

The Intellectual's State in the Context of the Romanian Society's Europeanization

Constantin SCHIFIRNEȚ

College of Communication and Public Relations,
National University of Political Studies and Public Administration,
6 Povernei St, Sector 1, Bucharest, Romania
constantin.schifirnet@comunicare.ro

Abstract: *The aim of this study is to analyse the intellectual's state in the Romanian society which is going through a complex, difficult and prolonged process of Europeanization. A vast intellectual movement should have prepared Romania's adhesion to the European Union in 2007. Its role would have been crucial in triggering the evaluation measures of the Europeanization phenomenon of a post-communist society that was facing major issues, such as the transition from the communist regime to democracy, the political instability, the privatization and its consequences and the economic underdevelopment. The current research acknowledges that one of the foremost factors of the Europeanization process is the intellectuals, a social category mainly focused on European and universal values. Another topic that I am targeting to bring into debate is the relationship between the Romanian intellectuals and the EU's political power that is complementary to the domestic one. The country's adhesion to the EU determined a series of relations between all social categories and the political power of the institutions from Brussels. In this context, the role played by the Romanian intellectuals in the Europeanization of the Romanian society and in promoting the interest of national citizens is shaped.*

Keywords: *intellectuals; public sphere; society; Europeanization*

Introduction

The aim of this study is to analyse the intellectual's state in the Romanian society which is going through a complex, difficult and prolonged process of Europeanization. A vast intellectual movement should have prepared Romania's adhesion to the European Union in 2007. Its role would have been crucial in triggering the evaluation measures of the Europeanization phenomenon of a post-communist society that was facing major issues, such as the transition from the communist regime to democracy, the political instability, the privatization and its consequences and the economic underdevelopment. The current research acknowledges that one of the foremost factors of the Euro-

peanization process is the intellectuals, a social category mainly focused on European and universal values.

Another topic that I am aiming to bring into debate is the relationship between the Romanian intellectuals and the EU's political power that is complementary to the domestic one. The country's adhesion to the EU determined a series of relations between all social categories and the political power of the institutions from Brussels. In this context, the role played by the Romanian intellectuals in the Europeanization of the Romanian society and in promoting the interest of national citizens is shaped.

The following question emerges: should the Romanian intellectual raise issues in the local problematic or general thematic of the Europeanization process? Undoubtedly, in general, they should deal with both perspectives. In every society, the fundamental matter remains the same and the intellectual's interest should be focused on the Europeanization and integration processes. In this framework, in order to understand society in terms of Europeanization, I seek to analyse the way the intellectuals thinking and actions affect the concepts used by the vast majority of people.

Framework

From a geopolitical and historical perspective, Romania belongs to the Eastern Europe block and thus, any debate on the state of the Romanian intellectual regarded, as an Europeanization agent should take into consideration the similarities between the Western and the Eastern countries. The most relevant common features are the following: political dependence and as a result, a delay in the development of local political structures; economic underdevelopment and its associated agrarian economy, the peasant class, alongside the poverty of lower classes and a late transition from feudalism to capitalism; a relative absence of the native superior and middle classes; a persistent feeling of religious identity. After 1948, the dominant position of the economic, political and ideological consistency of the communist system has become another characteristic of the Central and Eastern Europe (Mucha, 2009, p.509).

After 1989, the trend of the Romanian intellectual class aligns to a certain type of modernity, which I call *tendential modernity* (Schifirneț, 2009a, 2009b, 2011). The concept refers to the actions and ideas on modernity that have occurred in the Romanian society. These ideas and actions are *partial* and *un-*

finished and hence, modernity becomes more of an aspiration, a goal to obtain that is never fully achieved. Romanian society is confronted not only with the process of passing from one modernity to another (industrial to postindustrial) but also it has to hurdle simultaneously from pre-modern to modern and from industrial to post-industrial. The impact of modernity has insignificant effects on the whole society, being visible only for some social categories and it can be identified in behavior patterns and modern attitudes.

Theoretical approach on the concept of the ‘intellectual’

One common definition depicts the intellectual as a highly educated individual that makes a living out of intellectual activities. In order for this individual to achieve this status, a financial independency should be obtained. In a more modern perspective, the intellectual is referred to as the person that is engaged in creation and dissemination of ideas, scientific concepts and his involvement in social change. An individual can be considered an intellectual if three major conditions are fulfilled: specialization, civic dimension and critical approach. Rational analysis of the society based on arguments and lacking in prejudices is considered to be inherent to an intellectual. Moreover, the intellectual is receptive to innovation and novelty, to a critical spirit regarding the cultural and to scientific production. Thus, the intellectual is the one who expands knowledge in every field. From this perspective, it has been said that providing a general definition of what the intellectual represents is actually less important than the way they perceive themselves in particular historical conditions (Kurzman & Owens, 2002, p.80).

Pierre Bourdieu (1989) perceives the intellectuals, who are different from any other power of a society, as cultural producers that belong to an independent intellectual domain and that „defend themselves as a whole and the universal” (Bourdieu, 1989, p.103). Potentially, intellectuals can be considered a class itself that distinguishes it from other groups of a society by its interests and activities. Furthermore, due to the role played by the intellectual capital in forging the cultural capital, the French sociologist does not neglect the relationships between the intellectuals and the rest of society.

The specificities of the intellectuals vary from one European zone to another. In the context of Central and Eastern Europe, there is a distinction between the intellectual and the intelligentsia. The intellectual is defined through his capacity to create and to define himself while intelligentsia is epitomized by teleological

reasoning or by its own cultural identity (Kennedy, 1992, p. 70). A question that rises in this context is whether the intellectuals are elites that have the function to produce and disseminate knowledge in every field of the spirit, which legitimizes their goal and role played in every society. The intellectual fabricated modernity that eventually has led to the establishment of the intellectual status.

Nowadays, numerous intellectuals have the tendency to actively take part in the public sphere because they are motivated by the necessity to get involved in social development projects. During crisis or major radical social change, the intellectuals seek to find the meaning to new evolution directions of the society and institutions in order to establish the social balance. In transition societies, intellectuals present themselves as central actors of modernization processes. Thus, they are capitalized as potential Europeanization factors.

From a historical point of view, intellectuality has known an evolution from the humanist intellectual to the scientist intellectual. Moreover, taken into debate are the functional intellectuals who are experts in technical knowledge and the opposition intellectuals who fight to create a better society through their critique. The critic intellectuals use their abilities to verbalize and write in order to rave against injustice and power abuse and to fight for truth, justice, progress and other universal values (Kellner, 1997). Frequently, despite the fact that intellectuals experience a tension between elitism and egalitarianism, they can act with the goal of restraining the power of some social groups such as the political ones (King & Szelényi, 2004). The position the intellectuals adopt regarding the decisions and actions of the power constitutes a decidedly debated theme. Their accountability is to present the truth and to reject falsehood (Chomsky, 1967).

During the early period of modernity, the literati, humanists and those who made alternative projects to the capitalistic society were asserted as intellectuals. Beginning with the second half of the 20th century, a new type of intellectual appeared: the scientist whose activity consisted in experimental studies with the aim to continuously verify the truth while adopting a neutral approach towards the researched object. According to Lepenies (2005) the first category of intellectuals is characterized by a "*guilty conscious*" while the second type's main characteristic is given by a "*reconciled conscious*" that accepts the world as it is.

Lepenies considers that intellectuals should do the following actions: 1. not allow themselves to be seduced by the mirage of the world's progress; 2. per-

manently criticize the political sphere; 3. constantly launch warnings regarding the future of mankind (Lepenies, 2005). The same author argues that the world as it is today is cultivating more experts and technocrats because they offer solutions to concrete issues of society, from various fields and numerous differences depending on the level of development of each country. "In poor countries we find intellectuals that have a moral capital but lack in specialized competences; however, in developed countries, we find highly skilled experts that have a mediocre sensitivity towards moral issues" (Lepenies, 2005, p.60).

Thus, in US and as well as in Europe, we are witnessing the development of scientific themes while the social and humanistic disciplines are constricted. The reaction of several sociologists in Europe that have observed the reduction of funds for social sciences given by the European Commission for the Research Unit (European Commission - Research) remains preemptory [1].

Intellectuals and the europeanization process

The concept of *Europeanization* requires a brief theoretical presentation. While analysing Europeanization, Robert Ladrech used the term for the first time in the following definition: "Slow process that reorientates the direction and shapes the politics at the level where the political and economic dynamic of the European Community becomes part of the organizational logic of politics and national decision" (Ladrech, 1994, p.69).

The Europeanization process is complex and challenging due to the profound implications of the entire system of relations, rules, norms, traditions and customs of each EU member. The main dimension of this phenomenon is the discrepancy between the action of the nation-state and the EU directions of local change within national societies (Risse/Cowles/Caporaso, 2001). Radaelli defines Europeanization as a process of "construction, diffusion and institutionalization" of the EU rules that are meant to shape the "regional discourse, identities, political structures and public policies" (Radaelli, 2003, p.30). The selection criteria and the options for Europeanism belong to the individuals and groups which go beyond the affiliation to a national community or to the birth of political regimes.

In the research of European realities it is necessary to dichotomize between European integration and Europeanization due to the multiple processes that the EU has suffered along its evolution. European integration is the consolidation act

of the influence and decisional power of the European community, while Europeanization signifies the change produced in the national context of each country. This type of change is due to the models, norms and communitarian policies that are imposed on each member state and that trigger other several substantial alterations in the national policies and in the institutional framework of enactment and implementation of these measures and directives (Schifirneț, 2011).

The Europeanization process infers behavior through which EU values, regulation, norms and best practices are assumed and productively used in various social situations (Matei & Matei, 2000). Europeanization is not necessarily an alternative to local and national models of societal organization. On the contrary, this process brings forth modern and efficient virtues in the transformation that occurs in the EU post-accession period. While talking about the Europeanization of Romanian society, it should be taken into consideration her marginal status within a supranational structure such as the European Union. The representation and the cultural and political evolution of Romania are marked by the reception of the border status of the EU. In other words, let us say that this border is permanently under the pressure of the communitarian territory, from the East of the River Pruth.

In the Romanian area, the intellectuals were forced to answer to the challenges posed by the historical period they have lived in. One of these major challenges was the impact of the society that was constructed under foreign influences, especially those from the Western Europe or Orient. During the modern era, Western or Central European values and models as a counterbalance or refusal of the Eastern pressure drove the majority of intellectuals. Beginning with the 19th century, the Europeanization begins to be regarded as an accountability act of the intellectual elite that believes to be a part of the European way of thinking and acting. The Romanian intellectual elites have suffered the continuous tautness between their goals of being considered European and sharing those European values and the slow evolution in which they internalize and express these types of values within the society.

At this point, the question that rises is how many intellectuals are assuming Europeanization as their identity as well as their professional and social identity. Even though Europeanization is vividly and formally embraced it is scarcely identified in the discourse on identity.

In the national public sphere, the mission to offer arguments and support the need to reconfigure a new pattern of perception of diplomatic relations be-

tween the EU member states is imputable to intellectuals. Europeanization is fully complete only when Romanian society overcomes its own its periphery mentality that is marked by an oligarchic structure and which has a population that is forced to live under living standards that are not familiar to the EU founder countries. The EU is not a mechanic assembly of states but a new structure that resulted from the Europeanization of all the European societies. Thus, the analysis of the European construct cannot cover the study of the national system.

The Romanian intellectuals were forced countless times to be in the situation of not taking advantage of the offered opportunities. One example that supports this statement is the experts in European affairs before 1989. After 1990, due to the experiences with the European Community, unlike other former communist countries, Romania should have had better bilateral relations with the EU. Romania was the only country from the communist area that had established commercial and diplomatic relations with the Common Market. During those period, the Romanian state could have made use of a highly professional staff (diplomats, experts in various sectors linked to the European organization) qualified in dealing with EU issues. Nevertheless, post-communist Romania did not take advantage of the benefits of the partnership with the European Community before 1989.

When the Romanians joined the EU, there was no other option than to adapt to the European development trend. Unlike the 19th century when Europeanization actually meant to take-over an institutional form from one or several Western countries, after the accession, it meant to adapt the institutional framework to the European standards. Nowadays, the elites, including the intellectuals represent the EU and the Romanian society's interests and not those of a particular country or culture.

The European directives and principles are adapted and turned into inherent elements of the development of Romanian society, process that is similar to the past when the connections with the West did not result in the loss of national identity (Schifirneț, 2007a, p.99).

Romania's accession to the Euro-Atlantic structures means the completion of the 'pasoptist' programme which consisted in the unification of Romanians in a state, the independency from any empire or state. From this political programme, the coverage of progress and modernization of society still remain directives. The social assignment of intellectuals changes radically by being

designed on other objectives such as the Europeanization of society and European integration.

The intellectuals were the ones that elaborated the first historical project of the nation and created social communication channels concerned with cultural development and forging of a nation (Kennedy & Suny, 1998). Intellectuals, especially those from the humanist fields, built the national construct. It is worth mentioning the lexicologists, philologists and folklorists that have offered consistent arguments to prove national identity, the historical and national continuity of Romanians through tradition, language, religion and peasant culture. This is the reason why, in its early stages the Romanian Academy had only philology and history departments. These experts have succeeded in crystallizing and consolidating the emergence of the idea of a nation for each member of the society. Thus, these archaic common connections, the popular participation, the vernacular languages, the traditions and customs are elements of the ethnic approach on the nation. During our history, the intellectuals have focused on providing proofs of the existence of the Romanian nation because it was contested both in the West and the East. The intellectual elites have promoted the sovereignty and the independence of the country that were constantly in danger.

We strongly believe that after EU accession the emphasis on discussions about the national identity more than the European identity of Romanians is not justified. By taking into account this entire historical context, I hypothesize that in the discourse of intellectual elites before 1989 the appeal to Europe was much more highlighted than it is today, despite many ideological restrictions.

After Romania's accession, the goal of intellectuals in justifying the existence and national continuity has ended. As long as Romania is a EU member, the focus on the historical past is redundant in the public space. Nowadays, any actor that would attempt to question the historical legitimacy of the Romanian nation gets in conflict with the European Union's principles. It is clear that a nation with a distinctive culture and history and not a phantasmagoria has joined the EU.

In the East European area, there is the erroneous tendency to discuss the intellectuals' role in the process of Europeanization as an omnipotent force and to overcharge them with multiple goals and roles. C. Rădulescu-Motru highlighted 70 years ago that, in the Romanian space, the term *intellectual* has a high meaning that is further appreciated in Russia, whereas in the West the

intellectuals are regarded as qualified workers that are not given any special rang or a monopole over the public opinion. In the societies where intellectual professions are “relatively new, they are overestimated”. Why does the status of the intellectual differ? In countries from Eastern Europe, the historical circumstances determined that intellectuals have a special role: “The nations from this part of Europe have been constrained by their historical development to borrow from the West ideas and institutions that are vital for their organization as modern states. Due to these restraints, in these nations, intellectual workers received a vocation that their West colleagues did not have: the mission to relocate foreign ideas and institutions in their country. In opposition, in the West, intellectual workers carried on the professional traditions that originated centuries ago and only in exceptional cases, they transferred home foreign ideas and institutions, while in Eastern Europe it’s the other way around. Here, the intellectual was expected to follow the foreign model if not quantitative at least qualitative” (Rădulescu-Motru, 1941, p.1). Therefore, Eastern Europe intellectuals enjoyed a disproportionate prestige because they were imitating or taking over ideas from other inaccessible cultures to the public space, while in the West they were qualified to answer to the challenges posed by such realities. Rădulescu-Motru’s hypothesis can be a starting point for the analysis on the European intellectual elite. A view over the Romanian public space reveals the same perspective on the role of the Romanian intellectual in the EU integrated society. The intellectuals are required to “stop being passive” and to not be satisfied as simple commentators but “to offer solutions” and get more involved in actions that cultivate the nation, which is a reminder of the illuminist program of educating the masses. Intellectuals would be a *factotum*, meaning a substitute for some professional categories that have competences in specialized fields.

Currently, in the post-accession period there is no public debate on Europeanization, a similar situation is the inter-war deliberations between ‘westernization’ promoters that regarded the driving forces of the modernization process of the Romanian society. For example, Eugen Lovinescu considered that change can come from ideas and ideology, while Ștefan Zeletin focused on the economic and social forces in the modernization process. After the 1848 Revolution, the discussion on these themes has taken the shape of distinctive ideological currents such as ‘Europeanists’ and ‘traditionalists’, trends which will manifest themselves until the Second World War. The former considered that Romania should be part of Europe and thus, there is no other choice than to follow the social and economic development set by the urbanized and industrialized West. The traditionalists pointed out the agrarian characteristic

of Romania and were seeking development models that were based on the unique social and cultural heritage. Both approaches have placed and reinterpreted Romania's role as a European state because of its national experiences and goals that matched the spirit of their time (Hitchins, 1998, p.292).

The *Europeanists*' considered that structural changes in Romania are a continuity of the economic and cultural integration of the country in Europe. According to them modernity is a complex of socio-cultural factors such as modern democracy, urbanization, industrialization, equality in property distribution, free trade of goods and ideas, social mobility of individuals in social stratification, secularization of the educational system and of public life, tolerance, individual freedom, participation in the European politics and culture.

One of the paradoxes of the current Romanian intellectuality is that of European integration through Americanization. The American model of development and cultural is the foreground and not the European one. The local public space is dominated by debates orientated towards values and ideas from the American culture while the European culture is thought of as the starting premise for the debates on current issues. The assumption of ideas and experiences from US does not imply the Americanization of the Romanian society, as well as the implementation of European norms does not mean Westernization and the assertion of Romanian traditions in the European area does not equal to Orientalization or Balkanization of Europe.

The Europeanization of the Romanian society

The Europeanization of Romanian society is considered to be a fundamental path of development in the post-accession era and it represents a national consent for all the social groups. The question that appears is how is this project constructed? After 2007, the evolution of internal events are highlighting the lack of a personal vision on Europeanization and thus the development policies are based on recommendations and principles of international institutions that have little in common with the historical particularities of Romanians.

Universal standards and criteria are applied to an agrarian society that during the communist period is industrially transformed but also suffers a robust deindustrialization process in the post-communist period. The result was obtaining a society in which the agrarian sector and the rural field are highly represented.

The artistic and literary elite launched the majority of debates on the modern Romanian development and its orientation towards the values of modernity. Nowadays, the same elite is the European messenger but not one of Europeanization. There is a hiatus between the admission of Europeanism as an intellectuals' standard and the Europeanization as a structural transformation of the EU integrated Romanian society. In a post-accession period, in the Romanian case, the promotion of Europeanism without a profound Europeanization is redundant. It is noteworthy that a very own theory on the Romanian development has not been elaborated and this is the reason why the particularities of the profound, systematic and unceasing social and economic development are not taken into account. Numerous institutions, institutes, European consulting agencies, moral and religious foundations have been formed but they are not paying too much attention to the social and economic development strategies in this particular case, which is Romania as a EU member. The starting point for any theory or analysis is the social and economic realities from a society.

If the foundation act of the national Romanian state and Romanians were based on Western models deeply rooted in the principles of nationalities, then Europeanization is a process defined as belonging to the common area of European society.

The Romanian modernity is visible in the public discourse due to the focus on the 'law' and symbolic order. The Romanian mass media, the elites, especially the political and intellectual ones are proposing a modern vision regarding the evolution of social life and see arguments for maintaining local modernity that is similar to the one in the West. However, in reality, Romanian law and symbolic system have developed as a counter reaction to the traditional cultural order. As a result this order was modified but not dominated (Stănciulescu, 2002, p.72). The traditional social order has resisted against the influences and actions of the 'rightful' modernity. There is a significant cleavage between the level of public discourses and the intellectual elites' social practices. Therefore, the later convey different development directions than the ones of political and intellectual programs and discourses. The Romanians should establish their objectives and conduct depending on whether the condition for a real modernity is carried into effect and that is bestowing a predictability regarding the direction towards which Romania is developing.

In the current state of the Romanian society, an argument that sustains the tendential modernity thesis is the perspective over Romanian intellectuals as *de facto* bearers of modern values, meaning that a juvenocracy is equally

harmful as a gerontocracy (Stănciulescu, 2002, p. 165). In Romania's modern history every political regime's beginning has treated young intellectuals as the only legitimate factor for the investiture and support of the new social system. Thus, an artificial conflict between generations occurred, eluding the basic sociological principle according to which it was never possible to destroy the whole legacy of a former generation. Europeanization is real if the changes in the society befall through the action of solidarity of all its members and a social balance.

Even though in the scientific and cultural discourse Romanian elites embrace modernity, they hardly offer solutions for a modern development of the entire society because in their practices they elude the universal and neutral character of institutional norms. Their attitude towards the ideas and actions of universalist and neutral institutional relationships is ambivalent. They favour the ideas that do not have an impact on their social status or of those of the groups they belong and they disagree when the subject of the matter is themselves or some close acquaintances. The studies that were made on the Romanian university system reveal that the communitarian and institutional duality is not associated to an already determinate social class but to the circumstantial position of the individual: the individuals that belong to the superior educated classes elaborate communitarian strategies insofar as these prove to be more profitable than the institutional ones (Stănciulescu, 2002).

Romanian modernity distinguishes itself through ambiguity and ambivalence between the normative and social communitarian order. For example, the passing from the order of an intellectual to an office holder or a public figure leads to changes in mentality and action. "What we have here is not only a distance from what it is said and done that is regularly indicated in the actual research on sociology but also a very clear demarcation between the social space of institutional order (structural orders) and the social space of the everyday life (circumstantial order)" (Stănciulescu, 2002, p.38).

We can observe that modernity is a consequence of the coalescence between modern and traditional. Nowadays as well as in the past, through bookishness, modernization programs have taken the Western standards as benchmark. However, the social organization can diminish the implementation of such standards in the national context. The rift between elites and society appears because the elites alienate themselves from the values of modernity with the goal of boosting their benefits resulted from the modernization process. Modern institutions such as the university are still forced to function under

paternalistic and oligarchic principles (Stănciulescu, 2002). Despite the fact that universities disseminate the most important hoard of ideas on modernity, their organization style and management change very slowly because of the precarious material and financial conditions they are forced to work with. No matter how strange it might seem, only after 1859 can we talk about the beginnings of a modern bureaucracy in terms of central and local administration. It is also worth mentioning that in 1860, Iași University was the first founded university and that the university from Bucharest dates back to 1864, which proves the lack of a tradition in forming office holders.

In some national cases, standards of Europeanization can impose unacceptable constraints and thus, their legitimacy is questionable, without even causing changes considered advantageous to the individuals. Consequently, modernity appears as a tendency that does not reach the classical standards. In order for the Europeanization not to remain a simple theoretical and ideological construct it is necessary that intellectuals should make sure that all the social actors accept it as an everyday reality and as a way of living.

Romanian society is transforming due to the processes such as labour migration. In reality, Europeanization is not made only from decisions taken by Romanian or European institutions but also through the new economic and social context determined by the EU. It is undisputable that Europeanization is not a process that can be accomplished by itself only through accession. The Romanian society, on its path of Europeanization cannot all of a sudden accede to a superior level of development. The Europeanization of national society abides by the vision of large population segments as a supportive act of capital flow that brings benefits only to some groups.

It is clear that Europeanization means also costs. Who stands for them? Before joining the EU, the modernity presumed costs sustained by peasants while currently Europeanization is possible through the efforts of the entire population, especially of the medium or high standard level groups. The Europeanization of the Romanian society should diminish the spaces between the intellectuals and other social categories that are today very numerous. In the new context of post-accession, the European institutions should send the clear message that the Europeanization of the Romanian society can be beneficial not only for Romanians but also for all the Europeans insomuch as the real needs of Romanians are being fulfilled. In Europeanization, a crucial role is played by multinational companies that have taken over the industry and natural resources in Romania.

Europeanization is not produced or elaborated by intellectuals but by groups of workers that produce services in EU member states. Recent controversies over the repatriation of the Roma people have launched a series of debates on several issues except on Europeanization. Intellectuals that play a role in the public space do not take into consideration the fact that any discussion on national or international events need to be approached also through the elements and criteria of Europeanization. Regarding the issue of the Roma people, it is necessary to clarify the processes that belong to Europeanization. The decisions of some European governments on the Roma issue clearly indicate the disallowance of the Europeanization process. It is not accepted or understood that Europeanization means the whole EU area and not only the societies that have recently entered the EU. The Romanian intellectuals neglect the topic of changing the attitude in the political and public opinion regarding the European identity that cannot be undoubtedly an Occidental one. Europeanization does not resume to a Western, centrist dimension.

Besides, for the first time in its history, the West is confronted with a debate on sovereignty. The Eastern people have been forced to affirm their identity and sovereignty while this never happened in the West because national sovereignty was never put into question. Through Europeanization the European society that can develop according to some general laws is a feasible project and thus, any other debates that might later on occur about a society in Central or West Europe or Eastern Europe would become pointless. This objective can be reached if the institutional frameworks of each member state work as any other from the EU zone. The national dimension will continue to shape culture, language, traditions and all that is related to the local specificity.

The intellectual in the process of change

Undoubtedly, the political elites are actors of institutional reforms. However, such transformation is possible only with the help of intellectual expertise and intervention. In fact, the Europeanization of the Romanian society deals with the change in the behavior of all elites that transposes from the orientation to the personal interest to responsibility and social engagement. Unlike Western intellectuals, the Romanian elites were not supported by the political economy of the state that was capable of interfering in the evolution of European tendencies. Thus, the adopted measures were exclusively targeting the counteraction of negative external influences.

During some historical events, due to rundown social and material conditions, the intellectuality has adhered without any critic spirit to official politics. For example, the formation of the National Resurrection Front that was the only formation during the authoritarian regime of Carol II or the Romanian Communist Party during the communist period. During this last interlude, numerous intellectuals were assigned to participate in the supporting politics of national culture and to disseminate some authors or to communicate with the West and US. During communism, intellectuality was better outlined than during the post-communist period because it received official recognition as a social category.

The implication of intellectuals in the extinction of communist regimes is undeniable (King & Szelényi, 2004, p.IX) as well as the idea that the imperatives of the revolution from 1989 can be achieved firstly by intellectuals. In Europe, they were seemed as the central element of change after 1989.

Any discussion on the conduct and concept of post-communist intellectuality should take into account the assigned status in the communist period. What were the intellectuals lacking in communism? Without offering a plentiful response, we should take into account the following traits that were not exerted or simply put into practice but at a low scale: professional and social autonomy from the political power, manifestation of a critical spirit, tolerance towards other ideas, free movement in the European and universal academic sphere, access to any source of information, unrestricted dialogue between experts, the existence of a public space of scientific and cultural discussions, involvement in the civil society. It should be acknowledged that the West was present in the Romanian space through its culture even during communism. No matter how strange it might seem, under various forms, the Western culture and civilization have entered in the Romanian communist society. Parts of communist elites that were formally depending on the soviet area were focusing their attention on the West. During the communist regime there were elites and intellectuals but due to the national ideological circumstances they were lacking necessary resources. Therefore, they were only partially integrated in the international research and education network.

After 1989, the intellectuals had to bring back at a very fast pace what was forbidden or diminished during the previous historical period. This is the reason why, in the public space, their action exceeds an organic evolution and caused excess and even caricatures.

The current intellectual elite in Romania has appeared during the transition period after 1990. Practically, this elite claimed symbolic power. It was formed during a time when the public space was dominated by profound change in the Romanian society that was mainly orientated towards the European civilization and lifestyle. It is true that during the 90s' the post-socialist degree of transformation was given by the admission of Western values. Meaningfully, the new generation of intellectuals benefited from the framework created by the elderly intellectual elite, which was formed and activated during the communist period. From the distributional point of view, there are two main categories of intellectuals: those that work in institutions and companies from the EU and those that bring a contribution in the national framework. Between these two groups a latent discrepancy can be identified and as well a conflict in terms of conduct and perspective. Which one of them contributes to the Europeanization of the Romanian society? Lacking in a rigorous research, the answer is difficult to give. However, we can state that, in reality, both categories of intellectuals have an impact on the Europeanization process because of their influence on the Romanian society.

Correspondingly, regarding the social and institutional changes, we cannot avoid the rift between the local Romanian intellectuality and the one that has settled abroad. Those from abroad desire a swift Europeanization pace and they propose strategies and policies from their adoptive countries without taking into consideration the historical and economic circumstances of Romania. The intellectuals that were formed abroad and that later on decided to return to their birth country depict a distinctive situation. They are facing a paradoxical situation, namely that their high qualification is difficult to be exploited by the national social, political and economic management. Romanian intellectuals cannot avoid the fact that Romania is a society based on order and prestige that is translated through alienation and exclusion from other social categories. They have the tendency to obtain the status of the Western intellectuals in order to be recognized by the Romanian society for their highly competences.

The adherence of intellectuals to the new configuration of Europe is determined by the change of their mentality and conduct. In fact, in their arguments and public discourses, only in rare exceptions, they were mostly in favour of European ideas and values. Since Romania joined the EU, intellectuals have had the role of launching new perspectives on the Europeanized Romanian society. Accordingly, any approach on Europeanization that makes an appeal to old ideas and concepts on the Romanian relationships with Europe

is not conceivable. The European inclination of the new technocrat elite that has valuable competences in technical and economic fields is often expressed through the direct implication in the process of European integration.

The intellectual in the national public space

Many intellectuals from the public space launch themes that lack in substance for the present society that is going through major challenges such as the EU accession. There is no strategy that points out the role of the Romanians as actors in supranational political structures.

In the public space, analytical philosophers and literati individuals are predominant while there are only a few economists and engineers. In other words, there are a reduced number of experts that can stimulate the entrepreneurship needed in economic development and thus, in Europeanization.

Europeanization of the society will be completed when intellectuals from all over the social structures will come up with a strategy and a vision regarding the development of the country according to the norms, values and European standards because Romania needs to adapt and accomplish the same level of integration in the European zone as any other EU member. On the public agenda of the intellectuals there should be introduced themes that are connected to development, modernization and Europeanization.

Intellectuals have to face antagonistic social circumstances of removing the effects of the past which was assailed by them but accepted by the majority of the population and that, during the communist period, was linked to an open access to health, education, jobs and housing. In other words, it can be claimed that intellectuals are blamed by the population for being co-partners to the deconstruction of economy and also for having contributed to the accumulation of wealth of some groups by stealing from the state patrimony.

Intellectuals from the public space rarely get involved in debates on the Europeanization of the Romanian society. In their discourse the most used themes are the following ones: communism, anti-communism, interethnic relations, national rhetoric and corruption (Tănăsioiu, 2008).

Despite the vast literature on communist and post-communism it is hard to decipher the scientific critique of concepts as communism, transition, European-

ization, democracy, market economy, rule of law, globalism and recent history. In fact, these themes are approached from a journalistic or essayistic perspective.

The public space is dominated by the anti-communist discourse even though after Romania's accession to the EU, the danger of instauration of regime like the one before 1989 is excluded. This shift between the anti-communist discourse of the intellectual elite and the current reality of the Romanian society is also confirmed by the survey organized by the Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes in Romania (IICCR) and the Centre for the Studying of Market and Opinion (CSOP) during 22 October- 1st of November 2010. The representative national sample was 1.123 people for the population that aged above 15. The results of this research indicate that 83% Romanians stated that they or someone from the family have not suffered under the communist regime (www.crimelecomunismului.ro/ro/presa/comunicate/comunicate_de_presa_2010/iiccrmer_prezinta_perceptiile_romanilor). Only 3% said that they had to endure because of the communist regime. Nowadays, there is an ambivalent approach on the communist period. On the one hand, the majority of Romanians believe the following: that there was a form of repression, that the communist leaders profited from privileges, that the victims of the regime should receive compensation, that the investiture of the communist regime was a positive phenomenon and that communism was a good idea. 44% of those who were interviewed said that communism was a good idea but it was badly implemented. Furthermore, almost 1 out of 8 Romanians believes that communism is a good idea that was efficiently put into practice. The data is different from the surveys conducted 20 years ago and indicate the need to study *sine ira et studio* our recent history.

It is clear that our society is influenced by globalization that has profoundly changed the meaning and evolution of the industrial civilization and also made possible the two types of societies: capitalism and communism. These transformations have a direct impact on the current lifestyle of Romanians. Also, as always, our intellectual elite is inattentive because it is oriented towards discussing obsolete themes. The problem of Romania is not the long battle against communism but the economic development gap between us and the other EU member states.

A relevant theme is that, through the accession to the EU, Romania has for the first time in its history, the adequate resources to obtain the required standards of the European development model. This constitutes an essential factor in overcoming the past faultiness, the frustrations and the inferiority complex according to which Romanians are second-hand EU citizens (Schifirneț,

2007b). Concomitantly, it can be observed a predilection to the debate on the state as a major actor in modernization but less on the role of the intellectuals in the proper functioning of the state.

The intellectuals' obsessions are not the local Romanian problems but their aspiration to be recognized on the European and universal level. Europeanization is not an interesting topic for intellectuals because they are caught up in Western theories and institutions.

A distinctive trait of the intellectual should be his civic conscious but this is reduced, by many intellectuals, to the obligation to take part in political activities, which basically means to set a relationship with the political. A.D Xenopol observed that "the vast majority of elevated Romanians are admirers of public functions, a fact that leads to a split between two rival segments: those of *beati possidentes* [the happy owners] and those who are thirsty" (as cited in Năstasă Kovacs, 2010).

The intellectuals have not succeeded in sending a clear message to the Romanian political elites that are confronted with challenges of the development models. However, they have always aspired after the Western model. In the collective mentality, the expression "to catch up" has entrenched and it is unconditionally associated with modernity. The country that has fallen behind is compared to a racer that is going through an infernal race, as though modernity was a path to overcome others and yourself through an invisible competition. Moreover, it is not clear the sort of society which the intellectuals are pledging for in the public space because the general tendency is to refer to an abstract model of society that belongs to a European country or to the inter-war Romanian society.

Moreover, in the public space, the Romanian intellectuals are facing a so called phenomenon of national "țățăraie" which is a form of expression of the rustication of the public discourse through the debates that seem to take place somewhere in a rural village only with the purpose of occupying the public agenda by any means and because of the lack of necessary argumentation required in sustaining a valid opinion and also respecting the other's opinion.

Intellectuals in the European public space

Through Europeanization the Romanian intellectuals are embracing the European migration that is an innate act for almost a decade. The vast majority

of them have difficulties in finding an engagement that measures up to their highly qualification. Thus, many have decided to abandon convenient situations in Romania and to choose unqualified jobs in other countries.

There is no communion between the Romanian intellectuals that are abroad and those living inside the country. The intellectuals that have returned right after 1990 have approached the transitional issues in an abstract manner through imported ideas and strategies. They were not familiar to the genuine realities of Romania, unlike the 'pasoptist' generation or 'bonjourists' from the 19th century that have modernized Romania along with the complicity of groups inside the country. In the public discourse of intellectuals that have returned from exile a general desire can be traced. The main goal seems to be to obtain a political retaliation and to express accumulated frustrations that are justified from the perspective of their own destiny. However, such attempts have no efficiency in the social reconstruction plan. Some of these intellectuals have been allured by pledges of some political leaders and thus, they have unexploited their own modernization or transformation project.

After Romania has joined the EU, it would have been expected that the Europeanization process to be supported by the intellectuals, at least by the new generations of intellectuals. In fact, the intellectual resources of the Romanian society were channelled to the developed European spaces where a high living standards and the ability to profess were highly appreciated and remunerated. The main beneficiaries of the accession to the EU are the young people from all the social and professional categories. However, the price for this advantage is the profound consequences on the social balance and demographic figures of the Romanian society. This consequence has positive effects on the hosting countries that face aging issues. Therefore, the winner states are the EU founding countries and less the new member states. This leads to the diminishing of the critical mass required by social actors involved in the transformation of the Romanian society.

We cannot ignore the fact that the migration of young intellectuals and students is sketchily discussed in public debates, including by intellectual elite. The same subject raises no interest at all for the political elite. Regarding the option of young people educated abroad we can observe that today we are witnessing a different process from the one occurred before the Second World War. In that particular historical period, academic training in European universities represented a factor of cultural development for the Romanian nation because most of the alumnus returned home and enjoyed a social po-

sition matching their education. The modernization process was sustained and stimulated by intellectuals educated in Western Europe. It is sufficient to mention that many Romanian politicians were graduates of law universities or they had obtained their PhD at foreign universities, especially in France. Today, attending a European university represents an opportunity to get employed at an overseas institution but that does not guarantee the acceptance in the Romanian institutions. The dismissal of intellectual skills and professional abilities gained in European space by a society that is going through an Europeanization and that needs them represents a post-accession paradox. The legitimate question that arises is whether the Europeanization can be achieved by intellectuals inside the country or by the Romanian intellectuals that are working in European states. The simple answer would be that cooperation between them could lead to Europeanization strategies of the Romanian society. There is no substantial debate regarding what effective actions can be done in Romania by an intellectual educated abroad. Nevertheless, the majority of Romanians that are abroad do not get involved in the Europeanization and modernization process of the Romanian society as long as they are not directly trained as intrinsic factors of these phenomena. [2]

The issue of Europeanization of Romanian society is complicated. Who and for whom is Europeanization producing knowing that almost 97% of Romanians that have answered questionnaire on Tjobs.ro want to work abroad? (www.tjobs.ro/comunicate/sondaje-online-aplicanti-versus-agentii-de-recrutare). Data from the same survey shows that this increasing tendency can be traced in the case of more and more students that are interested in obtaining a job abroad (76,64%). Concomitantly, we should mention that Western universities have a concrete plan in raising funds for promising high school graduates. A significant aspect for migration in the European area is given by the departure of young intellectuals that prefer to perform less qualified but better paid jobs rather than being remuneration in their home country.

Endnotes

[1] The budgeted reduction for social sciences and the persistence on elaborating European research projects that do not fit in this branch is to be taken into account. The social scientists are concerned with what clearly appears to be a tendency adopted and consolidated through FP7 projects which is to focus on “major challenges” and themes that seem to classify social sciences as auxiliary and thus soon to be absorbed by other sciences. Moreover, it has been noticed that the focus on “grand challenges” risks leading to the omission of problems that regard social and cultural cohesion in Europe. <http://analiatorres.net/aboutsociology/downsizingocialscience.pdf> accessed on 30th of March 2011.

[2] There is no estimation regarding the number of the Romanian that is abroad. However, in the national press there are some rumours that the number is 2 million. This is another proof of the state and society negligence towards this large group. On the other hand, there is data on the migration of professional categories such as doctors. During 2007 and 2009, 5.500 doctors departed from Romania. Their number is growing. Evidence supporting this statement is given by the organization of an International Fair for Medical and Pharmaceutical Careers that took place in March 2011. To this event took part 18 exhibitors from Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, France, Austria, Switzerland, UK and Belgium – therefore only European countries. Cf. <http://www.ziare.com/locuri-de-munca/oferte-locuri-munca/exodul-medicilor-continua-pestre-500-si-au-cautat-samba-ta-un-job-in-afara-1084229>

Acknowledgements: This paper was elaborated as part of the grant's assessments, project no. 1033 code PNII-IDEI/2008: "The media construction of Europeanization as a public issue in the context of European integration of the Romanian society". Beneficiary of the „restructuration of the formation and doctoral research program in the fields of political sciences, administrative science, sociology and communication sciences -DOCT”, project, co-financed by the European Union through the European Social Fund, Sectorial Operational Programme Human Resources and Development 2007-2013.

References

Bourdieu, P. (1989). The Corporatism of the Universal – The Role of the Intellectual in Modern World. *Telos*, 81 Fall, 99-110.

Chomsky N. (1967). The Responsibility of Intellectuals. *The New York Review of Books*, February 23, 1967. Retrieved from <http://www.chomsky.info/articles/19670223.htm>

Hitchins K. (1998). *Romania 1866-1947*. Trad. George G. Potra and Delia Razdolescu. Bucharest: Humanitas.

Ladrech, R. (1994). The Europeanization of Domestic Politics and Institutions: The Case of France. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 32 (1), 69-88.

Lepenies, W. (2005). Ascensiunea și declinul intelectualilor în Europa [The Intellectuals' Ascent and Decline in Europe]. Trad. Ioana Bot and Anca Neamțu. Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărții de Știință.

Kellner D. (1997). Intellectuals, the new public spheres, and techno-politics. *New Political Science*, 41-42, 169-88.

Kennedy, M. (1992). The intelligentsia in the constitution of civil societies and post-Communist regimes in Hungary and Poland. *Theory and Society*, 21 (1), 29-76.

Kennedy, M.D., and Suny, G.R. (Eds.) (1999). *Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

King L.P., and Szelényi, I. (2004). *Theories of the New Class: Intellectuals and Power*. University of Minnesota Press.

Kurzman, C., and Owens, L. (2002). The sociology of intellectuals. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 28, 63–90.

Matei, L., and Matei, A. (2010). A multidisciplinary doctoral research program in administrative sciences. The economic and social impact of public administration Europeanization. Retrieved from http://mpr.ub.unimuenchen.de/24267/1/EGPA_2010_Economic_and_Social_Impact_Europeanization.pdf.

Mucha, J. (2009). Sociology in Central and Eastern Europe or East European Sociology: Historical and Present. *Sociológia*, 41 (6), 507-525.

Nastasă Kovacs L. (2010). Intelectualii publici și libidoul puterii [The public intellectuals and the power libido]. In S.A. Matei and M. Momescu (Coord.), *Idolii Forului*. Bucharest: Editura Corint.

Radaelli, C. (2003). The Europeanization of Public Policy. In K. Featherstone & C. Radaelli, (Eds.), *The Politics of Europeanisation: Theory and Analysis* (pp. 27-56), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rădulescu-Motru, C. (1941). Intelectualii [Intellectuals]. *Timpul*, anul V, 1323, 13 Jan., 1-3.

Schifirneț, C. (2007a). *Formele fără fond, un brand românesc [The Forms without Substance, a Romanian Brand]*. Bucharest: Comunicare.ro.

Schifirneț, C. (2007b). From Romanian Indigenous Modernization to Europeanization. In *Proceedings of the Globalization and Policies of Development* (pp.133-138), Bucharest: Comunicare.ro.

Schifirneț, C. (2009a). The Mass Media and Tendentious Modernity in the Transition Process from National Society to European Community. *Civitas – Revista de Ciências Sociais*, 9 (1), 50-64.

Schifirneț, C. (2009b). Modernitatea tendențială [Tendentious Modernity]. *Sociologie românească*, VII (4), 80-97.

Schifirneț, C. (2011). Europeanizarea societății românești și modernitatea tendențială în perioada postcomunistă [The Europeanization of the Romanian Society and the Tendentious Modernity in the Post-communism Period]. In R. Murea, N. Vlas and V. Boari (Coord.), *România după douăzeci de ani*, Vol. 2. Iași: Editura Institutul European.

Stănculescu, E. (2002), *Despre tranziție și universitate [About Transition and University]*. Iași: Polirom.

Tănăsioiu, C. (2008). Intellectuals and Post-Communist Politics in Romania. An Analysis of Public Discourse, 1990-2000. *East European Politics & Societies*, 22 (1), 80-113.