu-Petru Zăpârţan, op. cit., 1992, pp. 40-41.

term of "state" from different perspectives which took shape – as Peter J. Steinberger shows – since the 16th century[15]. According to this author, the idea of state implies the distinction between the prudential political theories – which refer to aspects related to politics, government, nongovernmental and quasi-governmental entities understood as instruments of the state; and the philosophical political theories which follow the nature of the state itself understood as a political or civic community which virtually reunites the aspects of an organized social life[16]. Modern theory about the state, in its canonical version, shows that a community is created when a group of individuals "confine their power to a single man or to a group of people who could reduce their will"[17]. From a sociological point of view, the state was analyzed especially through the angle of the ideas expressed by Marx and Weber. For a short characterization of the state at the end of the '70s we made reference to the ideas of Habermas and Foucault. Then, we showed that starting from 1990, the process of building the European state within the political science and sociology was dominated by three major theoretical orientations – the works of Brian Downing and Thomas Ertman; the orientation founded on the theory of rational choice; and the orientation resulted in the "cultural turnout" that can be found in the paper written by Julia Adams and Philip Gorski[18].

In the Romanian research literature, the problem of the state was approached, among others, by Liviu-Petru Zăpârțan starting from the process of birth of the human communities presented by Aristotle and continuing with the identification of the types of state, of the pure and derived forms of the state[19].

The problem of the political parties is treated through the angle of their value which – as Edmond Burke shows – was recognized since the 18th century. The theme of the importance of the political parties was resumed in the research literature at the beginning of the 20th century, showing that parties are "inevitable", that they are specific to all large states and that a government cannot be imagined in their absence[20]. In this context, we referred to: the sense of the expression of "political parties", to their social basis, to the origins of the political parties and at their links with the groups of interest and with the citizens, and also to

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[15] Peter J. Steinberger, The idea of the State, Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 9-10.
[16] Ibid., p. 41.
[17] Th. Hobbes, Leviathan, in The English Works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, Sir William Molesworth (edit), John Bohn, London, 1839, vol. 3, p. 157.
[18] Thomas Ertman, „State Formation and State Building in Europe", in vol. The Handbook of Political Sociology, States, Civil Societies, and Globalization, Thomas Janoski, Robert Alford, Alexander Hicks, Mildred A. Schwarts (edit.), Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 2005, p. 378.
[19] Liviu-Petru Zăpârțan, op. cit., 1992, pp. 111-136.
[20] James Bryce, Modern Democracies, Macmillan, New York, 1921, p. 119.

the effects of the European integration on the dynamics of the political parties in the member states.

In turn, the groups of interests or the pressure groups are, as Francesco J. Granador and David Knoke show, part of an important phenomenon of politics oriented towards the state. In the research literature there were approached aspects concerning the formation and the organized maintenance of the groups of interests, their impact on the process of public policy, and also aspects concerning the patterns of relationships between the governmental agencies and the organizations of interests, the way in which they receive access to the ones who accomplish public politics and the type of the influence that they exercise on the decision-making policy[21].

In our analysis we made reference especially to the definition of the expression "organized groups of interests", to the private corporations which cannot be regarded as organizations of interests, to the organizations of social movements, to the institutes of political research, to the political networks and to the organizations of interests.

In the fourth chapter of our paper entitled "The role of mass media in structuring the political identities" we approached aspects as, for example: mass media as a democratic institution; the dynamics of the political community understood through the angle of the interactionist approach; the role of mass media, political actors and the place of the citizens in the process of democratic public communication; mass media and globalization; and mass media in the structure process of the identity of the social political agents and of the institutional ones.

We share the opinion expressed by J.C. Nerone according to which the power of the press consists of its capacity to be a gate of access towards the public sphere[22]. In the past, mass media was ignored by the research on democratization even though its performances had an impact both on the functioning of the democratic institutions and on the viability of the democratic process. Katrin Voltmer showed that since the beginning of the 18th century the political philosophers recognized the important role of the public debate and of the free discourse which subsequently materialized in the freedom of the press[23].

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[21] Francesco J. Granador, David Knoke, „Organized Interest Groups and Policy Networks", in vol. The Handbook of Political Sociology, States, Civil Societies, and Globalization, Thomas Janoski, Robert Alford, Alexander Hicks, Mildred A. Schwarts (edit.), Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 2005, p. 287.

[22] John C. Nerone (edit.), Last Rights: Revisiting Four Theories of the Press, Urbana, IL, 1995, p. 99.

[23] Katrin Voltmer, „The mass media and the dynamics of political communication in processes of democratization: an introduction", in vol. Katrin Voltmer (edit.), Mass media and Political Communication in New Democracies, Routledge, London, 2006, pp. 2-3.

In this context, the author uses the concept of "market of ideas" and the issues rose from it in the research literature, showing that this collocation could be understood as a function of information which concentrates on the individual citizen as a central beneficiary of the public communication. The quality of the democratic decision-making process is tightly related to the quality of the information presented by the mass media[24]. For the new democracies the quality of the information and the need for guidance are essential aspects[25]. The author supports the idea that mass media is a democratic institution, and that it actions as a guardian, demanding the liability of the public authorities through monitoring of their activities and through investigating of the possible abuses of the political power[26]. Within the new democracies mass media is subjected to both changes and involvement into the democratization process through framing the orientations and actions of the different participants to this process[27].

The relationship between the mass communication and democratization is approached in the research literature through the angle of the model that conceptualizes public communication – as a system of the dynamic interaction between the political actors, mass media and the audience. According to Katrin Voltmer, this model can be used for guiding the analysis of the public communication in any political context[28].

Mass media represents the main connection between governments, political parties, candidates and constituency. Mass media is not just a communication channel which converts the messages of the politicians towards the constituency; it is also an active participant to the creation of political messages[29]. In the research literature it is showed that even though on many occasions mass media is not a promoter of the messages transmitted towards the public sphere, it has a special impact on what it transmits because it establishes the agenda of the public debate[30]. In the context of approaching the problem of the role of mass media in the process of democratic public communication there were also approached aspects concerning "media logic" understood as a strategy used for maintaining the relationship between mass

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[24] Ibid., p. 3.
[25] Ibid., p. 4.
[26] Id.
[27] Ibid., p. 5.
[28] Ibid., pp. 5-6.
[29] T. E. Cook, Governing with the News. The News Media as a Political Institution, Chicago Univ. Press, Chicago, 1998.
[30] Katrin Voltmer, op. cit., 2006, p. 7.

media and its audience[31]. Katrin Voltmer also insists on the dependence of the political actors on mass media within the western democracies[32].

The relationship between the political actors as, for example the political parties and the press, developed starting with the 19th century, when mass media became indispensable in the strategy of the party[33].

The third component of the political communication system is represented by the citizens. The impact of the citizens on the public news is relatively limited, but this does not mean that the citizens do not represent an important element of the process of formation of the public communication[34].

In the part of the chapter entitled "Mass media and globalization" we analysed the impact of mass media and of communication in the actual social dynamics. Although for a good period of time mass media represented a central concern of the social theory, today it is a constitutive factor of the social reality of the contemporary society – as Colin Sparks shows[35]. We also made reference to the general crisis of the state in the global era which – as R. Williams pointed out in 1980 – in its classical European forms "is, at the same time, too great and too small for the real social objectives"[36]; and also to the role of the new mass media technologies in building the global order.

As for the last part of the fourth chapter, it was dedicated to the distinct analysis of the role of mass media in framing the identity of each political and institutional agent.

In this context, we made reference to the process of social awareness and to the role of mass media in this process. In supporting the process of social change, mass media fulfils two important functions: it is a source of information, and also a decision making factor. Information has both the power to build and the power to destroy, so we emphasized the need to make mass media responsible in the process of informing the citizens.

The framing of the identities of the elites by the mass media was approached through the angle of the relationship between some factors as: the public opinion, the external actors, the decision making factors, the external politics and the mass media – which is often an interdependent one.

The relationship between the mass media and the masses was analysed especially through the angle of the new technologies of communication which determined the creation of

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[31] Id.
[32] Ibid., p. 9.
[33] Id.
[34] Ibid., p. 12.
[35] C. Sparks, Globalization, Development and the Mass Media, Sage Publications, London, 2007, pp. 132-133.
[36] Raymond Williams, Towards 2000, Penguin, London, 1983, pp. 197-198.

opportunities and challenges for the conventional mass media; of the new media and of the Internet. To this effect, we pointed out the interactive character of the new media.

The impact of mass media on the political identities of the social classes was approached through the angle of an analysis from 2011 which insisted on the need of development of a theory for understanding the way in which mass media texts contribute or undermine the inequalities which exist in the post-industrialized societies[37].

Mass media and its role in structuring the identity of the peoples and nations were approached through the angle of two essential aspects: public interest and the nationalist issue. The tables introduces within the paper are suggestive for sowing the impact of mass media on the national identity in different states of the contemporary world. The conclusion we reached after this analysis is that nationalism based on the nation state changed due to the development of the subcultures and of globalization[38].

The issue of the structuring the identity of the ethnic minorities through mass media was analysed through the angle of the example offered by Belgium in the Report from February 2002 elaborated by the European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations in which it is shown the way in which ethnic minorities are represented in mass media between 1995-2000[39]; and also through the angle of ethnic mass media which was founded in different states of the world.

The role of mass media in framing the identity of the state was approached through the angle of two important aspects: the relationship between mass media and the principles of the democratic state and the relationship between mass media and the national security. In accomplishing its role of guarantor and defender of the constitutional rights and liberties, the state must oppose to the attempts of monopolizing mass media market and to encourage mass media pluralism.

As for the impact of mass media on the identity of the political parties, we referred especially to the development of the communication channels used by the political parties for consolidating its relations to the citizens, and also to the development of the most important communication policy that the governments can adopt for improving a free and just competition between political parties.

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[37] Gail Dines, Jean M. Humez, „Reprezentations of Gender, Race and Class", in vol. Gail Dines, Jean M. Humez (edit.), Gender, Race and Class in Media – A Critical Reader, 3rd edition, Sage Publications, London, 2011, pp. 67-70.

[38] Yutaka Oishi, op. cit., 2008, p. 10.

[39] European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER), Jessika ter Wal (edit), Racism and Cultural Diversity in the Mass Media, An overview of research and examples of good practice in the EU Member States, 1995-2000, Vienna, February 2002, pp. 90-91.

The role of mass media in framing the identities of the groups of interest was approached especially through the angle of the techniques used by them for accomplishing their objectives, among which the most important is the technique of publicity through the mass media. This opinion is not a unitary one, many authors considering that numerous groups of interest (as are the ones from the business field) try to avoid mass media and especially the negative publicity. In this context we also analysed the problem of the lobby, and the one of involving mass media in the investigation of some groups of interest; and the one of neutralizing the influence of certain special groups of interest.

The fifth chapter entitled "Manipulation" contains general aspects concerning manipulation, and also general aspects about public manipulation through mass media and about mass media manipulation by the state.

As we already showed in the paper, manipulation represents a subtle method of influence and, at the same time, a cruel form of framing the social behaviour[40]. Some authors made references at three essential forms of manipulation: manipulation as a social phenomenon – which refers to the interaction and to the misuse of power between groups and social actors; manipulation as a cognitive phenomenon – because it always means the manipulation of the participants' minds; and manipulation as a discursive-semiotic phenomenon – because it is exercised through text, speaking, and visual messages[41].

As for the public manipulation through mass media, the research literature talks especially about the biased attitude and its effects which when are exercised by the mass media they become a threat for the society when they influence people and determine the break, the dysfunction or the change of the information flow[42]. In this context, a special place in our analyse is taken bay the theory of establishing the agenda of the mass media for examining the relationship between the content of the mass media and the change of the people's attitudes concerning a certain problem presented by the mass media[43].

In the final part of the fifth chapter we approached aspects concerning mass media's manipulation by the state through the following tools: direct control through mass media state trusts; indirect control through the infrastructure of the trusts, through the financial pressures and of the licences. According to the research literature, mass media manipulated by the state presents itself in one of the following forms: refusal of information and disinformation. In the

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[40] Marcin Kamassa, „Socio-Political Manipulation – Incidental Pathology or Immanent Component of International Realm?", in Przeglad Strategiczny, nr. 2, 2012, p. 171.
[41] Teun A. Vandijk, op. cit., 2006, p. 361.
[42] Mitchell Jay Malcheff, Public Perception or Media Manipulation: The Power of the Agenda-Setting Function of the Press Examined, An Exploratory Pilot Study of Media Bias, Liberty University, 2010, p. 6.
[43] Ibid., pp. 8-9.

first case, the state blocks mass media trusts from debating the information which is unfavourable for the power. In the second case, the state is using its control so that mass media presents information that favours the political class in power[44].

Finally, in the last chapter of the present paper – "European identity and the mass media actual means" – we focused on presenting a few general aspects referring to the European identity, aspects concerning the Europeanization of the mass media and on presenting mass media freedom and pluralism in the European Union.

The research literature speaks about the fact that at least until the present we cannot talk about a single European identity, but eventually about more European identities which can be conceived both as social processes and as political projects[45]. Also, it is showed that the politics of European identity are not similar to the ones of the nation states in which the processes of political unification precede cultural assimilation. European identities are supported by factors that do not have a significant impact for determining the reproduction of the processed of forming the identity of the national state. The possibility of creating a collective European identity is fragmented by numerous factors determined by the acceleration of the integration process of the European market[46].

Despite the economical and social difficulties to which it confronts and of some thinking and action trends that contest it, European Union still continues to consolidate and to assert its identity. It is indubitable determined by a totality of spiritual values which are present and structured in a specific manner. European identity is determined in a complex manner by the geographical limits of the continent, by the common history of the European peoples which have created tight economical, political and spiritual inter-human relationships.

A special place in our discussion is occupied by the references to the European social space, to the European civil society, and to the concept of the European citizenship.

The Europeanization process of mass media communication was analysed in the research literature through the following aspects: "Europeanization as mediation" – through the propagation of the political discourses about the politics of the European Union, of the politics and of the decision making process from the institutional actors towards the audience, by selecting, framing and amplifying political information and communication; "Europeanization as a process of forming the public opinion" – by conferring public opinions

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[44] Peter T. Leeson, Christopher J. Coyne, op. cit., pp. 20-23.
[45] Peter J. Katzenstein, Jeffrey T. Checkel, „Conclusion – European identity in context", in vol. Jeffrey T. Checkel, Peter J. Katzenstein (edit.), European Identity, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2009, pp. 213-214.
[46] Ibid., p. 216.

about the results of the European political institutions through mass media; and "Europeanization as a public challenge" – by underlining the political oppositions and criticism[47]. For evaluating the dynamics of Europeanization it is necessary to articulate the institutional frameworks and the informal models of political communication[48]. To this effect, we presented the empiric indicators of public communication in the politics of the European Union.

Finally, the last part of the paper was dedicated to analysing mass media freedom and pluralism in the European Union. These aspects were intensely debated in the last years at the European political level, representing a constant preoccupation of the European Parliament, of the groups of interest, of the professional institutions and of the civil society. The main aspects refer to the need to combat the centralization processes of the mass media, and to consolidate the right of the citizens to receive information from different and independent sources. After the adoption of the Lisbon Treaty the debate on mass media pluralism was consolidated by the introduction of the European citizen's initiative[49]. Lisbon Treaty had other beneficial consequences for the debate on media pluralism and freedom within the European legal framework. We recalled here the previsions of Article 11 from the Charter of the Fundamental Rights of the European Union according to which "mass media freedom and pluralism must be respected". Even though they are stipulated in a general manner, the previsions of this Article represent a fundamental legal instrument because they introduce a principle as a legal source for the interpretation and framing of the European law[50]. We must also recall the fact that in the field of mass media freedom and pluralism, European Union acted through the establishment of a common framework for the market operators and of some common standards which refer to the free movement of goods and of services within the Internal Market[51].

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[47] Hans-Jörg Trenz, Europeanization of the Mass Media: Normative Assessment and Empirical Analysis, Paper prepared for Panel „The EU and the Member States", chaired by Paolo R. Graziano and Maarten P. Vink, ECPR Fifth Pan-European Conference on EU Politics, Porto, 24-26 June 2010, pp. 9-10, http://www.jhubc.it/ecpr-porto/virtualpaperroom/113.pdf.

[48] Ibid., pp. 12-14.

[49] Elda Brogi, Paula Gori, „Legal Analysis of the EU Instruments to Foster Media Pluralism and Media Freedom", op. cit., 2013, pp. 60-62.

[50] Elda Brogi, Paula Gori, „European Commission Soft and Hard Law Instruments for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom", in European Union Competencies in Respect of Media Pluralism and Media Freedom, RSCAS Paper Policy 2013/01, European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, The Centre for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom, CMPF, Badia Fiesolana, 2013, p. 66, http://cmpf.eui.eu/documents/cmpfpolicyreport2013.pdf

[51] Ibid., pp. 71-72.

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